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**E. CHEKHARIN**

**The Soviet Political System  
Under Developed Socialism**

**This is an exposition of the functioning of the Soviet political system, especially at the stage of mature socialism. Discussed among other things are the changes undergone by the Soviet political system between the 24th and 25th CPSU congresses. Thanks to the comprehensive treatment of the subject, all its main aspects have been covered.**



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E.CHEKHARIN

# The Soviet Political System Under Developed Socialism

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Translated from the Russian

ЕВГЕНИЙ ЧЕХАРИН

Советская политическая система  
в условиях развитого социализма

*На английском языке*

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## CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
Foreword . . . . .	7
Chapter 1. The CPSU's Experience in Shaping the Political System of Socialist Society . . . . .	17
Marxism-Leninism on the Political Problems of Socialist and Communist Development . . . . .	17
The Establishment and Development of the Soviet Political System. The Guiding Role of the CPSU . . . . .	37
The Role of the State . . . . .	52
Mass Organisations in the Soviet Political System . . . . .	79
Voluntary Associations and Other Socio-Political Institutions in the Soviet Political System . . . . .	111
Chapter 2. Democratic Principles of Organisation and Operation of the Political System of Socialism . . . . .	120
Democratic Centralism: the Main Principle of the Political System of Socialism . . . . .	120
Collective Leadership . . . . .	134
Principle of Internationalism in the Soviet Political System . . . . .	146
Planning: Principle of the Operation of the Political System of Socialism . . . . .	172
Personnel in the Soviet Political System . . . . .	186
Socialist Legality as a Principle in the Operation of the Soviet Political System . . . . .	196
Chapter 3. Soviet Political System at the Current Stage . . . . .	219
The Socialist State . . . . .	228
The Increasing Role of the Communist Party . . . . .	251
The Trade Unions, the Komsomol, the People's Control, the Co-operatives . . . . .	268
Chapter 4. Regulation of Social Processes Under the Scientific and Technological Revolution. Science, Politics, Ideology . . . . .	279

## FOREWORD

Society's development today is characterised by the greater role played in it by political factors. This makes it necessary to subject the political organisation of society and the objective laws to which its development is subject to an all-round examination.

It is of particular interest to examine the Soviet political system and draw general conclusions from the experience of the practical implementation of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine of the dictatorship of the proletariat, of the socialist state, socialist democracy, and the leading role of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in the building of socialism and communism.

Real socialism as built in the Soviet Union is exerting a tremendous impact on the minds and feelings of hundreds of millions of people. It provides an example of the most equitable organisation of society in the interest of the working people.

Socialism is a society of real humanism. It values above all the working man. Everything for the sake of man, for the benefit of man—such is the most profound meaning of the new, socialist way of life.

Socialism is a society of emancipated labour, of genuine democracy, of real individual freedom, and of most highly advanced science and culture. It abolishes oppression in every shape and form, ensuring full employment and providing the real prerequisites for the all-round creative growth of all its citizens.

Socialism is a society of social optimism. It gives the working man confidence in the morrow, in a happy future for his children and security in his old age. It brings peace, respect for the sovereignty of all countries and equal cooperation between countries; it is a pillar of strength for the peoples fighting for their freedom and independence.

In the six decades that have passed since the victorious October Socialist Revolution, the Land of Soviets has covered a road equivalent to centuries of growth. As a result of the most far-reaching social and economic changes effected by the Soviet people under the guidance of the CPSU, a developed socialist society has been built.

Developed socialist society is a natural stage in the emergence of the communist formation. In this stage, socialism unfolds its creative potential and its profoundly humanitarian nature ever more fully.

Developed socialism indicates that the whole system of social relations gradually developing into communist relations has reached a high level of maturity. Developed socialism is today the summit of social progress.

The Soviet Union now boasts a well-equipped economy both in industry and agriculture. All classes and social groups are drawing closer together, and Soviet society is becoming more and more uniform socially as the essential distinctions are being obliterated between intellectual and physical work, between work in industry and in agriculture. The dictatorship of the proletariat has fulfilled its historic mission and gradually developed into a socialist state of the whole people in which socialist democracy steadily continues to advance.

The aims and purposes of communist construction require that society's development be continually better guided and managed and the advantages afforded by the socialist system be fully and skilfully used. The Soviet political system represents an immense constructive force in the onward movement of Soviet society to communism.

The Soviet political system emerged as a result of the Great October Socialist Revolution and is an essentially new type of political system called upon to protect the

working people's revolutionary gains and to assure the organisation, management and guidance of the building of socialist and communist society. The Soviet socialist system has stood the test of time. It has proved in practice its vast superiority over every previous political system in history. The genuine democracy of the Soviet political system, the direct and active involvement of the working class and the bulk of the people in its formation and functioning together with the guiding and leading role of the Communist Party in its formation, operation and improvement, have made it possible to establish genuine government by the people on the ideological basis of Marxism-Leninism.

Lenin made an outstanding contribution to the emergence, existence and development of the Soviet political system and to the theoretical substantiation and elaboration of the problems of its further improvement. Lenin's political ideas were given embodiment in the world socialist system, in the revolutionary struggle waged by the masses to throw off capitalist oppression and win democracy and freedom for society and the individual.

The historical experience amassed by the Soviet political system provides the richest source for the fraternal Communist and workers' parties and all progressive social movements to draw on. It is being used today by the fraternal socialist countries in the organisation, administration and guidance of most intricate processes of their social development.

The meaning of the intrinsic link that exists between the objectives of communist construction and the progress of socialist democracy was pointed out by L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, at the Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties of Europe. The size of the Soviet economy—it currently produces 20 per cent of the world's industrial output—poses numerous and complex questions concerned with the planning and management of so huge an economic body. The task the Party has put forward of raising the efficiency of production and improving quality in every imaginable sense re-

quires a great deal of work along different lines, from an extensive renewal of production technology to new serious achievements in the promoting of a conscientious communist attitude to work and the development of the masses' initiative.

L. I. Brezhnev emphasised that the Soviet Union's successful social development is possible only as a result of the free and conscious creativity of the masses, as a result of their ever more actively exercising their civil rights and being involved in the shaping of all aspects of the life of society. Hence all further movement towards communism will necessarily also imply the further progress of socialist democracy. Such is the fundamental course pursued by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Such, too, are the daily facts of life in the Soviet Union.

In carrying out many-sided activities to improve the Soviet political system in the conditions of developed socialist society, the CPSU pays a great deal of attention to raising to the greatest possible extent the role of the Soviets of Working People's Deputies, the genuine bodies of people's power, and of the trade unions, the Komsomol and other mass organisations of the people.

In the Soviet political system, the work of administrative bodies is combined with democracy at grass-root level.

The development and improvement of the Soviet political system directly depend on the consolidation of socialist ownership and the socialist economic system, on the people's higher material, educational and cultural standards, and on the all-round reflection and utilisation in the Party's policy of the objective laws governing social progress.

The further improvement of the Soviet political system is indissolubly bound up with the growing role of the CPSU in the building of communism, with the greater activity and awareness of the masses in implementing the Party's policy and with their becoming vitally interested in the achievement of communist ideals.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is the highest form of socio-political organisation in the USSR.

The whole history of the Soviet people, its feats of arms and labour, are inseparable from the activity of the Communist Party as the leading and guiding force of society.

Under the Communist Party's leadership, the Soviet working people have successfully coped with the supreme, constructive task implicit in the socialist revolution.

Drawing on the rich arsenal of means that the class struggle provides, utilising the well-apprehended laws governing social development, the historical initiative of the working class and the revolutionary creativity of the masses, and carrying forward the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary doctrine, the CPSU has proved up to the great tasks of the age.

As the CPSU Central Committee underlined in its Resolution of January 31, 1977, "On the 60th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution", "...The lessons of history show that the revolutionary party of the working class is a party which is guided by Marxist-Leninist theory which provides the sole correct orientation in the struggle for the triumph of the socialist revolution, in the building of the new society. It is a party which is closely linked with the masses, one whose entire activities and aspirations are aimed at the well-being of the working man. It is a party which rests on the principle of democratic centralism, high awareness and the same discipline for all. It is a party of proletarian internationalism."

The current period is characterised by the further growth in the Party's leading role in society, by its more vigorous theoretical, political and organising activities.

The greater leading role of the Communist Party and further improvement of the Soviet political system constitute a natural law of the building of socialism and communism and is ever more evident in the growing democracy of the political system.

The formation, functioning and development of the Soviet political system convincingly bear out the truth of the Marxist-Leninist teaching on the state and democracy.

The socialist state acting under the CPSU's guidance is the main instrument in the building of the new society.

In a multinational country like the Soviet Union, the Soviet state was also the main instrument in resolving one of the most difficult problems encountered in human history, the nationalities problem, as the political form for uniting the peoples of the whole country. In developed socialist society, the immediate task of the USSR as a unified multinational state is to consolidate further the efforts of the working people in all the Soviet republics for the purpose of building communism. The CPSU and the Soviet state ensure the concerted action and good organisation of the whole Soviet people in building the material and technical basis of communism, in steeply raising the level of social production and making it more efficient, and in utilising the results of the current scientific and technological revolution to promote social progress.

In the present conditions, the Soviet state emerges as a state of the whole people, an embodiment of the social unity of Soviet society. Simultaneously it expresses the unity, national alliance and fraternity of all peoples, large and small, inhabiting the Soviet Union. It is a state which, in Lenin's definition, rests on a truly democratic, truly internationalist basis.

The strength of the socialist state lies in its democracy and internationalism, in the stronger ties between all the working people in the country, whatever their nationality, and in extending the number of those taking part in the administration of society.

The broad involvement of the masses in government and in social and political activities is the main path followed by the Communist Party in improving the democracy of the Soviet political system. At the same time, it is the main way to perfect socialist statehood since the more working people conscientiously take part in government, the stronger the socialist state becomes.

The people's constant, ever-growing and decisive participation in state administration springs from the socio-economic nature of the Soviet system, from the very essence and character of the building of socialism and communism.

A prominent role is played by the Soviets, the political

foundation of the Soviet socialist state, in the people's many-sided constructive activities and their efforts to build communism. The Soviets carry on their diverse work in close co-operation with the trade unions, the Komsomol and other mass organisations of the people.

The optimal functioning of the socialist political system largely depends on socialist democracy, which reflects the people's moral and political unity and provides for a harmonious combination of the interests of the individual and the collective. The development of socialist democracy is determined by the whole course of Soviet society's economic, political and spiritual development. In mature socialist society, the CPSU is steadily effecting measures to perfect democratic institutions in every area of the life of society and the state. Every Soviet citizen is guaranteed the right to take part in discussing and deciding major problems of significance to the nation, republic, region, district, city or village. Apart from this, in their labour collectives Soviet citizens are daily involved in making decisions on a multiplicity of problems to do with the management of the establishments at which they are employed. Socialist democracy for the first time in history ensures the working people authentic social and political rights, individual freedom, active involvement in the country's political life, in managing the affairs of the state and society,

It must be noted that in socialist society the people's power does not boil down to the working people's participation in the work of the state bodies and in the exercise of state power generally. It is a characteristic feature of socialist democracy that the mass organisations of the people carry on extensive activities in administering the country. It is an expression of public self-government which is conceived simultaneously with the emergence of the socialist state, develops together with it, and must ultimately, after the full triumph of communism, supersede state power.

Nevertheless, before this happens, pre-eminence belongs to socialist rule, which is a political, class rule expressing the interests of the working class, the peasantry and the

people's intelligentsia. For all the significance of social self-government which naturally expresses the interests of the masses, socialist rule is the main form of the people's rule throughout the time socialism and communism are being built.

The problems of democracy are together with the problem of the political system of society as a whole giving rise to many discussions and disagreements. The relevance of this problem has become especially evident now that international détente has received a powerful impulse from the Helsinki Conference.

Bourgeois ideologists would measure socialist democracy with a bourgeois yardstick. We consider it important to draw an essential distinction between the approaches to the problem of democracy taken in the socialist and in the capitalist worlds.

Socialist democracy affords the working class and all working people an ample and real chance to participate actively in administering the affairs of the state and society, tackling economic, political and social problems. Socialist democracy presents a unity of rights and duties, genuine freedom and civil responsibility, a harmonious combination of the interests of society, the collective and the individual. It is becoming increasingly obvious that there is a close relation between socialist democracy and humanism. Socialist democracy guarantees the right to work, education, comfortable living, and free medical care and also guarantees political rights and liberties. This gives the working people a lasting sense of security and makes the socialist system and socialist democracy utterly different from the capitalist system and bourgeois democracy.

Democracy under socialism is not an end in itself but an effective instrument of progress and of the individual's all-round development. The objective need for the formation of the free man is rooted in the very nature of socialism. The further development and extension of socialist democracy are a necessary means towards the improvement of social, political, economic and cultural life, a way of drawing the working people to broad and vigorous par-

ticipation in social change. Socialist democracy is a natural feature of the development of socialism, the kind of political organisation most fitted to it.

The favourite trick of our ideological opponents and of propaganda-mongers in their attacks on socialism is to contrast the dictatorship of the proletariat and democracy. Opportunists and revisionists both on the right and "left", and right-wing Social-Democratic leaders seek to substitute formal legalistic yardsticks for class criteria, distorting the essence of socialist statehood.

Western writers often misrepresent the Soviet political system, socialist democracy, and civil rights and freedoms in the Soviet Union. The people who hold such mistaken notions are sometimes simply uninformed about what the political system of socialist society is, about how it works, and about what socialist democracy means. For this reason the author of the present book has set out to inform readers abroad about the workings of real socialism, of the Soviet political system, and of socialist democracy, about working people's rights and freedoms, the nature of the socialist social system, and the conditions in which the individual develops under socialism.

## Chapter I

# THE CPSU'S EXPERIENCE IN SHAPING THE POLITICAL SYSTEM OF SOCIALIST SOCIETY

### MARXISM-LENINISM ON THE POLITICAL PROBLEMS OF SOCIALIST AND COMMUNIST DEVELOPMENT

To approach political relations in a society from a materialist standpoint one must look at the links between economic, socio-political and ideological relations, classes and sections of society, politics and the state, power and law, and so on.

The founders of scientific communism, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, were the first to perform a genuine scientific analysis of political phenomena in society, subjecting to criticism the formal legalistic description of the external shape assumed by political relations, a description that had been current before.

Describing his work in that field, Marx wrote: "The first work which I undertook for the solution of the doubts which assailed me was a critical review of the Hegelian philosophy of right. . . . My investigation led to the result that legal relations as well as forms of state are to be grasped neither from themselves nor from the so-called general development of the human mind, but rather have their roots in the material conditions of life, the sum total of which Hegel, following the example of the Englishmen and Frenchmen of the eighteenth century, combines under the name of 'civil society', that, however, the anatomy of civil society is to be sought in political economy."<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works* in three volumes, Vol. 1, Moscow, 1973, p. 503.

One of the most important theoretical deductions made by Marx and Engels is that the state, law and politics are decisively influenced by the mode of production. Here is how Marx describes the relation of basis and superstructure in *Capital*: "It is always the direct relationship of the owners of the conditions of production to the direct producers—a relation always naturally corresponding to a definite stage in the development of the methods of labour and thereby its social productivity—which reveals the innermost secret, the hidden basis of the entire social structure, and with it the political form of the relation of sovereignty and dependence, in short, the corresponding specific form of the state."<sup>1</sup>

Marx and Engels stressed that the relation of the basis and superstructure is not one-sided and that the latter exerts an essential influence on all aspects of the life of society. Engels pointed out that the production and reproduction of material life, from a materialist view of history, is a determining factor only in the long run. "More than this neither Marx nor I have ever asserted," he wrote. "Hence if somebody twists this into saying that the economic element is the *only* determining one, he transforms that proposition into a meaningless, abstract, senseless phrase. The economic situation is the basis, but the various elements of the superstructure—political forms of the class struggle and its results, to wit: constitutions established by the victorious class after a successful battle, etc., juridical forms, and even the reflexes of all these actual struggles in the brains of the participants, political, juristic, philosophical theories, religious views and their further development into systems of dogmas—also exercise their influence upon the course of the historical struggles and in many cases preponderate in determining their *form*."<sup>2</sup>

"It is not," he explained, "that the economic situation is *cause, solely active*, while everything else is only passive

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<sup>1</sup> Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. 3, Moscow, 1974, p. 791.

<sup>2</sup> Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works* in three volumes, Vol. 3, Moscow, 1973, p. 487.

effect. There is, rather, interaction on the basis of economic necessity, which ultimately always asserts itself."<sup>1</sup>

In building socialism and communism complex revolutionary social changes are carried out. They, however, do not occur spontaneously but are effected consciously by people who have grasped the laws governing the development of society. Only the people's political vanguard, the Communist Party, can unite the efforts of millions to build a new society and to carry on this giant work in a scientific and plan-regulated fashion.

The CPSU combines its unremitting overall work for the improvement of the Soviet system with the further development of socialist democracy, giving an ever greater role in it to the Soviets of Working People's Deputies and mass organisations of the people.

The development of socialist democracy is also one of the main subjects in the scientific elaboration of the socialist political system.

The theory of classes and the class struggle evolved by Marx and Engels is crucial not only to the scientific substantiation of the necessity of socialism, but also to finding the path to socialism. In particular, this theory is essential to finding scientific solutions to the political problems involved in building a new society. Marx and Engels discovered the cardinal law of the historical progress of class societies that "all historical struggles, whether they proceed in the political, religious, philosophical or some other ideological domain, are in fact only the more or less clear expression of struggles of social classes, and that the existence and thereby the collisions, too, between these classes are in turn conditioned by the degree of development of their economic position, by the mode of their production and of their exchange determined by it."<sup>2</sup>

In Marx's words, the novelties he brought to the understanding of the class struggle were "to prove:

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<sup>1</sup> Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works* in three volumes, Vol. 3, Moscow, 1973, p. 502.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, pp. 396-97.

1. that the *existence of classes* is only bound up with *particular historical phases in the development of production*,

2. that the class struggle necessarily leads to *the dictatorship of the proletariat*,

3. that this dictatorship itself only constitutes the transition to the *abolition of all classes* and to a *classless society*. . . ."<sup>1</sup>

In proving the need for the proletariat to win political power in order to build a new society, Marx and Engels wrote: "The proletariat will use its political supremacy to wrest, by degrees, all capital from the bourgeoisie, to centralise all instruments of production in the hands of the State, i.e., of the proletariat organised as the ruling class; and to increase the total of productive forces as rapidly as possible."<sup>2</sup>

In reply to the apologists of capitalism who allege that the dictatorship of the proletariat is against the rule of law, democracy, freedom and humanity, Marx and Engels showed that the destruction of the old régime and the expropriation of the exploiting classes were a historical and legitimate necessity. Marx wrote: "Force is the midwife of every old society pregnant with a new one. It is itself an economic power."<sup>3</sup>

This definition reveals the typically dialectical approach of the founders of Marxism to the whole question of force. Describing force as a corollary of urgent economic and social needs, it is simultaneously marked by an awareness of the historical limits within which force can be applied. Marx's doctrine is the basis of the uncompromising attitude of Communists both to collaborationist parties and to the tendency to exaggerate the role of force, of the political superstructure, and of the subjective principle in the making of history.

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<sup>1</sup> Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works* in three volumes, Vol. 1, Moscow, 1973, p. 528.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 126.

<sup>3</sup> Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. 1, Moscow, 1974, p. 703.

That the revolutionary struggle waged by the masses against capitalism was historically warranted and natural was to be proved in changed conditions by Lenin. In his *Two Tactics of Social Democracy in the Democratic Revolution* Lenin wrote: "The reactionary classes themselves are usually the first to resort to violence, to civil war; they are the first to 'place the bayonet on the agenda', as the Russian autocracy has systematically and unswervingly been doing everywhere ever since January 9. And since such a situation has arisen, since the bayonet has really become the main point on the political agenda, since insurrection has proved imperative and urgent—constitutional illusions and school exercises in parliamentarianism become merely a screen for the bourgeois betrayal of the revolution, a screen to conceal the fact that the bourgeoisie is 'recoiling' from the revolution. It is precisely the slogan of dictatorship that the genuinely revolutionary class must advance, in that case."<sup>1</sup>

Lenin developed the Marxist doctrine of the dictatorship of the proletariat and comprehensively substantiated the historic mission, role and significance of proletarian dictatorship during the transition from capitalism to socialism. The dictatorship is needed above all to abolish private ownership and the exploitation of man, to smash the old state machine of coercion, suppression and oppression of the people, to crush the overthrown exploiting classes' resistance, to hand over to the working people the main means of production, and to protect the revolutionary gains from their enemies at home and abroad.

But above all the dictatorship of the proletariat is called upon to set up a socialist economy and introduce a new, socialist pattern of relations in society as well as to educate the people in a socialist spirit and to take charge of social development. The new historical type of dictatorship permits the working people to counter the capitalists' strength, contacts and experience in state administration and the capitalist private-owner ideology and mental-

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<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 9, p. 132.

ity by the force of proletarian convictions, awareness, organisation and discipline.

Lenin repeatedly stressed the idea that the dictatorship of the proletariat was a continuation of the working-class struggle by new means. He wrote that the state was merely an instrument in the class struggle of the proletariat, and that the socialist state is therefore "democratic in a new way (for the proletariat and the propertyless in general) and dictatorial in a new way (against the bourgeoisie)".<sup>1</sup>

Marx and Engels not only explained in their works the basic laws governing the emergence and development of the working class both as the major productive force and decisive element in the social make-up of society but also gave an all-round substantiation of its historic mission as the grave-digger of capitalism and architect of a new, socialist society. They saw the eventual emergence of the revolutionary party of the proletariat as a natural and inevitable result of the development of the working class and the capitalist system at large.

Summing up the lessons of the 1848 revolutions, the Paris Commune and the First International, Marx particularly stressed the vital need for the working class to have genuinely revolutionary parties. "The political movement of the working class," he wrote, "has as its ultimate object, of course, the conquest of political power for this class, and this naturally requires a previous organisation of the working class. . . . Otherwise it remains a plaything in their [the ruling classes'.-Ed.] hands. . . ."<sup>2</sup>

As socialism is built, the political awareness of the working class continually increases. But not all members of the working class comprehend equally the dialectics of the life of society and the class struggle. The working class must be led by its vanguard which formulates the interests of the class and has a clear conception of the social processes developing in each country and the world at large.

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<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, p. 412.

<sup>2</sup> Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works* in three volumes, Vol. 2, Moscow, 1973, pp. 423, 424.

Socialist reforms are pursued in the interest of the working people. Not all of them, however, become immediately aware of it. Many would be glad to support change but lack the initiative. There must be a party to furnish a sound programme and lead the masses, the more so as the resistance of hostile forces or groups showing a dislike of the socialist system is felt for a long time after popular power is established.

The transition to socialism is impossible without the dictatorship of the proletariat. This proposition of Marxism-Leninism is borne out by the history of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. It is therefore an objective law to which the transition from capitalism to socialism is subject.

The Communist League founded by Marx and Engels in 1847 was the first international communist organisation in the history of revolutionary struggles, a proletarian party in embryo. Describing the revolutionary party of the working class as its foremost guiding force and the supreme form of class organisation, Marx and Engels wrote: "The Communists . . . are . . . practically, the most advanced and resolute section of the working-class parties of every country, that section which pushes forward all others; theoretically, they have over the great mass of the proletariat the advantage of clearly understanding the line of march, the conditions, and the ultimate general results of the proletarian movement."<sup>1</sup>

The leaders of the revolutionary proletariat stressed that ideological unity and cohesion were the source of the fighting capacity of the proletarian party. They worked out the Rules of the Communist League which was the first document setting out the basic principles of party development—the binding nature of the Rules and Programme, the subordination of the minority to the majority, rigorous discipline combined with broad democracy within the party, and respect of each member's rights. Marx and Engels

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<sup>1</sup> Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 6, Moscow, 1976, p. 497.

disproved the idealist theory alleging that history was made by individual heroic personalities and firmly spoke in support of collective leadership.

The Rules mentioned for the first time what was in effect the principle of democratic centralism. It was stated that all officials and committees were subject to election, the lower bodies being subordinate to the superior ones and rigorous party discipline being imposed.

Lenin continued the scientific analysis of the development of the working class and its revolutionary vanguard under capitalism. In substantiating the working-class guiding role in the socialist revolution, Lenin pointed out that the revolutionary people comprised different classes and groups of society among which there was a "definite historical class, created, organised, united, trained, educated and hardened by large-scale capitalism. This class is the proletariat."<sup>1</sup>

Lenin called attention to the fact that the dictatorship of the bulk of the people "is the dictatorship of the *revolutionary* people. Why only of the revolutionary, and not of the whole people? Because among the whole people . . . there are some who are physically cowed and terrified; there are some who are morally degraded by the 'resist not evil' theory, for example, or simply degraded not by theory, but by prejudice, habit, routine; and there are indifferent people, whom we call philistines, petty-bourgeois people who are more inclined to hold aloof from intense struggle, to pass by or even to hide themselves (for fear of getting mixed up in the fight and getting hurt). That is why the dictatorship is exercised, not by the whole people, but by the revolutionary people who, however, do not shun the whole people, who explain to all the people the motives of their actions in all their details, and willingly enlist the *whole* people not only in 'administering' the state, but in governing it too, and indeed in organising the state."<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, p. 420.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. 10, p. 247.

The dictatorship of the proletariat is necessary, in Lenin's view, because "only a definite class, namely, the urban workers and the factory, industrial workers in general, is able to lead the whole mass of the working and exploited people in the struggle to throw off the yoke of capital, in actually carrying it out, in the struggle to maintain and consolidate the victory, in the work of creating the new, socialist social system and in the entire struggle for the complete abolition of classes."<sup>1</sup>

To expect all the working people without exception to be able to effect these tasks straight away would be, Lenin said, an empty phrase or illusion such as an antedeluvian, pre-Marxian socialist could have indulged in, as this ability is not received but must in the course of history spring from the material conditions of large-scale capitalist production. Only the proletariat has this ability at the beginning of the road from capitalism to socialism, first, because it is the strongest and most advanced class in civilised society; second, because it makes up the bulk of the population in the industrialised countries; and third, because in the less developed capitalist countries the bulk of the population is semi-proletarian.

Developing the strategy and tactics of the working-class revolutionary struggle, Marx and Engels paid much attention to the allies of the working class. They considered it necessary for there to be a firm alliance between the proletariat and broad sections of the working people, the peasants in the first place, at all stages of the revolutionary struggle. In his *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* Marx wrote that the "peasants find their natural ally and leader in the *urban proletariat*, whose task is the overthrow of the bourgeois order".<sup>2</sup> The peasants who are similarly exploited and oppressed under capitalism are the proletariat's closest ally.

Lenin carried forward the theoretical conclusions on the need to combine the proletarian revolution with the rev-

<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, p. 420.

<sup>2</sup> Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works* in three volumes, Vol. 1, p. 482.

olutionary movement among the peasants, drawn by Marx and Engels, and exposed the opportunists' counter-revolutionary attempts to oppose the peasants to the proletariat. "The supreme principle of the dictatorship," he stressed, "is the maintenance of the alliance between the proletariat and the peasantry in order that the proletariat may retain its leading role and its political power."<sup>1</sup>

The theory of the state worked out by Marx, Engels and Lenin is an important starting point of the theory of the socialist revolution and the means of rebuilding society on communist lines. It was the first exposition of the social nature of the state, explaining the laws by which its development was governed as socio-economic formations succeeded one another and stating its purposes and functions and its role in class society.

The founders of Marxism-Leninism disclosed the transitory nature of the state. It emerged from the division of society into classes and was a machine for coercion applied by the ruling class to keep down its opponents. "Political power, properly so called, is merely the organised power of one class for oppressing another,"<sup>2</sup> wrote Marx and Engels in the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*. The dialectics of the development of the state is such that while it is by origin a system which "involves both the performance of common activities arising from the nature of all communities, and the specific functions arising from the antithesis between the government and the mass of the people,"<sup>3</sup> when power passes into the hands of the proletariat, it turns into a form of organisation of "common activities" which tends to surmount all class distinctions, achieve social uniformity, improve democracy and the mechanism of social regulation, and so on. In a word, it tends not only towards the withering away of the coercive function but towards the withering away of the state in general, turning into a communist self-government.

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<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 32, p. 490.

<sup>2</sup> Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 6, p. 505.

<sup>3</sup> Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. 3, Moscow, 1974, p. 384.

But, Marx wrote, "between capitalist and communist society lies the period of the revolutionary transformation of the one into the other, corresponding to this is also a political transition period in which the state can be nothing but *the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat*".<sup>1</sup> And "the first step in the revolution by the working class is to raise the proletariat to the position of ruling class, to win the battle of democracy".<sup>2</sup>

The founders of Marxism invariably stressed that while carrying out the immediate economic and political tasks of the working class one must never forget the ultimate aims of the movement. This combination of the immediate and ultimate political objectives has been given its classic expression in the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*: "If the proletariat during its contest with the bourgeoisie is compelled, by the force of circumstances, to organise itself as a class, if, by means of a revolution, it makes itself the ruling class, and, as such, sweeps away by force the old conditions of production, then it will, along with these conditions, have swept away the conditions for the existence of class antagonisms and of classes generally, and will thereby have abolished its own supremacy as a class."<sup>3</sup>

Marx and Engels had to defend the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat, of the proletarian state, in an unremitting struggle against all sorts of anarchist theories such as those of Stirner, Proudhon, Bakunin and others who denied the necessity of a proletarian state system.

Lenin made an outstanding contribution to the Marxist theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the state and proletarian democracy.

He developed and gave tangibility to the Marxist theory of the state, of the need to smash the old state and build a new one.

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<sup>1</sup> Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works* in three volumes, Vol. 3, p. 26.

<sup>2</sup> Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 6, p. 504.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 505-06.

Lenin also had to fight the anarchists to defend the Marxist idea that it was necessary to establish a proletarian state. He wrote: "The theory of the class struggle, applied by Marx to the question of the state and the socialist revolution, leads as a matter of course to the recognition of the *political rule* of the proletariat. . . .

"The proletariat needs state power, a centralised organisation of force, an organisation of violence, both to crush the resistance of the exploiters and to *lead* the enormous mass of the population—the peasants, the petty bourgeoisie, and semi-proletarians—in the work of organising a socialist economy."<sup>1</sup>

The founders of Marxism-Leninism substantiated the cardinal ideas of the dictatorship of the proletariat as a new type of democracy.

To be able to judge objectively whether or not there are democratic rights and freedoms in a society, as well as to judge the nature and the extent of the development of democratic forms, they wrote, one must view them first of all within the system of actual relations between classes in a society at a given stage. "From the point of view of the proletariat," Lenin wrote, "the question can be put only in the following way: freedom from oppression by which class? equality of which class with which? democracy based on private property, or on a struggle for the abolition of private property?—and so forth."<sup>2</sup>

The purpose of democracy as a form of the organisation and functioning of a socio-political system depends on the nature of power, on the dictatorship of a certain class (or classes), on the aims, purposes and functions of power. In order to understand correctly the essence of socialist democracy, its relation to the dictatorship of the proletariat must be explained. The proletariat uses proletarian democracy in order to ensure the triumph of socialism and pave the way for the gradual disappearance of the state.

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<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, p. 404.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. 30, p. 117.

As far back as 1916, Lenin wrote this about the relation between socialism and democracy: "...Socialism is impossible without democracy because: (1) the proletariat cannot perform the socialist revolution unless it prepares for it by the struggle for democracy; (2) victorious socialism cannot consolidate its victory and bring humanity to the withering away of the state without implementing full democracy."<sup>1</sup>

Contrasting the dictatorship of the proletariat with democracy is an argument the critics of Marxism often use when they attack socialism. This is to put the question the wrong way round as there is a fundamental distinction between the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, of which bourgeois democracy is a form and the government of working people led by the working class, which is the dictatorship of the proletariat in one democratic form or another.

Socialist democracy supersedes bourgeois democracy and differs essentially from the latter. It has entirely different aims and forms. This democracy is of a new, superior kind, unparalleled in human history. It is, for the first time ever, democracy for the majority of the people. In this sense, proletarian democracy is an abrupt transition, a leap, from truncated bourgeois democracy, accessible merely to the upper sections of society, to the actual participation of the masses in their millions in running the state—which is what democracy is really about.

Bourgeois democracy is nothing but the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie over the working class and other toiling people. History shows that the dictatorship of the proletariat can exist, function and develop only by democracy, by the involvement of the broadest sections of the people in government.

Explaining the distinction between socialist and bourgeois democracy, Lenin wrote: "Democracy for the vast majority of the people, and suppression by force, i.e.,

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<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 23, p. 74.

exclusion from democracy, of the exploiters and oppressors of the people—this is the change democracy undergoes during the *transition* from capitalism to communism."<sup>1</sup> Without the victorious socialist revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat it would have been impossible to work cardinal, far-reaching changes in democracy during the transition from capitalism to socialism. Lenin cautioned: "It would be sheer nonsense to think that the most profound revolution in human history, the first case in the world of power being transferred from the exploiting minority to the exploited majority, could take place within the time-worn framework of the old, bourgeois, parliamentary democracy, without drastic changes, without the creation of new forms of democracy, new institutions that embody the new conditions for applying democracy, etc."<sup>2</sup>

Proceeding from this point, one must stress that it is not separate features of democracy, attractive as they may look, that indicate its level. The social value of democracy depends, above all, on its essence, direction, purpose and the extent to which it can be exercised. Only when we know these basic characteristics of democracy can we disclose the genuine nature of a given socio-economic formation, reducing its external, obvious aspects to its intrinsic nature.

In criticising the theory of "pure", extra-historical democracy, abstracted from the relations of ownership and the class struggle, Lenin underlined its class essence. He wrote: "It is natural for a liberal to speak of 'democracy' in general; but a Marxist will never forget to ask: 'for what class?'"<sup>3</sup> And further: "If we are not to mock at common sense and history, it is obvious that we cannot speak of 'pure democracy' as long as different *classes* exist; we can only speak of *class* democracy. (Let us say in parenthesis that 'pure democracy' is not only an *igno-*

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<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, p. 462.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. 28, p. 464.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 235.

*rant* phrase, revealing a lack of understanding both of the class struggle and of the nature of the state, but also a thrice-empty phrase, since in communist society democracy will *wither away* in the process of changing and becoming a habit, but will never be 'pure' democracy.)"<sup>1</sup>

The Leninist principles of democracy in the exercise of political authority have been comprehensively developed in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. On the basis of decisions taken by the CPSU and the Communist and Workers' Parties in the socialist countries and under their guidance important measures are introduced to make the working people more socially and politically active, increase their role in the management of society, build up contacts between socialist states and the masses, and enhance the role and efficiency of social organisations.

Unlike bourgeois democracy, socialist democracy has never been curtailed or incomplete for the working people. It has always granted them as many rights and freedoms as are objectively possible under the given historical circumstances. The consistent democracy of the socialist social and state systems is derived from the fact that it provides genuine economic, political and organisational guarantees of active participation in the political life first of the majority and next of the whole people, i.e., it ensures genuine popular rule.

Lenin developed the Marxist principles of the organisation and performance of the socialist political system.

Leninism is a new and higher stage of Marxism, its creative continuation in the changed historical conditions of imperialism and proletarian revolutions, of mankind's transition from capitalism to socialism and communism.

Leninism reflects the continuity of the theory and practice of the revolutionary working-class struggle. Lenin's development of Marxism was based on the substance and method of the doctrine of Marx and Engels.

Lenin armed the Communist Party and the working

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<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 28, p. 242.

class ideologically in their struggle to overthrow capitalist domination and win political power. Lenin's theory of the socialist revolution is a major contribution to scientific communism.

To ensure the triumph of the socialist revolution, it was necessary to determine the attitude to be taken towards the state by the working class and its revolutionary party. This was why Lenin paid so much attention to the scientific examination of this all-important theoretical and practical political problem. He indefatigably promoted the idea that the question of state power was central to every revolution.

As early as April 1917, soon after his return to Russia, Lenin wrote in his *Letters on Tactics*: "The passing of state power from one *class* to another is the first, the principal, the basic sign of a *revolution*, both in the strictly scientific and in the practical political meaning of that term."<sup>1</sup> His article *The Dual Power* (April 1917) stressed that the "basic question of every revolution is that of state power. Unless this question is understood, there can be no intelligent participation in the revolution. . . ."<sup>2</sup> His article *On Slogans*, written in mid-July 1917, reminds: "Let us not forget that the issue of power is the fundamental issue of every revolution."<sup>3</sup> In the article *One of the Fundamental Questions of the Revolution* Lenin again stressed: "The key question of every revolution is undoubtedly the question of state power. Which class holds power decides everything."<sup>4</sup>

Fighting the opportunist distortions of the Marxist theory of state, Lenin laid bare the essence of the bourgeois state. He examined the distinctive features of the imperialist state and its role as the instrument of monopoly capital domination. He showed that the working class and its revolutionary party must use bourgeois

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<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 24, p. 44.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 38.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. 25, p. 183.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 366.

democratic institutions to fight the monopolies and protect the working people's interests. He proved that the bourgeois state machine must be smashed in the course of the socialist revolution and a dictatorship of the proletariat established in order to abolish exploiting classes and to build socialism. He outlined the main tasks which the state had to fulfil under the dictatorship of the proletariat and examined the question of the two phases of communism and the prerequisites for the withering away of the socialist state.

Lenin proved the unsoundness of the assertions made by petty-bourgeois ideologists who considered the state to be an instrument of class conciliation. He exposed Kautsky and other opportunists who glossed over the need to smash the bourgeois state machine so as to emancipate the working class and assure victory to the socialist revolution. He also disproved the reformists' assertions that state-monopoly capitalism can be transformed into socialism without a socialist revolution or a working-class dictatorship.<sup>1</sup>

Lenin developed further the methods to be applied in subjecting a political system to materialist analysis.

Lenin linked specific features of the socialist state with the changed character of production and the relations of production. After the means of production have passed into public ownership, he noted, a state must be established "which, while safeguarding the common ownership of the means of production, would safeguard equality in labour and in the distribution of products".<sup>2</sup>

Turning to Marx's logical conception of the dependence of the functions of the state on concrete historical circumstances, Lenin wrote: "In smashing Lassalle's petty-bourgeois, vague phrases about 'equality' and 'justice' *in general*, Marx shows the *course of development* of communist society, which is *compelled* to abolish at

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<sup>1</sup> See V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, p. 443.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 467.

first *only* the 'injustice' of the means of production seized by individuals, and which is *unable* at once to eliminate the other injustice, which consists in distribution of consumer goods 'according to the amount of labour performed' (and not according to needs).<sup>1</sup>

Until the higher phase of communism has set in, he continued, the need remains for the "*strictest* control by society and *by the state* over the measure of labour and the measure of consumption. . . ."<sup>2</sup>

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union has made priceless theoretical and ideological contributions to Marxism-Leninism. Three Party programmes, Party rules, decisions of Party congresses, conferences and plenary sessions of the Central Committee of the Party, which generalise the experience gained by the Party and people, are part of the treasure-house of Marxist science.

As a result of the far-reaching social and economic changes effected by the Soviet people led by the CPSU, a developed socialist society has been built in the USSR.

The CPSU Programme states that socialism having triumphed in the Soviet Union completely and finally, the immediate task of the Soviet people is presently the building of a communist society.

The Soviet Union now has a technologically advanced economic system both in town and country. All classes and social groups are drawing closer together and Soviet society is becoming more and more uniform socially as essential distinctions are eroded between workers by hand and by brain, in industry and in agriculture. The state of the dictatorship of the proletariat has fulfilled its historic mission and has gradually grown into a socialist state of the whole people in which socialist democracy is developing further.

This opens new horizons in the building of the material and technological base of communism and in the social and intellectual advancement of society. As Soviet society

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<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, p. 466.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 470.

is moving towards communism, the tasks of its constructive work multiply and its scope increases, the political awareness and activity of the masses grow, and the Communist Party comes to play an ever greater part in every sphere of society's life while its theoretical work expands and deepens.

CPSU congresses are prominent events for the Party and the entire Soviet people. The 23rd, 24th and 25th CPSU congresses have charted lucid political guidelines for communist construction at the present stage, supplied a comprehensive scientific description of developed socialism, analysed the socialist society already built in the Soviet Union on the strength of the rich historical experience amassed by the CPSU, and substantiated the ways and means of making the transition to communism.

Generalising the vast practical experience of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, the CPSU disclosed the basic features and motive forces of socialist society and carried forward and expressed in specific terms the Marxist-Leninist propositions on the economic and cultural growth of socialist society, on changes in the class pattern and the methods of surmounting class distinctions as well as on the socialist state system and on democracy, and the tasks and conditions of socialism's gradual development into communism. The CPSU also carried forward Lenin's idea that social progress is closely linked with progress in science and technology and that the building of a communist society implies a restructuring of the national economy and everyday life using the latest scientific and technological achievements combined with the socialist relations of production and socialist democracy. It made a scientific exposition of the social pattern of developed socialist society, charted and substantiated the Party's political line for further enhancing the unity of Soviet society and for augmenting its social uniformity and perfecting its political organisation. The documents adopted by CPSU congresses and decisions of its Central Committee have extended and carried forward the propositions of scientific communism on the leading role of

the working class and the consolidation of its alliance with the peasants; on the gradual drawing together of the classes and social groups and peoples of different nationalities; on surmounting distinctions between and within classes; and on the all-round promotion of socialist democracy and the consolidation on this basis of the state of the whole people in the course of full-scale communist construction. The Party emphasises that the state of the whole people carries on the cause of the dictatorship of the proletariat which it succeeds, and that it is another stage in the development of socialist democracy as it becomes a political organisation of the whole people.

Following Lenin's formula that "for the state to wither away completely, complete communism is necessary",<sup>1</sup> the Party considers that in present-day conditions it is still too early to speak of the withering away of the state and the transfer of its functions to mass organisations. It holds that so far the socialist state of the whole people must be strengthened rather than weakened and that this can be achieved by the all-round development of socialist democracy. When working out its political line, the Party's starting point is that communism is built by the most democratic methods, by giving the masses an active role in the administration of society.

The Party is continually improving and promoting democracy not only in politics but also in the economy and management of production—in a word, in every area directly related to the working people's daily needs and interests.

A most important question of the further socio-political development of the Soviet Union has been resolved. We mean the adoption of the new Constitution of the USSR which reflects the changes that have occurred in the country since the adoption of the 1936 Constitution and the tasks Soviet society faces in present-day conditions.

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<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, p. 468.

The new Constitution reflects the great gains of socialism and also states, in addition to the general principles of the socialist system, the main features of the political organisation of developed socialist society.

### THE ESTABLISHMENT AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE SOVIET POLITICAL SYSTEM. THE GUIDING ROLE OF THE CPSU

The political organisation of society is a system of state and public bodies each interacting with others in the performance of its own political functions in its own way.

The ruling class exerts its dictatorship using both governmental and non-governmental political bodies composed of its representatives and acting in the same direction as the state. Hence, every state is closely linked with the bodies with which it co-operates in implementing its tasks and assuring the dictatorship of the ruling class.

In exploitative societies, the political organisation lacks unity and is marked by insoluble contradictions.

In the socialist society, political agencies and bodies—the state and working people's mass political organisations—express, protect, serve the interests, and carry out the will of the whole people. Their activities pursue a single aim, that of building socialism and communism. Hence there neither are nor can there be any antagonisms between the state and mass organisations in socialist society, they act jointly and in co-ordination with one another. This, however, does not mean that mass organisations are "institutionalised" under socialism. The socialist state is the chief instrument for the building of communism.

The political system of Soviet society did not spring up overnight. It does not stay unchanged either. With the development of the productive forces and social relations, the social base of the state becomes broader and stronger,

the Party's role and its contact with the masses increase, and the forms and methods of social regulation are improved.

The development of the Soviet state into an organisation expressing the interests of the whole people with the working class in the leading role implies the further progress of the political organisation of socialist society. The Communist Party, which is the nerve centre of all state and social organisations, directs the people's constructive and creative work through a system of what Lenin called "drives" and "levers", i.e., Soviets, trade unions, co-operatives, the Young Communist League (Komsomol) and other mass organisations.

The structural unification of political bodies and institutions into an integral organisation, their mutual ties and relations, and the leading and directing role the CPSU has in this organisation all produce a political system that ensures the integration of the aims and methods of all the components of the single political organism.

At this point we must note that all areas of the life of society should be regarded in terms of their close interrelation and interaction. The political system performs vital functions of social development, penetrating into all other areas of the life of society and affecting the solution not only of political but also of economic and other problems. Another distinctive feature of the political system is that it has a system of communications connecting it with other areas of the life of society. The Soviet literature also usually says of the political system that it enjoys a monopoly of administrative compulsion on a national scale for which it has a special machinery. This specific feature of the political system may only be accepted with the important reservation that it does not refer to every part of a given system but merely to its main part, the state.

To describe the political organisation of a society, it should be categorised as a "system" as this adequately reflects its nature and its structural and functional ties and relations.

Questions of socialist democracy are sometimes given a one-sided treatment in Soviet scholarly writings.

Thus, it is argued that the question of democracy is a part of the question of the state, of political power. No doubt, it is an essential quality of democracy that it is a political category and has to do, among other things, with the state. Even so, democracy embraces the whole of society's political organisation, not the state alone. Furthermore, it penetrates also other areas of the life of society, viz., economics, culture, science, the arts, and so on. Therefore, there is every reason to say that democracy is not only a form of the organisation of power, state administration and state structure but also a principle, method, and process of the existence and operation of a socio-political system.

On the subject of the further democratisation of society some theoreticians maintain that it can be achieved solely through the promotion of mass organisations of the people which are, as self-controlled institutions of the future communist society, to replace the present state bodies. These theoreticians also fail to take due account of the fact that this process is linked with the development of other economic, political, social and cultural institutions.

Of course, democratisation in the different areas of the life of society depends on its economic life and on the political maturity and educational and cultural standards of its members. Every step towards the democratisation of this or that institution presupposes not only the presence of appropriate material guarantees, but also of higher levels of awareness, discipline, etc.

Simultaneously, democratisation, when it touches on the political, economic, social and intellectual spheres of society, manifests itself differently in each sphere, but always in terms of interrelation and interdependence.

A major factor in strengthening socialist society and scoring fresh successes in building communism, socialist democracy develops and improves as socialist social relations are consolidated. This process takes place invariably under the guidance of the Marxist-Leninist Party.

The progress of socialist democracy is influenced most beneficially by the thoroughly democratic nature of Party life, by the Party's methods of working out its political line and its major decisions, and by the style of Party leadership. Insisting on strict observance of all the principles of Party democracy, the Party sets an example of genuine democracy.

Addressing an election meeting in the Bauman electoral district of Moscow on June 14, 1974, Leonid Brezhnev said, "Genuine democracy permeates all spheres of our society, effectively ensuring both the interests and rights of the entire people and the interests and the rights of each citizen. Our Leninist Party is the chief vehicle of the principles of socialist democracy, the guarantor of its progressive development."<sup>1</sup>

The recognition of the Party's guiding and directing role among state and social organisations of working people is the idea underlying Lenin's doctrine of the system of socialist democracy.

The Communist Party is the vanguard of the working class and the people at large and the nerve centre of all state and social bodies. It unites and co-ordinates the efforts of numerous people's organisations, subordinating the former to the common tasks of the building of communism.

Drawing on revolutionary theory and using the objective laws governing the development of society, the Communist Party works out and pursues policies in the economic, social, cultural and educational areas. The CPSU provides scientific guidance and regulates social processes on the basis of Marxist-Leninist theory which it applies and develops in a creative fashion.

If the economic basis and social superstructure of society are objective factors presupposing the intrinsic unity of the entire political system of socialism, the directing and guiding role of the Communist Party is the key subjective factor that invests the entire political organisation

<sup>1</sup> L. I. Brezhnev, *Following Lenin's Course*, Moscow, 1975, p. 446.

with intrinsic unity, making possible an all-round expansion of socialist democracy. Lenin wrote: "...we can administer only when we express correctly what the people are conscious of."<sup>1</sup>

The guidance of society by the Marxist-Leninist Party is the supreme expression of the democratic character of the socialist system and a decisive condition for the further all-round development of socialist democracy.

The Communist Party is the highest and most advanced form of working-class organisation. Lenin wrote: "...only the political party of the working class, i.e., the Communist Party, is capable of uniting, training and organising a vanguard of the proletariat and of the whole mass of the working people that alone will be capable of withstanding the inevitable petty-bourgeois vacillations of this mass and the inevitable traditions and relapses of narrow craft unionism or craft prejudices among the proletariat, and of guiding all the united activities of the whole of the proletariat, i.e., of leading it politically, and through it, the whole mass of the working people."<sup>2</sup>

Lenin analysed in depth the conditions of the emancipation struggle of the working class and the prerequisites for the establishment of a new social system with reference to the modern period of history. Lenin's teachings on the Party reflect the indisputable fact that the historic mission and revolutionary activities of the Communist Party and the guiding role it plays in the process of social change constitute a natural objective feature of the period of transition from socialism to communism.

The leading role played by the Communist Party in the system of socialist democracy stems above all from its strong ties with the working people. As it expresses the fundamental interests of all classes and sections of socialist society, the Party is the main uniting and cementing force, the vanguard of the whole people, for it consists of the most progressive, the most aware and politically

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<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 304.

<sup>2</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 32, p. 246.

active representatives of the working class and all toiling people. The vanguard alone, said Lenin, can lead the entire country.

The guiding and directing role of the Communist Party is clearly seen in everything Soviet society does. At the basis of the Party's diverse organisational and political activities is a scientific Marxist-Leninist approach to the analysis of the social processes and specific tasks peculiar to each stage of society's development. Historical experience shows that by unswervingly following the scientific precepts of Marxism-Leninism, the Party successfully tackled the hardest of problems and overcame all obstacles.

In 1973, the 70th anniversary of the Second Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party was celebrated in the Soviet Union. Over that period the Party developed from a small underground organisation into the millions-strong ruling party of the first socialist state in history, a militant political vanguard of the mighty Soviet working class and all Soviet working people who are building communism. The CPSU enjoys wide recognition and prestige in the international communist and workers' movement and among all progressive forces around the world.

The CPSU maintains the continuity of the general line which it has defended in an uncompromising struggle against Trotskyism, petty-bourgeois adventurism, Right opportunism, nationalism and other anti-Leninist trends and factions.

Loyalty to Marxism-Leninism, the creative development of theory on the basis of experience, the struggle against bourgeois ideology and revisionism and for the triumph of communist ideals all enable the Party to perform successfully its historic role of leader of the socialist political system.

The Party is closely linked with the people and enjoys their respect and support earned by its dedicated struggle for their interests and by its correct political line. The Party's duty, as it sees it, is "to lead the masses and not

merely to reflect the average political level of the masses".<sup>1</sup>

In its activities the Communist Party combines scientific theory with vast organisational experience. As the role of the CPSU increases, the forms and methods of Party guidance have to be constantly improved.

Party guidance is effected along three main related directions: political, ideological and organisational.

The main directions of the political and organisational guidance given by the Party are to elaborate the general policy line, see that it corresponds to current policies, and select and place cadres.

Ideological guidance consists above all of the communist education of the people. This complex activity involves a range of directions, such as the inculcation of patriotism and internationalism, of a communist attitude to work, of the team spirit, of social and political involvement, of the communist moral code, and so on.

The Party's close contact with the masses is ensured by the whole system of state and social bodies. Constant contact between the Party, state organs and different contingents of the working people is of paramount importance to the unification of all classes and sections of society.

The CPSU's leading role in the Soviet political system springs also from the democratic character of its own structure and work. Democratic centralism is the underlying principle of the Party's organisation. One Programme and single Rules; one sovereign leading body—the Party Congress and its Central Committee in the interval between congresses; one discipline equally obligatory for all members, subordination of the minority to the majority; subordination of individual branches to the Party congress and of inferior to superior branches—such are the main ways in which the principle of democratic centralism is realised. All major problems arising in Party branches and executive bodies are solved by collective

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<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 26, p. 324.

discussion. Criticism and self-criticism, especially criticism from the Party rank-and-file, are indispensable to the correct realisation of democratic centralism.

The CPSU is a ruling party. It rules by persuasion, example and propagation of all that is advanced and progressive. The Party guides society and the state through its branches, through Communists who are in the midst of the masses, through a vast body of activists, and through a wide network of mass organisations.

The methods used by the Communist Party as leader are those of organisation, education and persuasion. It encourages millions of working people to display initiative, directing it towards the successful implementation of the plans of building communism.

The Communist parties' dedicated struggle for the interests of the working class and all working people and devotion to the cause of socialism have naturally made their work the determining factor in social progress, placing it in the centre of modern politics.

Thanks to their immense ideological, political and ethical potential, the ruling Communist and Workers' Parties are in key positions in the political system of socialism.

This naturally puts the question of Communist Party leadership in the focus of the ideological struggle. The Communist and Workers' Parties represent the main motive force of the political system of socialism. For this reason bourgeois critics of Leninism and the socialist way of life say that the Party exerts its administrative authority by issuing orders and imposing its will.

The West German sociologist H. Hamel, for instance, after analysing the application of the "Soviet principle of democratic centralism in the East German economy" concluded that the "Party stands in the same relation to the trade unions as it does to the 'state apparatus'; it uses both to achieve its ends, having absolute power to command".<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> H. Hamel, *Das Sowjetische Herrschaftsprinzip des demokratischen Zentralismus*.

The CPSU, however, has no aims different from the people's. The Party does not stand above the masses, it is itself a multimillion Communist contingent which lives and works and performs its role of vanguard and leader together with the whole people and for their sake. Its millions of members represent the most active part of the people and the masses see them as an expression of their best aspirations.

The Communist Party guides the state bodies but it does not replace them. The 23rd CPSU Congress specially called the attention of the Party to this.<sup>1</sup> A decision passed by the Plenary Meeting of the CC CPSU on December 17, 1957, mentioned with respect to the trade unions, the largest mass organisation of the working people, that in guiding the trade unions the Party must always bear in mind that the trade unions are non-Party organisations of factory, office and professional workers, that their work is based on broad democracy and their methods are those of persuasion, and that peremptory commands and petty tutelage are all the more impermissible in their case.

In the development of the political system, as well as of other spheres of social life, the CPSU's initiative is always evident. The Party is always the first to promote the democratisation of the state apparatus, expand the rights and jurisdiction of the Soviets, enhance the role of public organisations, strengthen socialist law and secure civil rights, and so on.

The Leninist Communist Party is the core of the Soviet political system. The enhancement of the leading role of the Communist Party and improvement of the Soviet political system are a historically objective feature of the building of socialism and communism. "The development of socialist society," said Leonid Brezhnev, "is a complex process involving not only the economy but every sphere of social life. The task of guiding such a society consists,

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*tischen Zentralismus in der Wirtschaftsordnung Mitteldeutschlands*, Berlin, 1965, S. 139.

<sup>1</sup> See *23rd Congress of the CPSU*, Moscow, 1966, p. 296.

clearly enough, of revealing to the greatest possible extent the possibilities of balanced and even development inherent in it. Where then is the key to the solution of this task? This key is the correct functioning of the political system of the society and, first and foremost, the multifaceted activities of the Communist Party which draws on scientific evidence and rich practical experience."<sup>1</sup>

In organising the masses' conscious and purposeful activities, the Communist Party relies above all on the Soviet state as the chief instrument of building socialism and communism. The Communist Party's leading role with respect to the Soviet state stems from the fact that it alone is capable of ensuring that the "organisational role of the proletariat (and that is its *principal* role) may be exercised correctly, successfully and victoriously".<sup>2</sup>

This gives rise to the question as to whether or not the Soviet single-party system is democratic.

Many Western authors maintain that the more political parties there are in a country, the better the needs, interests and hopes of the different classes, sections and groups of society are represented in its policies, i.e., the more numerous the parties, the greater the democracy.

This is, however, a purely formal approach. Social reality attests to the fact that the number of parties has never been nor is a yardstick of the measure of democracy of this or that political system. Bourgeois multi-party systems have shown conclusively that it is not the number of parties but the policies they pursue that determine the real substance of a political system.

Even bourgeois writers sometimes have to admit that the bi-partisan system traditional in a number of capitalist countries conceals a political combination where the opposition party supports the existing political system as much as the government party does.

The establishment of a single-party system in the Soviet Union was a natural result of the country's historical

<sup>1</sup> L. I. Brezhnev, *Following Lenin's Course*, Vol. 3, Moscow, 1973, p. 48 (in Russian).

<sup>2</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 44.

development. The parties of the upper bourgeoisie were swept off the political scene by the victorious socialist revolution and petty-bourgeois party leaders rejected the possibility of positive action and co-operation that were opened to them. By embarking on a counter-revolutionary struggle they found themselves isolated from the people's main political forces including the mass of their own membership whose best representatives joined the Communist Party.

The formation of the party system after a victorious revolution generally depends on the circumstances in which the revolutionary process has to develop. It is significant that in the European socialist countries where, besides Communist parties which have the leading role in the establishment and development of the new society, there are other political parties as well, all the latter have united in one mass public organisation like a National or a Patriotic Front in which they all co-operate.

Some Western political writers who readily accept that Soviet society has made economic and cultural progress simultaneously deny that its political organisation is democratic. Culture and the economy, they say, are advancing but democracy is merely marking time. The French author S. Dru, for instance, claims that the political structure of the USSR lags much behind the level of the productive forces and the cultural potential of the country.<sup>1</sup>

The point is, however, that in Soviet society both the political system and its economic basis form an integral whole, and it is the economic basis of Soviet democracy which has made it a reality, providing a material base for the people's sovereign power. The democracy of the political system—popular involvement in day-to-day political leadership above all—provides for the achievement of the advanced lines of economic and cultural development in the socialist countries while the constant improvement of socialist democracy is an indispensable

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<sup>1</sup> See S. Dru, *De L'État Socialiste. L'Expérience Soviétique*, Paris, 1965.

condition for speeding up economic and social development.

One of the chief aims of our ideological opponents is to sap the Marxist-Leninist ideological foundation on which the political organisation of socialist society is built. They allege that the development of the socialist state system must result in an "emancipation" from the ideological principles of Marxism-Leninism, the socialist state choosing "pragmatic evolution". This is an attempt to show that the historic successes scored by the socialist countries in science, technology, the economy, etc., are not linked by any relation of cause and effect, and, more important still, that they have not been brought about by the triumph of Marxist-Leninist ideology. To dwarf the significance of the transforming power of Marxist-Leninist theory and to put a brake on the subsequent ever-increasing influence of this mighty force of human progress on the future is the real aim of the reasonings of A. Schlesinger, J. Kennan and other bourgeois ideologists who talk about what they call "pragmatic evolution", about the prospect of the de-ideologisation of socialist society.

Historical evidence shows that there is only one genuine scientific basis on which the most intricate problems of revolutionary struggle and the building of a new society can be tackled successfully: this is the constructive application of Marxism-Leninism by the Communist Party, thanks to which alone socialist democracy has emerged, taken shape, and developed.

Ever since the new political organisation of society emerged, Lenin emphasised the importance of striking the proper balance between the Party's leadership and the authority of the state. So, looking into the attitude the revolutionary party should take towards the revolutionary interim government formed on the basis of Soviets of Workers' Deputies, he noted that the Party should not replace the Soviets in the work for organising and cementing all revolutionary forces but that at the same time it had to be represented in the Soviets "for the tireless,

steadfast advocacy of the only consistent, the *only* truly proletarian world outlook, *Marxism*".<sup>1</sup>

Lenin also mapped out the Bolsheviks' main tactical line in and around the Soviets. The Bolsheviks were to develop the proletarian class struggle and most fully and clearly dissociate the proletarian party from the conciliatory policies of the petty bourgeoisie and its parties. This would enable the Bolsheviks to rally the mass of proletarians and semi-proletarians and draw on their revolutionary energy to achieve the transfer of all power to the Soviets. With a timely transfer of all power to the Soviets, Lenin wrote, "...the struggle of classes and parties *within* the Soviets could have assumed a most peaceful and painless form. . . ."<sup>2</sup> Simultaneously he cautioned: "To separate the proletarian elements of the Soviets (i.e., the proletarian, Communist, party) from the petty-bourgeois elements right now, immediately and irrevocably, is to give correct expression to the interests of the movement in *either* of two possible events: in the event that Russia will yet experience a special 'dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry' independent of the bourgeoisie, and in the event that the petty bourgeoisie will not be able to tear itself away from the bourgeoisie and will oscillate eternally (that is, until socialism is established) between us and it."<sup>3</sup>

After the creation and consolidation of the state of the proletarian dictatorship, Lenin also noted the need for the Party to guide the workers' movement, the activities of state bodies, and the building of socialism. He wrote: "...the dictatorship of the proletariat will not work except through the Communist Party."<sup>4</sup> It takes the highest form of political organisation, a Marxist-Leninist party, to overcome the forces and traditions of the old society and instil awareness, self-control and unity in the working

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<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 10, p. 20.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. 25, p. 184.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. 24, p. 51.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. 32, p. 199.

class, to organise all working people for the fulfilment of the tasks of building socialism.

Lenin usually saw questions of state development as political questions and they were often brought before the Politbureau on his initiative. He thus submitted to the Politbureau draft decisions on the management of the cotton industry, on relations between the Central Board of Political Education and the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, on the composition of the All-Union Central Executive Committee, and so on.<sup>1</sup>

Lenin stressed more than once that the staffing of the state apparatus was the inalienable right and immediate duty of the Communist Party. He wrote: "So long as the ruling Party governs, so long as this Party has to decide all questions concerned with various appointments, you will not allow important state appointments to be made by anyone but the ruling party."<sup>2</sup>

Considering the selection and placement of personnel not so much an organisational matter but rather a most important aspect of the political work of the Party and its Central Committee, Lenin said at the Eleventh Party Congress: "Politics are conducted by definite people... If the Central Committee is deprived of the right to distribute forces, it will be unable to direct policy."<sup>3</sup>

Lastly, Lenin considered it an important element of the Party's guidance of the state that it should supervise and check performance. Checking performance and keeping an eye on how well Party directions are followed by all state bodies is indispensable to the political guidance of the Soviet state.

Lenin and the Party evolved the fundamental principle of the relation between the functions of the Party and the state and this is valid to this day. The resolution *On Organisational Matters* adopted by the Eighth Party Congress stated: "The functions of Party bodies and of state bodies,

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<sup>1</sup> See *Ibid.* Vol. 42, pp. 203, 357, 361.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. 42, p. 252.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. 33, p. 316.

the Soviets, should by no means be confused. . . . The Party should put its decisions through the Soviet bodies, *within the framework of the Soviet Constitution*. The Party seeks to *guide* the activities of the Soviets, not to replace them."<sup>1</sup>

Subsequently this principle was developed and specified. The resolution of the Tenth Party Congress *On Party Development* thus noted: "The forms and methods of work used by the Party organisation at some period of time must not be mechanically shifted to other organisations, e.g., Soviets or administrative and economic bodies."<sup>2</sup>

The question was again discussed by the Central Committee shortly before the Eleventh Party Congress, on March 25, 1922. The CC Plenary Meeting looked at and endorsed the main points of Lenin's policy speech. They included this: ". . . It is necessary to delimit much more precisely the functions of the Party (and of the Central Committee) from those of the Soviet government; to increase the responsibility and independence of Soviet officials and of Soviet government institutions, leaving to the Party the general guidance of the activities of all state bodies, without the present, too frequent, irregular and often petty interference."<sup>3</sup> Lenin dwelt at length on these points at the congress. He asked the congress to approve the instruction that "the Political Bureau of the Central Committee be relieved of minor matters, and that more should be shifted to the responsible officials"<sup>4</sup>. It was necessary to raise the prestige of the Council of People's Commissars and other government bodies and alter the nature of their work, making their heads responsible for checking performance.

The resolution of the Eleventh Party Congress stated:

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<sup>1</sup> *The CPSU in Resolutions and Decisions of Congresses, Conferences and Central Committee Plenums*, Vol. 2, Moscow, 1970, p. 77 (in Russian).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 207.

<sup>3</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 253.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 307.

"While retaining general leadership and political direction of the Soviet state, the Party should draw a much clearer distinction between its current work and that of Soviet bodies, and between its own and the Soviet apparatus. Such a distinction, if sustained, will provide for a more systematic discussion and solution of economic questions, simultaneously raising each Soviet official's responsibility for his job on the one hand and on the other enabling the Party to concentrate as much as may be necessary on the principal Party work of giving general guidance to the work of all state organs concerned with the education and organisation of the mass of workers."<sup>1</sup>

### THE ROLE OF THE STATE

The central place in the political system of society belongs to the state as the most powerful organisation and the principal political instrument of the ruling class. The nature and social purpose of the state, its aims and functions, the forms and methods of its operation loom large in the writing of the ideologists of the different classes. This is due to the fact that these problems affect the interests of diverse social classes and sections rather more than other problems do. Lenin said: "In the question of the state, in the doctrine of the state, in the theory of the state...you always discern the struggle between different classes, a struggle which is reflected or expressed in a conflict of views on the state, in the estimate of the role and significance of the state."<sup>2</sup>

The exploiting classes in whose hands the state is the most efficient instrument for the protection of their interests are naturally not interested in a genuine scientific explanation of the origins, essence and role of the state in the life of society.

The ideologists of the exploiting classes were always anxious to cast a veil over the class nature of the state and

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<sup>1</sup> *The CPSU in Resolutions...*, Vol. 2, p. 315.

<sup>2</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, pp. 472-73.

depict it as a supra-class entity and an instrument of class conciliation serving to protect the presumably "common" interests of the different classes.

The founders of Marxism-Leninism disclosed the idealistic-mystical nature of the theories supplied by the ideologists of the exploiting classes on the origins and essence of the state. "The state," Lenin wrote, "is a machine for maintaining the rule of one class over another."<sup>1</sup> This concise formula gives the scientific definition of the essence of the state, pointing out its two major attributes, first, the dictatorship ("machine") of the ruling class and, second, its function of suppressing the antipodal class.

This general definition, applicable to any state with any class socio-economic formation, was amplified in Lenin's works when he dealt with the essence of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat. But the dictatorship of the proletariat, Lenin taught, was necessary not only to abolish all exploitation of man by man, but also in order to build socialism and defend its gains from external and internal enemies. He wrote: "But the essence of proletarian dictatorship is not in force alone, or even mainly in force. Its chief feature is the organisation and discipline of the advanced contingent of the working people, of their vanguard; of their sole leader, the proletariat, whose object is to build socialism, abolish the division of society into classes, make all members of society working people, and remove the basis for all exploitation of man by man. This object cannot be achieved at one stroke. It requires a fairly long period of transition from capitalism to socialism, because the reorganisation of production is a difficult matter, because radical changes in all spheres of life need time, and because the enormous force of habit of running things in a petty-bourgeois way can only be overcome by a long and stubborn struggle."<sup>2</sup>

In his *A Great Beginning* Lenin wrote: "It was natural

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<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, p. 478.

<sup>2</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, p. 388. See also Vol. 31, pp. 185-86.

and inevitable in the first period after the proletarian revolution that we should be engaged primarily on the main and fundamental task of overcoming the resistance of the bourgeoisie, of vanquishing the exploiters, of crushing their conspiracy. . . . But simultaneously with this task, another task comes to the forefront just as inevitably and ever more imperatively as time goes on, namely, the more important task of positive communist construction, the creation of new economic relations, of a new society."<sup>1</sup>

Lenin stressed in this connection that it is already not a "state in the proper sense of the word" but rather a "semi-state", a "state which is withering away".<sup>2</sup> This conclusion is essential both to a correct understanding of the essence of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat and to the definition of the prospects of its development.

Critics of Marxism and revisionists deny the Marxist proposition on the historical inevitability and necessity of the dictatorship of the proletariat during the transition from capitalism to socialism and the diversity of forms in which this transition may take place. By rejecting the dictatorship of the proletariat as a general objective law governing the building of socialism and confusing the content and forms of the revolutionary remaking of society, destroying the revolutionary content of the forms of socialist statehood, they reduce it merely to the "national" form of government.

The Soviet socialist state has travelled a long road. Born of the Great October Socialist Revolution, it became firmly established as a dictatorship of the proletariat. The experience of the Soviet Union and other countries that have embarked on the socialist path has confirmed that without the dictatorship of the proletariat it is impossible to overthrow the exploiters and suppress their resistance, wipe out capitalist elements in town and country, reorganise production, effect a cultural revolution, mould the new man and build a socialist society.

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<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, p. 419.

<sup>2</sup> See *Ibid.*, Vol. 25, pp. 396, 397, 402, 419, 441.

Whatever the diversity of the forms of government in the period when socialism is being built, their essence is one and the same—the dictatorship of the proletariat which is democracy for the working people. At a certain stage of history the dictatorship of the proletariat gradually grows into a state of the whole people, i.e., the dictatorship of the proletariat becomes a political organisation of the whole people. This natural process which is highly complex and many-sided is induced by the social changes that occur as the building of socialism draws to its conclusion. At the basis of this process are the revolutionary changes in the mode of production and a thorough alteration of the class pattern of society. It is necessary not only to abolish the exploiting classes but also to remould the way of life and the mentality of millions of working people. All this was carried out in the Soviet Union by the dedicated efforts of the Soviet people led by the working class and its communist vanguard.

The leading role of the working class is the product of history. This is, as Lenin noted, determined by its standing in modern society. "The overthrow of bourgeois rule," Lenin wrote, "can be accomplished only by the proletariat, the particular class whose economic conditions of existence prepare it for this task and provide it with the possibility and the power to perform it."<sup>1</sup> It was only after it had gone through large-scale industrialisation, acquired experience in the class struggle and assimilated the Marxist world outlook that the working class was able to head the struggle waged by the working people at large against the exploiters and carry it through to the victorious socialist revolution and establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The working class is closely linked with the modern productive forces and is the decisive, directing and leading social force in the building of socialism and communism.

The dictatorship of the working class in a society building socialism is a natural consequence of its leading role.

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<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, p. 403.

Lenin considered the revolutionary organisations of the working people, such as the Party, Soviets, trade unions and Young Communist League, through which the working class rallies, educates, trains and leads the working people, to be the strongpoints of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The working class is a model for the rest of the working people. It has such lofty moral qualities as adherence to principle, probity, staunchness, utter dedication to communist ideals, the spirit of innovation, the capacity for initiating new forms of the building of socialism. All these qualities together fit the proletariat for its leading role in socialist society. "The only class," Lenin wrote, "that can lead the working and exploited people is the class that unswervingly follows its path without losing courage and without giving way to despair even at the most difficult, arduous and dangerous stages."<sup>1</sup>

Under the leadership of the working class and its vanguard the Communist Party, outstanding successes have been achieved in the economic, political and intellectual life of Soviet society. The role played by a class in society does not necessarily depend on its size. The contribution of the working class to social development is incomparably greater than its percentage proportion of the population. For this reason it is wrong to say that the working class cannot perform its leading role in a country in which it constitutes a minority of the population.

It is also wrong to say that in contemporary socialist society the working class has dissolved in the mass of the people. This assertion runs counter to Marxism-Leninism and the experience of socialist construction because classes still exist under socialism and the working class retains its leading role until the triumph of communism and the complete disappearance of class distinctions are achieved. Bringing about a socially uniform society, Lenin said, is a longish business as the utter abolition of classes implies not only the abolition of private ownership of the means

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<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, pp. 276-77.

of production but also the obliteration of essential distinctions between town and country and between physical and intellectual work.

One can furthermore hardly agree with the writers who assert that the working class in the socialist and industrialised capitalist countries has stopped being revolutionary. The authors of the theory of the "integrated (new) industrial society" regard progress in science and technology separately from the class struggle and seek to belittle the revolutionary role of the working class in contemporary social development. This view is shared, for instance, by J. Galbraith who expounds it in his "New Industrial Society".<sup>1</sup>

The working class fully retains its leading role in developed socialist society as well. It is associated with property belonging to the people as a whole (the principal kind of socialist property) and with large-scale industry (the foundation of the socialist economy and of the progress of technology throughout the economy). The working class, the largest class of Soviet society, occupies, by virtue of its inherent revolutionary spirit, good discipline, organisation and collectivism, the leading position in the system of the socialist relations of production. It is the motive force of progress in science and technology, it exerts decisive influence on the development of social production at large, and makes the chief contribution to the creation of the material and technical base of communism.

The working class has undergone a drastic change under Soviet rule and accounts for over half the Soviet population. It contributes the largest share of the social product, is in the forefront of technological progress, and is engaged in the decisive sectors of social production. The Soviet worker combines the features of a conscious worker in industry drawn into intellectual activity and of an active builder of the new life who upholds high standards of human relations. The ultimate aim and purpose of the revo-

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<sup>1</sup> Cf., J. Galbraith, *New Industrial Society*, Moscow, 1969, pp. 314, 317, 334 of the Russian edition.

lutionary struggle and the constructive efforts of the working class is to abolish class and social distinctions, achieve complete social equality, and build a classless society.

As the Communist Party further develops the Soviet political system, it bears in mind the interests both of the whole people and of the classes and social strata of which it is composed. The Party's policy is to facilitate the drawing together of the working class, the peasants, and the intelligentsia to achieve social uniformity in Soviet society. This is being done on the basis of Marxist-Leninist ideology which expresses the socialist interests and communist ideals of the working class.

The Party works for the further consolidation of the alliance between the working class and the peasants. The growth of the productive forces in the countryside, the gradual development of farm work into a variety of industrial work, an upsurge of culture in the villages and a change in rural life all alter the peasant's social outlook and psychology and are conducive to a lessening of the substantial distinctions between town and country.

Class and social distinctions are being obliterated in the Soviet Union with the drawing together of towns and villages and of mental and manual workers and this process is developing more intensively under mature socialism.

The collectivisation of agriculture, the consolidation and development of the collective-farm system, the spectacular strides made in the economic, social and cultural development of the countryside, and the constant political and educational influence of the working class and the Communist Party on the peasants have taught them to work in common and have made the adoption of modern industrial methods of farming easier. All this has changed the peasants into a socialist class and further strengthened their alliance with the working class.

The Soviet intelligentsia, largely recruited from the ranks of workers and peasants, is actively contributing to the building of communism. Raised under the socialist system, its members are part of Soviet society. In rate of growth they notably outstrip the other social groups. This is true

especially of the scientific and technological intelligentsia. The proportion and social role of the intelligentsia in Soviet society are increasing. This is a natural result of the policy pursued by the Party and the Soviet state to speed progress in science and technology and raise the people's educational and cultural standards.

As a result of the implementation of Lenin's nationalities policy in the Soviet Union, the difference in the economic and cultural levels of different Soviet peoples has been abolished. In the conditions of developed socialism, friendship and fraternity among the peoples are further consolidated. The CPSU steadily follows its policy of consolidating the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, consistently striving to ensure prosperity and a rapprochement of the socialist peoples, educating all working people in the spirit of Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism, intolerance of national narrow-mindedness and conceit, in the spirit of profound respect for all peoples and national groups.

As the classes and social groups drew closer together in Soviet society, there emerged a new historical community, the Soviet people. It is not, however, a new nation. It is an inter-class and inter-national community. The completion of the formation of this community is a characteristic of developed socialist society. It is marked by new, harmonious relations between classes and social groups and between large and small peoples. These relations of friendship and co-operation emerged and grew stronger in the process of common work, in the effort to achieve socialism and in the battles to defend and perpetuate it. The Soviet people are cemented by their common Marxist-Leninist outlook and their total dedication to the lofty aim of building communism.

As a natural result of the consolidation of the social unity of the Soviet people, the Soviet state grew stronger and advanced. Writing of the Soviet state's development prospects during the transition from socialism to communism, Lenin noted that a socialist society cannot be built overnight. To build a socialist society one has to go through

a lengthy period of transition from capitalism to socialism and only after that do "all citizens become employees and workers of a *single* country-wide state 'syndicate'".<sup>1</sup>

Starting from Lenin's doctrine of the socialist state, the prominent Soviet statesman, Mikhail Kalinin, wrote in 1926: "...As the building of socialism goes ahead, capitalist relations are uprooted and capitalists disappear, the proletarian state will turn gradually into a state of the whole people, full of new significance and substance (orientation towards communism)."<sup>2</sup>

The gradual expansion of the social base of the socialist state follows from the nature of the new social system. After socialism is built and the whole people has taken a firm socialist stand, the working class wages its class struggle in close unity with the collective farmers and intellectuals against international imperialism and against bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology.

The state of the whole people has emerged naturally as a result of the development of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It continues the cause of proletarian dictatorship—the building of a communist society and in conjunction with other socialist countries conducts the class struggle on the world arena against the forces of imperialism, performing the function of defence against the aggressive designs of militant reaction. The state of the whole people is the political superstructure of the economics of developed socialist society.

<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, pp. 459-64, 473.

<sup>2</sup> M. I. Kalinin, *Questions of Soviet Development. Articles and Speeches* (1919-1946), Moscow, 1958, p. 292 (in Russian). This perspective was reflected also in some official documents elaborated early under Soviet rule. Thus the Constitution of the Ukrainian SSR in 1919 stated that the task of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of the poor peasants was "to effect a transition from the bourgeois system to socialism by socialist reform and the systematic suppression of all counter-revolutionary encroachments on the part of the propertied classes. After these tasks have been fulfilled, the dictatorship will disappear, and after the future communist system has taken final shape, the state, too, will disappear..." (*History of the Soviet Constitution*. Collection of Documents. 1917-1956, Moscow, 1957, p. 113, in Russian.)

The dictatorship of the proletariat and the state of the whole people are different phases of the socialist state.

The class character of the Soviet state does not disappear when it becomes a state of the whole people, but expands its content, becoming an expression of the unity of the social interests of the working class and all citizens of the socialist society.

The socialist state of the whole people is an important stage in the development of the Soviet state system and socialist democracy. It is a milestone on the road to communist self-government and the withering away of the state.

This problem was thoroughly examined by the founders of scientific communism who explained the causes on which the withering away of the state depends. First, as the function of class suppression becomes unnecessary and that of coercion narrows down, the need for the organs of coercion must disappear too. Second, public self-government should be able to assume the executive functions of the state in the economy and culture. These functions, therefore, will lose their political character. Third, all citizens must be involved, not only in the management of production but also in social regulation. This will render unnecessary the political machine of government. This process paves the way for, and actually leads to, the socialist state system growing into communist public self-administration.

The Marxist doctrine of the withering away of the socialist state was advanced by Lenin who showed that the state begins to wither away even during the initial phase of communism, i.e., under socialism. Simultaneously, Lenin stressed that the socialist state would completely disappear only under full communism.

Lenin always distinguished between the internal and external prerequisites of the withering away of the socialist state. He considered that the internal prerequisites matured first. That this is so can be seen from Lenin's comments on *The Economics of the Transition Period* by Bukharin. Touching on the question of the withering away of the state, Bukharin wrote: "Vehicles of coercion will

start withering away first as the sharpest instrument of coercion from outside; the penal system and apparatus of suppression will go next; then the compulsory character of labour will disappear, and so on. . . ." Lenin made a note on the margin: "Isn't it perhaps the other way round: 'then' first, 'next' second, and 'first' last?"<sup>1</sup>

Lenin's observations were borne out in the practice of building socialism and communism which in its turn made it necessary to develop and specify the Marxist-Leninist doctrine on the probable development of the socialist state system during the transition from socialism to communism.

The emergence of a state of the whole people is yet another step towards the development of the socialist state system into communist self-government. There are along this path, however, most important tasks of communist re-organisation yet to be solved in the economic, social and political fields. To shift the centre of gravity to public self-government now would obviously be going too fast. It is quite clear that the tasks the socialist state faces have not yet been all fulfilled.

In the field of the economy, the forces of production must be developed sufficiently to make feasible the communist principle "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs".<sup>2</sup>

In the social field, one has to surmount completely the class differences and essential distinctions between town and country and between manual and mental work, making society socially uniform.

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<sup>1</sup> *Lenin Miscellany*. XI, Moscow-Leningrad, 1931, p. 400 (in Russian).

<sup>2</sup> The CC CPSU has noted that the "scientific conception of communism has nothing in common either with the pharisaical 'philosophy' of poverty as a 'blessing' or with the bourgeois-philistine cult of objects. Material wealth in the Marxist-Leninist understanding is created to satisfy the reasonable requirements of people and is a necessary prerequisite for the development of human abilities, for the individual to find fulfilment." (*On the Centenary of the Birth of V. I. Lenin. Theses of the Central Committee, Communist Party of the Soviet Union*, Moscow, 1970, p. 54.)

In the political field, it is necessary for the entire adult population to be developed in an all-round fashion and prepared for the administration of society and also for it to be active in the scientifically based guidance of social development.

The withering away of the state also depends on external factors. As imperialist countries still exist, the Soviet Union has to expend heavily on building up its defences and providing for the safety of the socialist community at large. In view of the danger of imperialist aggression, the function of defence, a specific function of the state, must be preserved. From this it follows that the state will wither away completely, as the CPSU Programme says, only after the triumph and consolidation of socialism in the international arena.<sup>1</sup>

The withering away of the state may be seen either as its gradual development into a system of communist self-government or as a result of this process.

The withering away of the state as a process consisting of the shift towards public communist self-government starts with the emergence of a state of a socialist type. The dictatorship of the proletariat implied an unprecedented expansion of democracy which turned dictatorship from an instrument of oppression into a means of abolishing all social injustices, exploitation and oppression. This is the point from which the state begins turning into its own opposite, into public self-administration.

<sup>1</sup> H. Sananes ignores this when he comments on the CPSU Programme: "The withering away of the state, even if the capitalist encirclement were to be ignored, is envisaged neither for tomorrow nor even for the remote future." (Henri Sananes, "Le Marxisme et le Programme du Parti Communiste de l'Union Soviétique", *La Revue Socialiste*, 1962, No. 154, p. 92.) First of all, no Marxist-Leninist can possibly ignore the external conditions of the withering away of the socialist state. Second, "envisaging", in the sense implied, the withering away of the state is as absurd as cancelling or abolishing it. Third, according to the Marxist-Leninist view, the withering away of the state, as was shown above, proceeds slowly and gradually, as the masses are involved on an ever larger scale in the administration of the country and socialist democracy reaches a level at which its political character disappears.

Inasmuch as the expansion of socialist democracy is implicit in the building of communism, the development of the dictatorship of the proletariat into a state of the whole people is an objective, necessary and natural path towards the complete disappearance of the state.

The exponents of bourgeois ideology do not understand—or perhaps they do not wish to understand—this dialectical process.

Georges Burdeau, for instance, claims that what happens under socialism is not a withering away of the state—which is the ultimate goal in Marxist theory—but the exaltation of power which has never ceased to grow in the countries where the Marxist revolution was carried out.<sup>1</sup>

Bourgeois writers contrast two sides of one process, i.e., the withering away of the state and its consolidation (the expansion of democracy in it). The truth, however, is that it is the consolidation of the socialist state that makes its withering away possible when certain conditions are present. Strange as it may seem to some people, this external contradiction is an objective reflection of the dialectical development of the social realities.

As the socialist state represents the power of by far the larger part of society, being, as Lenin put it, a "semi-state", a political organisation of the people's government, it acquires qualities that objectively facilitate the development of the state system into public self-administration. It was, incidentally, stressed by the CC CPSU in its Theses released on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution: "The road to public self-government lies through the further development and improvement of the socialist state and socialist democracy..."<sup>2</sup> As the state withers away, so does its form of socialist democracy. "The more complete the democracy," Lenin wrote, "the nearer the moment when it becomes unnecessary."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> G. Burdeau, *Traité de Science Politique*, t. VII, Paris, 1957, p. 476.

<sup>2</sup> *Fiftieth Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. Theses of the Central Committee of the CPSU*, Moscow, 1967, p. 39.

<sup>3</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, p. 474.

The development of the Soviet state system is a dialectical process. A socialist state of the whole people is not formed overnight. Its emergence results from the advance of socialist society. Of course, the development of the socialist state of the whole people should also be viewed dialectically. The formation of the state of the whole people is facilitated as socialist public ownership and the socialist economic system become dominant, and as class antagonisms are eliminated, the whole people becoming united socially, politically and ideologically, but this does not mean that it is already there.

The emergence and establishment of a state of the whole people are followed by its further consolidation and all-round development. The latter consists of several periods up to the building of a communist society. In each of these periods the system, structure and function of government must be modified and improved. The CPSU Programme notes that the "Party holds that the dictatorship of the working class will cease to be necessary before the state withers away. The state as an organisation of the entire people will survive until the complete victory of communism."<sup>1</sup> The socialist state does not simply cease to exist—it gradually withers away as it develops into a system of communist public self-government.

For this reason Lenin, in dealing with the withering away of the state, dwells on the length of the process, its dependence on the rate of development of the higher phase, and its gradual and natural character.

Lenin's doctrine of the socialist state is being developed by the CPSU and other Marxist-Leninist parties drawing on their very rich experience in the revolutionary transformation of the world, in building socialism and communism. The sixty years' experience has confirmed the viability of Lenin's teachings on the socialist state.

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<sup>1</sup> *The Road to Communism. Documents of the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, October 17-31, 1961, Moscow, 1962, p. 547.*

Being the highest form of socialist democracy, the Soviet state is the main force in the building of a communist society. This is what gives paramount importance to the tasks of consolidating and developing the socialist state system.

The broad involvement of the working people in administration and in social and political life is the main path followed by the CPSU in improving and expanding socialist democracy in Soviet society. It is simultaneously the principal way to build up the Soviet state system, since the more people consciously take part in government, the stronger the socialist state is.

Human history is the history of the working people, producers of the material and spiritual wealth essential to the existence and development of society. The people have always been and will always remain the prime mover of history. The futures of mankind and of states are decided first and foremost by the millions, by their creativity, energy and efforts.

Marxist-Leninist science has exposed the false theory which was expounded for centuries to the effect that history was made by outstanding individuals—heroes and leaders of men, while the people were merely an inert mass, a crowd blindly following the “elect aristocrats of the spirit”, the “creative minds”. Marxism-Leninism rejects all theories of racial and national exclusiveness, “élite” theories and similar reactionary doctrines.

In all class antagonistic societies the masses, the principal force of social progress, were ruthlessly exploited and oppressed for centuries and were barred from political activity and deprived of elementary human rights.

Popular revolutions before the Great October Revolution in Russia ended merely in changing the form of exploitation, putting new exploiters in power in place of the old ones. Only the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in Russia ushered in a new era in the history of mankind, rousing to creative activity millions of workers previously barred from social life, deprived, oppressed and downtrodden.

Soon after the October Revolution Lenin pointed out: "At all costs we must break the old, *absurd*, savage, despicable and disgusting prejudice that only the so-called 'upper classes', only the rich, and those who have gone through the school of the rich, are capable of administering the state and directing the organisational development of socialist society.... Every rank-and-file worker and peasant who can read and write, who can judge people and has practical experience, is capable of *organisational* work. Among the 'common people', of whom the bourgeois intellectuals speak with such haughtiness and contempt, there are *many* such men and women. This sort of talent among the working class and the peasants is a rich and still untapped source."<sup>1</sup>

The people's multifaceted activity in building communism owes much of its success to the organisational and educational work conducted by the Soviets which are the political backbone of the state. History has fully borne out the validity of Lenin's conclusion that the Soviets are the most democratic form of state power providing for a massive and continuous involvement of citizens in state administration.

Ever since the Soviets first emerged in 1905, Lenin studied the organisation and activity of these revolutionary bodies representing the people. Drawing general conclusions from the work of the Soviets created by the revolutionary people during the 1905-1907 and the February 1917 revolutions, Lenin formulated his brilliant deduction that a Soviet republic is the state form of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

As the socialist revolution mounted and the Soviets became increasingly Bolshevik, their activities acquired ever larger scope, turning the people's revolutionary bodies into a mighty political force. By the time of the October Revolution, the country had as many as 1,429 Soviets.

Lenin wrote that the "revolutions of February and Oc-

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<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 26, p. 409. See also Vol. 25, p. 370; Vol. 26, pp. 111-15.

tober 1917 led to the all-round development of the Soviets on a nation-wide scale and to their victory in the proletarian socialist revolution".<sup>1</sup>

As he formulated the Party's tasks in the struggle for making the bourgeois-democratic revolution grow into a socialist revolution, Lenin simultaneously gave a definition of the social class nature of Soviets, their significance, role and tasks in that historical process. He wrote: "Not a parliamentary republic—to return to a parliamentary republic from the Soviets of Workers' Deputies would be a retrograde step—but a republic of Soviets of Workers', Agricultural Labourers' and Peasants' Deputies throughout the country, from top to bottom."<sup>2</sup>

This major theoretical conclusion became the basis of the struggle waged by the multimillion masses who had carried out the October 1917 revolution and built the Soviet Republic under the leadership of the Communist Party. Lenin's appeal became the slogan of the struggle waged by the Bolshevik Party, revolutionary workers, soldiers, seamen and peasants for the triumph of the socialist revolution and establishment of a Soviet state. Literally from the first days of the revolution broad sections of the working people were drawn into vigorous political activity to administer the socialist state. By November 1, 1917, the country had 30 provincial, 121 city and town, and 286 large and 6,083 small rural district executive committees. Altogether there were 7,550 local government bodies run by over 100,000 working men and women.

History had not seen anything like this massive involvement of working people in governing the state. It was thanks to it that the Soviet Union was able to shake the world by making the giant stride from capitalism to socialism.

The democratic character and socialist nature of Soviet rule are expressed in the fact that the Soviets, the most inclusive organisation of the working people, are organs of

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<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 24, p. 23.

<sup>2</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 90.

state power. Soviets concentrate in their hands not only the power to legislate and supervise the fulfilment of the laws, but also executive powers.

Lenin's works contain a comprehensive description of Soviets showing their characteristics and distinctive features and their immeasurable superiority over all other forms of state previously known to history. Lenin also made an outstanding contribution by working out ways of consolidating and developing Soviets. These ways, set forth in his famous ten points on Soviet power, are profoundly scientific. They explain what kind of state the Soviets are and by what means it is to be consolidated and are relevant both to the further elaboration of the doctrine of the Soviets and to Soviet practice and development in the current conditions.

The following is a slightly abridged version of the ten points.

The consolidation and advancement of Soviet government are realised through solutions being found to the tasks historically devolving from this form of state power, viz.:

"(1) the union and organisation of the working and exploited masses oppressed by capitalism. . . .

"(2) the union of the most vigorous, active, class-conscious part of the oppressed classes—their vanguard, which must educate every member of the working population for independent participation in the management of the state, not theoretically but practically;

"(3) . . . union of legislative and executive state activity. Fusion of administration with legislation;

"(4) the closer connection of the whole apparatus of state power and state administration with the masses than under previous forms of democracy;

"(5) the creation of an armed force of workers and peasants as least divorced from the people. . . ;

"(6) more complete democracy through less formality and making election and recall easier;

"(7) close (and direct) connection with occupations and with productive-economic units. . . ;

"(8) . . . the possibility of getting rid of bureaucracy, of doing without it, the beginning of the realisation of this possibility;

"(9) the transfer of the focus of attention in questions of democracy . . . to the practical feasibility of the enjoyment of freedom (democracy) by the working and exploited mass of the population;

"(10) the further development of the Soviet organisation of the state must consist in every member of a Soviet being obliged to carry out constant work in administering the state, alongside participation in meetings of the Soviet;— and furthermore with each and every member of the population being drawn gradually both into taking part in Soviet organisation (on the condition of subordination to organisations of the working people) and into serving in state administration."<sup>1</sup>

In an unfinished article, *The Democratism and Socialist Nature of Soviet Power* Lenin wrote: "The democratism of Soviet power and its socialist nature are expressed in the fact

"that the supreme state authority is vested in the Soviets which are made up of representatives of the working people (workers, soldiers and peasants), freely elected and removable at any time by the masses hitherto oppressed by capital;

"that the local Soviets freely amalgamate on a basis of democratic centralism into a single federal union as represented by the Soviet state power of the Russian Soviet Republic;

"that the Soviets concentrate in their hands not only the legislative power and supervision of law enforcement, but direct enforcement of the laws through all the members of the Soviets with a view to a gradual transition to the performance of legislative functions and state administration by the whole working population."<sup>2</sup>

A general involvement of the working people in state

<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, pp. 154-55.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. 42, p. 100.

administration not only enables them to shape their future as they direct the development of society, it also enables the state to use most fully and expediently the advantages inherent in the Soviet socialist system in the interest of social progress. And this, i.e., the sovereign power of the people, is the supreme Leninist principle of socialist democracy, of the democratic organisation and operation of the Soviets. This, too, is what distinguishes socialist from bourgeois democracy in the first place.

The level of democratism in a society is gauged by the level of the people's actual participation in the management of public affairs. The example of the Soviet Union eloquently confirms this. The Soviet working people participate in political, economic and cultural activities not only through the Soviets of Working People's Deputies but also through the trade unions, Komsomol, and numerous other mass organisations.

The superiority of the Soviet system lies in the fact that it unites the working people in the furtherance of public affairs, whether in a village Soviet or on a national scale. Strong ties binding the Soviets with the people—ties that are flexible and diverse—ensure the Soviets an ever greater role in every sphere of the life of society.

The Soviets are not merely a kind of organ of power. They are the political foundation of the Soviet Union. The people's rule in the Soviet Union finds expression above all in the Soviets.

Today the local Soviets have over two million deputies. They in fact manage all state and social affairs. They also rely in their day-to-day activities on millions of activists who carry on great work in different social organisations and self-administration bodies. The Soviets steadily carry out the Party general line. They rally the working people to tackle the tasks involved in building communism and ensure the provision of cultural and other amenities, the maintenance of public order, and citizens' constitutional rights.

The percentage of workers elected to the local Soviets increased from 8 in 1939 to 40.5 in 1975 or almost nine-

fold. Collective farmers account for 27.2 per cent of the local Soviet deputies elected in June 1975.

The wide range of democracy is observable also from the fact that deputies represent every segment of society. The deputies of the Supreme Soviets of the Union republics include workers in industry, construction, transport and communications, agriculture, science, culture, public education, health, Party functionaries, servicemen and Soviet officials.

Lenin's idea of the people's general participation in the management of society is of exceptional significance. Making government more democratic and expanding its social support are two sides of the one process of the development of the socialist state system.

The principle put forward by Lenin (that all working people must be drawn into the administration of state affairs) is being implemented thanks to the mass character of the representative bodies in the Soviet Union and their regular renewal.

The main advantage a Soviet republic has over a bourgeois parliamentary republic is that the former rests on the unity of the representative bodies of power throughout the country, from top to bottom, being built on common democratic principles. A Soviet republic is by no means a simple sum of so many Soviets but a well-balanced organisation of democratic institutions linked by common democratic principles. With the help of this organisation the working class and all working people exercise their sovereign rule over the country's politics, economics and culture.

One of the main trends in the development of Soviet democracy in the past sixty years has been the expansion of the Soviets' mass support. As the building of socialism proceeded, the economy advanced, the exploiting classes were abolished, and the people's cultural standards and communist understanding increased, ever more workers and peasants were drawn into the government. With every fresh success achieved in the building and consolidation of socialism, the Soviets are increasingly changing from government *for* the people (i.e., in the people's interests) into

government *by* the people. It is graphic evidence of the process that a quarter of all gainfully employed people in the country are taking part in Soviet work.

The power of the Soviets and the entire Soviet state machine resides in their unity with the people. Not a single decision of vital interest to the working people is made without their participation.

One feature of all parts of the Soviet system, from the Supreme Soviet down to village Soviets, is that they are elected by universal suffrage and secret ballot. Working people themselves control all the affairs of the socialist society through state and social organisations and their organs. The administrative-territorial principle on which Soviets are organised (Supreme and local Soviet) matches well with the industrial-territorial principle (ministries, boards, departments of Soviet executive committees).

The USSR Supreme Soviet is the highest elected representative body of the whole Soviet people. It expresses the people's will and interests as the vehicle of plenary state power in the country as well as of state sovereignty in international relations.

Legislative power in the country belongs solely to the Supreme Soviet whose acts have greater legal force than all other legal acts. Normative decrees of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet are subject to approval by a Supreme Soviet session, which is an expression of the plenary legislative power enjoyed by the Supreme Soviet. The right of legislative leadership, i.e., the right to enter proposals on the adoption of new laws or on the alteration and repeal of effective laws, is enjoyed by the Soviet of the Union, Soviet of Nationalities, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the Council of Ministers of the USSR, the standing committees of both chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the Supreme Court of the USSR, and the supreme bodies of state authority in the Union republics. Proposals may also be submitted by social organisations, such as the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions and the Komsomol Central Committee.

The two-chamber structure of the USSR Supreme Soviet—the chambers being fully equal and elected by equally democratic processes—provides for the representation in the Supreme Soviet of all republics, national regions and districts without exception. To quote an example, the ninth USSR Supreme Soviet (both chambers) included representatives of 61 different nationalities.

Both chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet set up standing committees which prepare judgements on, and amendments of, bills and work out drafts on their own initiative or at the request of their respective Chamber or of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet. They also exercise supervisory functions. Whenever necessary, standing committees invite experts for consultation. All committees base their work on the collective principle and publicity.

Soviet laws are made by the people as the law-making procedure involves the use of numerous democratic methods including broad popular participation in the drafting and discussion of bills. Popular opinion on draft laws is always taken into account.

Draft laws are widely published and easily accessible to millions of citizens. This provides for a preliminary mass discussion of matters which are then submitted to the Supreme Soviet.

The scientific soundness of draft laws is guaranteed by the procedure of their preparation in the subcommittees and the participation of distinguished experts, both scientists and executives, in the discussion held on them. Subcommittees are set up for the preparation of each draft which determines their specific composition.

On June 4, 1977, by an ordinance of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, a Draft Constitution of the USSR was published and submitted to nationwide discussion.

More than 140 million people, i.e. more than eighty per cent of the adult population took part in discussing the draft. The nationwide discussion has made it possible to improve the draft considerably and include a number of useful additions, specifications and amendments.

The sessional character of the Supreme Soviet's work makes it necessary to have an organ of power providing uninterrupted guidance for the state at top level. This organ is the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet. It is elected at a joint sitting of the two chambers of the Supreme Soviet and is accountable to the latter for all its activities.

The work of the Presidium is a continuation of the work of the sole legislative body of the country, the Supreme Soviet, as the Presidium issues normative acts (ordinances or decrees) on major questions of Soviet economic and cultural development, and so on.

Under the Constitution, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet enjoys the right of interpreting the Soviet laws in operation and to conduct nationwide polls (referenda).

It may annul decisions of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, the Supreme Court and other bodies under its supervision if they do not conform to law.

The Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet is the collective Head of State, collective President of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. As such, it appoints and dismisses the High Command of the Soviet Armed Forces, appoints and recalls Soviet Ambassadors, receives the letters of credence and recall of diplomatic representatives accredited to it by foreign states, institutes and awards decorations (Orders and Medals), institutes and confers titles of honour, military titles and other special titles, grants and withdraws Soviet citizenship, and so on.

It is essential to the existence of a uniform system of Soviets that questions of general interest should be approached uniformly on the basis of generalised local experience. Such guidelines setting the direction for the local Soviets of Working People's Deputies are provided by the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The voters' right to recall the deputy is the hallmark of democracy. As early as November 21 (December 4), 1917, on Lenin's initiative, the All-Russia Central Executive Committee issued a decree "On the Right of Recall of Deputies" recognising this right as one of the fundamental

principles of genuine democracy. A Soviet deputy may be recalled at any time by decision of the voters, should he prove unworthy of their trust or be found guilty of actions incompatible with his office of deputy. As a safeguard against possible abuses, the right of recall is not granted to private individuals or officials but only to bodies enjoying the right of nomination.

The actual opportunity to exercise the right of recall is a form of voters' control over their representatives and an essential feature of socialist democracy.

Bourgeois democracy usually rules out the right of recall of members of parliament.

Lenin saw uniform power vested in the people's representative bodies as a fundamental distinctive feature of socialist democracy. He exposed the class nature of the so-called division of powers under bourgeois democracy as in practice meaning that the elected authority has no power and is merely a talking shop while the administration can do what it pleases unchecked. Soviets are parts of a single system of sovereign bodies of people's self-government which hold in their hands all power in the country. The executive bodies of the Soviets constitute a well-balanced uniform system. Acting on the basis and in pursuance of laws and Soviets' decisions, they exercise day-to-day leadership of state activities aimed at increasing public wealth, improving social relations, gradually transforming socialist relations into communist ones, raising the people's material and cultural standards, moulding the new man, and building up the country's defences.

In all, the difference between bourgeois democracy and parliamentarism on the one hand, and Soviet or proletarian democracy on the other, is, as Lenin pointed out, that the former makes a point of promulgating freedoms and rights of every kind without in fact letting the bulk of the people, workers and farmers, use them adequately. Conversely, the main objective of proletarian or Soviet democracy is to give the people whom capitalism oppressed and exploited real access to government, a real chance to use the best buildings to hold their meetings and

congresses in, to use the best printing houses and stocks of paper for the enlightenment of those who were deprived under capitalism, to enable the masses gradually to shed religious superstitions, and so on.

The above clearly attests to the progressive development of democracy in the USSR on the basis of Marxist-Leninist theory.

An embodiment of the people's sovereign power and the highest form of the socialist state system, the Soviets play an immense role in the building of communism. Today the system of Soviets has become an all-embracing people's organisation that embodies the people's unity. They are the pivot of a multimillion body of active citizens carrying on social work. The Soviets' popular support keeps expanding as ever broader sections are being drawn into their work. From this, however, it does not follow that even now the Soviets are losing the characteristic qualities of state authority. They will, for the following reasons, retain these qualities throughout the period of the building of communism.

First, as work in Soviet society at its present stage has not yet become a habit or voluntary occupation of every citizen, control over the measure of work and the measure of consumption continues. That means that legal regulation of labour activities, distribution of material goods, and so on, is still necessary.

Second, the Soviets set up executive bodies to carry out their decisions and advance the building of communism. These bodies, subordinate to the Soviets, are staffed with people in government pay, i.e., officials. Hence, at the present stage the "special group of people" engaged principally in government is preserved in Soviet society.

Third, Soviet society is not yet free from law-breakers. Hence, special institutions dealing with individuals breaking socialist law and order are still necessary.

Lastly, in view of the danger of aggression by imperialist countries, the Soviet socialist state has to maintain an army and a security service.

The Communist Party does its best to build up the Soviets. Translating into practice the point of the CPSU Programme about expanding the local Soviets' jurisdiction, the CC CPSU adopted some decisions determining the practical tasks before the local Soviets. Thus, the CC CPSU decision on better performance of the Soviets of Working People's Deputies and their closer contact with the masses, adopted on January 22, 1957, showed how the significance of local Soviet sessions could be enhanced. Another decision, on the work of the local Soviets of Working People's Deputies in the Poltava Region (1965), charged the deputies to report back to the voters at least twice a year. The decision adopted in 1967 "On Improving the Work of Village and Rural Soviets of Working People's Deputies" pays particular attention to extending the Soviets' rights and enhancing their role as local government bodies.

In March 1971, the CC CPSU adopted a decision on measures to improve further the work of the district and town Soviets of Working People's Deputies. This dealt with the further improvement of the performance of the executive committees and their departments concerned with strengthening the socialist rule of law and state discipline, and also with the improvement of the work of district and town Soviets in their guidance of economic development in the areas under their control.

To enhance the role of Soviets as the political foundation of the socialist state the 24th CPSU Congress considered it expedient to give legal expression to the status, terms of reference and rights of deputies at all levels, as well as to the duties of state and social bodies with respect to them. In September 1972 the USSR Supreme Soviet enacted a law On the Status of Deputies to the Soviets of Working People's Deputies in the USSR which considerably extends the deputies' terms of reference, provides more legal guarantees for them, and enhances their role and responsibility.

It was noted at the 25th CPSU Congress that it had yielded palpable results. The work of the local Soviets has

received a fresh impetus. Many important questions are now put forward and tackled on the initiative of the Soviets. Proposals made by deputies on the strength of their electors' mandate reflect the needs and requirements of the Soviet people. It is intended to adopt laws on the terms of reference of territorial, regional and district Soviets as well.

The CPSU Programme states that the "Soviets, which combine the features of a government body and a mass organisation of the people, operate more and more like social organisations, with the masses participating extensively and directly in their work."<sup>1</sup> As a government body, the Soviets confirm the people's power, sovereignty and supreme right. As a mass organisation of the people, they hold enormous possibilities for the masses to display their initiative and energy and engage in creative independent activity in political, economic and cultural development.

To advance socialist democracy, build up the Soviet state and enhance its role in the building of communism requires that a creative solution be found to the problems of development of the political organisation of Soviet society in the period of transition from socialism to communism.

This is by no means intended to belittle the role played by the Soviet public in carrying out the functions of the Soviet state and building communism. The point is only that it is necessary to find the correct combination of the state and public forms of democracy while always proceeding from Lenin's precept that the socialist state plays a decisive part in the building of communism.

### MASS ORGANISATIONS IN THE SOVIET POLITICAL SYSTEM

The CPSU regards mass social organisations as part of the political system of socialist society whereby the working class and peasants jointly with other working people

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<sup>1</sup> *The Road to Communism*, p. 548.

wield political power under the leadership of the Communist Party.

In explaining the objective laws governing the formation and functioning of socialist mass organisations, Lenin especially stressed the significance of mass organisations of the people as instruments of the class struggle and a school in which the masses learned to engage in public affairs. Shortly before the October Revolution he wrote that to overthrow capitalism, "to have the workers and poor peasants take power, keep that power and make proper use of it, you will need organisation, organisation, and organisation".<sup>1</sup>

After the victorious socialist revolution and on the basis of proletarian dictatorship there emerged a system of social organisations of a similar class nature, which included some of the old associations reorganised into new ones with radically different purposes and functions.

One of the basic features which marks the formation and operation of mass organisations in socialist society is that they are guided by the Communist Party and the Soviet state.

Lenin stressed that after a victorious socialist revolution relations between the social organisations and the state undergo a fundamental change. Thus, referring to the trade unions whose chief purpose under capitalism is to fight the bourgeoisie and defend the rights and the independence of the working class Lenin wrote that under socialism they must "collaborate closely and constantly with the government".<sup>2</sup>

Lenin opposed Trotsky's idea that the trade unions and co-operatives should be "governmentalised". He advocated the independence of mass social organisations which took part in building socialism in their own specific ways distinct from the methods applied by the government. He had at the same time to fight anarcho-syndicalist ideas such as that economic management should be handed

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<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 24, p. 316.

<sup>2</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 190.

over to an "All-Russia Congress of Producers", and similar notions, emphasising that the social organisations were "to accomplish their tasks . . . as a part of the tasks of the proletarian dictatorship".<sup>1</sup>

Lenin pointed out that during the transition from capitalism to socialism, with the social support of Soviet rule not yet broad enough, it was necessary to make good use of mass public organisations—the trade unions and co-operatives above all—so as to involve directly in government as many workers and poor peasants as possible.

Lenin's ideas were embodied in the activities of public organisations. The trade unions, for example, took part in forming government bodies, such as the People's Commissariats of Labour, of Food, etc. and they were also active in elections to the Soviets, in setting up government and Party supervision bodies, and so on. Speaking of the trade unions at the Ninth Party Congress, Lenin said: "Our trade unions have been of tremendous assistance in building the proletarian state."<sup>2</sup>

The co-operatives, too, did a great deal to support the workers' state during the Civil War by distributing food through their outlets at the request of the government.

On the basis of Lenin's co-operative plan the Party thoroughly reorganised agriculture. It set up the collective-farm system and ensured the indissoluble union of the working class and the peasants. "Never and nowhere," ran the resolution of the 13th Party Congress, "were the co-operatives of such immense and decisive significance in the matter of building socialism as after the proletariat's triumph over its class enemy, especially in a country like ours, with its multitude of small peasant economies which are not to be led to socialism otherwise than by means of collective forms of organisation, i.e., by means of consumer and production co-operatives."<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 317.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. 30, p. 459.

<sup>3</sup> See *The CPSU in Resolutions. . .*, Vol. 3, Moscow, 1970, p. 68 (in Russian).

Lenin assigned an important role to the social organisations in carrying out the cultural revolution, building up the country's defence capability, safeguarding peace and promoting cultural and scientific contacts with other nations.

The activities of the people's mass organisations are carried on under the leadership of the Communist Party. The Party works out the general policy line, identifies the main tasks for all the organisations taking into account the specific features of each and supervises the formation of the system of mass organisations. The Party sees to it that Communists join these mass public organisations, ensuring by their active work the unswerving implementation of its policy. The Party systematically directs the activities of the public organisations, develops initiative and discipline among their members and co-ordinates all these organisations' activities. Lenin's precepts on the role and objective features of the functioning of mass organisations have been developed further also by the CPSU's reorganisation of all the elements of the political system of Soviet society on socialist principles. In developed socialist society, the mass organisations play an ever larger role; this is one of the basic objective laws governing the operation of the system of such organisations.

The growth of the leading role of the CPSU and the expansion of the functions of the Soviet state by no means diminish the role of mass organisations. "The growth of the leading role of the Party and the expanding role of the Soviets, trade unions, the Komsomol, of all the people's mass organisations are an interrelated and interdependent process which reflects the profoundly democratic character of our socialist system."<sup>1</sup>

One of the characteristics of the ruling Communist Party is precisely that it draws into the management of state and social affairs all working people, that it sup-

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<sup>1</sup> L. I. Brezhnev, *Following Lenin's Course*, Vol. 2, p. 203 (in Russian).

ports the activities of all their organisations, focussing their efforts on building a communist society.

Let us analyse in more detail the activities of the mass organisations in socialist society.

A prominent place among them belongs to the *trade unions*, the largest non-Party public organisation. The trade unions have 700,000 primary branches, about half a million shop committees, and two and a half million trade union groups.

Trade unions unite factory, office and professional workers in all occupations on a voluntary basis, irrespective of nationality, sex or religion. Lenin described the trade unions as an organisation designed to draw in and to train, as a school of administration, of economic management, a school of communism.<sup>1</sup>

Consistently implementing the Leninist principles of supervising the trade unions, the Communist Party creatively develops and specialises them with reference to the present period. The CPSU has substantiated the conclusion that with the triumph of socialism—and especially under developed socialism—the role of the trade unions as a school of communism becomes all the greater, their scope being wider than ever before.

The increased role played by the trade unions depends on some objective factors, especially on the need to enhance the democratic principles of social regulation, the growth of trade union membership and social support, the improvement of the trade union structure, and the raising of the trade union members' cultural and professional standards.

Whereas shortly before the October Revolution only a few per cent of the population belonged to trade unions, at present they unite the whole working class and the professional workers as well as a large part of the farming population. Over sixty years, trade union membership has grown to 111.5 million including about 100 million industrial, professional and office workers, over 3 mil-

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<sup>1</sup> See V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 32, pp. 19-20.

lion farm experts and machine operators, 5 million college and technical secondary school students, and 2.5 million factory and farm vocational school trainees.

The development of the trade unions led to the emergence of a centralised system of industrial unions resting on the Leninist principle of democratic centralism. This means that, in accordance with the needs of the development of socialist production and management and the tasks of the trade union movement itself, the structure of the trade unions follows the division of the economy into large sectors.

The 25th CPSU Congress has set the task of improving the structure of trade unions to make it accord more fully with the structure of management in industry, of promoting better methods of trade union work in production associations, of extending trade union influence on the collective farms and increasing the role of the trade unions in every body of workers.

The material facilities at the disposal of the trade unions increase with every year. Here are some figures. The state social insurance budget, controlled by the trade unions since 1933, has increased many times over and exceeds at present 20,000 million roubles. This budget is a highly important instrument whereby the trade unions fulfil their functions. In 1968-1971, 31.4 million persons were treated or rested at 977 trade union health resorts, sanatoria, holiday homes, and so on. Over the same period, about 29 million schoolchildren stayed at 15,664 Young Pioneer summer camps run by the trade unions.

As of January 1, 1971, the trade unions ran 6,016 public lecture centres attended by 1,552,300 persons, 21,600 clubs and Palaces and Houses of Culture, 28,200 libraries with a stock of 272 million books used by almost 24 million persons. These organisations carry on systematic work for raising the political awareness and cultural standards of the people. The trade unions publish independently or jointly with ministries and government departments 10 national newspapers and 77 mass industrial and scientific-technical magazines. More than 10 million people belong

to 506,300 amateur arts groups and folk ensembles sponsored by the trade unions. The trade unions' twenty-nine sports societies have a membership of 25 million people who have at their disposal 2,342 stadiums, 7,731 gymnasia, 5,638 skiing lodges, 475 swimming pools, 237,607 sports and football grounds, 12,189 ice-hockey rinks, 9,969 health and sports camps, hunters' and fishermen's clubs and tourist camps.

At the present stage of the building of communism more importance is being attached to the Party's guidance of the trade unions. The line pursued by the Party is to increase further the trade unions' role and the level of their work, to promote their activity and initiative, building up their personnel and demanding more from the Communists active in the trade unions.

The aims of the trade unions are to raise further the people's labour and political activity, improve the organisation of the socialist emulation movement and the movement for a communist attitude towards work, to advance and raise the efficiency of social production by steadily increasing the productivity of labour, to use to the utmost the results of science and technology, to introduce the scientific organisation of labour and to spread the achievements of leading workers and innovators in production.

The trade unions do their best to improve working and living conditions and organise leisure-time activities and strictly supervise the observance of the Labour Code and safety rules. The trade unions instil in the people lofty ideas and ethics and fight antisocial behaviour and hangovers of the past in people's minds, insisting on strict adherence to socialist labour discipline and communist moral standards.

With the economic reform and the changed conditions of work at industrial enterprises, the trade unions have begun to go deeper into the economic questions. In accordance with the Rules of the Socialist State Industrial Enterprises, the trade unions directly participate in the distribution of the incentive fund. Together with the management, they ascertain each worker's contribution to

production and do their best to make the enterprise more profitable.

The trade unions do a great deal to develop the workers' initiative. All the diverse directions along which the trade union organisations conduct their work come together as in a focal point in collective agreements. The trade unions have a wide range of means of enlisting the workers' participation in economic management: production conferences, primary organisations of inventors and innovators, scientific and technical societies, design bureaux, economic analysis groups and technical information departments all of whose work is done as a public service.

The standing production conferences perform functions which come closest to economic management. These conferences are set up at factories, building projects, state farms and workshops with at least 100, and in some industries 300, workers. Their members are factory and office workers, representatives of the factory, local and shop committees, of the management, of Party and Komsomol branches, and of the primary branch of the scientific and technical society and the society of inventors and innovators elected by a general meeting of the factory and office workers for the term of the local committee.

Hundreds of thousands of Soviet working people take part in the standing production conferences which are held at practically every industrial establishment in the country. More than six million men and women have been elected to them. Apart from these permanent members, about 50 million more participate in their work. The production conferences are a direct expression of the growing democracy at enterprises resulting from the economic reform.

The broad programme of social measures adopted by the 24th CPSU Congress has given the trade unions a greater role in improving the systems of remuneration and incentive, fixing output quotas and wage rates, providing for a more expedient and economical use of the funds allocated by the state for social insurance, improving the public health service and service at health resorts,

and so on. The intensification of social production requires closer supervision over the observance of labour laws and labour protection and safety rules in production in order to prevent industrial accidents and infractions of the legally established hours and leisure time.

The new Fundamentals of Labour Legislation of the USSR and the Union Republics and Regulations on the Rights of the Factory and Local Trade Union Committees have notably expanded the trade unions' functions and powers of supervision over the observance of the labour laws, protection of labour and industrial safety rules and provision of homes and adequate services for factory, office and professional workers.

Protection of the legal interests and rights, concern about working and living conditions are an important function of the trade unions.

Under capitalism this function is a manifestation of the economic class struggle between labour and capital.

Under socialism, this function, in Lenin's definition, is an expression of the struggle against red tape on the part of individual economic managers and government officials and also serves to protect the material and spiritual interests of the mass of the working people.

The international activities of the Soviet trade unions are a specific and broad function of socio-political importance.

Following the decisions of Party congresses and CC CPSU plenary meetings, the Soviet trade unions contribute to the success of the foreign policy pursued by the CPSU and the Soviet State in order to consolidate peace and improve the international climate.

The Soviet trade unions have established and maintain contacts with trade unions in more than 128 countries worldwide. The central place in this belongs to the improvement of contacts and extension of co-operation with the trade unions of the fraternal socialist countries. The Soviet trade unions develop their relations with trade unions in the capitalist countries from the standpoint of working-class solidarity, supporting the struggles waged

by working people there for their vital rights and social and democratic freedoms. The Soviet trade unions also actively support the trade unions in the developing countries.

The 16th Congress of the Soviet trade unions, held in March 1977, was attended by 147 trade union and workers' delegations from 115 countries representing seven international organisations. This is a striking demonstration of the vitality of the slogan of proletarian solidarity.

The *Komsomol* (Young Communist League), the Party's militant reserve uniting broad sections of progressive Soviet youth, occupies a prominent place in the system of political organisations.

The *Komsomol* operates under the guidance of the CPSU and is an active helper of the Party. Party guidance gives the *Komsomol* strength and is an earnest of its success. The *Komsomol's* central task is to bring up young people in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism, devotion to their country, the heroic traditions of the revolutionary struggle and examples of dedicated efforts of workers, collective farmers and members of the intelligentsia, to inculcate in the young generation a class approach to all social phenomena and to train steadfast, highly educated and industrious young builders of communism.

Historically, the *Komsomol* was the first organisation to rally the young on a national scale on the basis of a communist platform and Leninist ideological and organisational principles and to provide Party leadership for the practical involvement of the young people in the revolutionary struggle and for their active participation in all sectors of the building of socialism.

Youth is, of course, the time when one's views, convictions and character are being formed and one acquires the habits of practical activity. Participating in the work of the youth organisation helps young men and women to acquire these habits and find their place in the nationwide endeavour to build a communist society.

Lenin and the Communist Party constantly opposed attempts to confine young people to problems narrowly

concerning youth and to the propagation of culture and enlightenment. The Party has always viewed the youth movement as a part of the revolutionary working-class movement and the education of young people as a part of the struggle for the revolutionary transformation of society, for the building of socialism and communism. The history of the Komsomol is inseparably linked with the struggle of the Communist Party, the working class, and the whole of the Soviet people for the triumph of socialism and communism. Simultaneously, the Party points out that the youth league must pay attention to and try to meet the specific needs and interests of young people: employment, education, leisure activities and everyday life.

The Komsomol "ensures the Party a healthy and continuous growth, as young workers, the most active section of the proletariat, join the Party through the League. . .".<sup>1</sup> The Party regards its main task with relation to the Komsomol to be to assist the latter in its educational work and step up its own political guidance of the League while encouraging independent initiative and activity in youth organisations and drawing them into political and professional work.

Educating young people in a communist spirit means to instil in them lofty ideas, love of country, feelings of friendship and solidarity with the working people of all countries, uncompromising class opposition to the oppressors and bourgeois ideology and morality, a conscientious attitude to work, and an awareness of the inseparable bond between one's own life and the life of the people, of society.

Marx and Engels laid the foundations of the communist education of youth. They were the first to describe the young generation as a "reserve". As he developed the Marxist principles of youth education, Lenin set store especially by the continuity of generations which he saw as the continuity of revolutionary working-class objectives

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<sup>1</sup> *The CPSU in Resolutions. . .*, Vol. 2, p. 357 (in Russian).

and ideals. Relying on Marxist-Leninist theory, the Party, ever since it started its work of revolutionary change, has been guiding the Komsomol as a socio-political organisation of Soviet youth.

By their communist attitude to work the present generation of Soviet young people confirm their commitment to their fathers' and grandfathers' revolutionary traditions, demonstrating the continuity of generations typical of socialist society.

The Party has acquired experience in guiding the communist youth movement as it steered in guiding the working-class struggle against the tsarist autocracy. "...The question of organising working youth occupied us from the very birth of the Bolshevik Party," Sergei Kirov, a prominent Soviet leader, said. "Even before we had shaped as true, unyielding Bolsheviks, Lenin was telling us to pay the most serious, most careful attention to the rising working-class generation."<sup>1</sup> At the Second Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party which set up a workers' party of a new type and adopted a programme drawn up by Lenin, the youth question found expression in Lenin's Draft Resolution on the Attitude Towards the Student Youth which spoke of ways to instil in youth "an integral and consistent socialist world outlook" and draw it in an organised fashion into the revolutionary movement.<sup>2</sup>

The Party has always paid great attention to the role of young working people in the working-class movement at large. The 6th Party Congress passed a resolution which said in part: "Now that the working-class struggle is passing into a phase of direct struggle for socialism, the Congress considers helping to set up socialist class organisations of young working people to be one of the most urgent tasks of the moment. . . ."<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> S. M. Kirov, *On Youth*, Moscow, 1969, p. 9 (in Russian).

<sup>2</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 6, p. 471.

<sup>3</sup> *The CPSU in Resolutions. . .*, Vol. 1, Moscow, 1970, p. 499 (in Russian).

The persistent struggle waged by the Party and by Lenin for the young generation of the working class and peasantry ended in a historic victory marked by the emergence, in 1918, of the Russian Young Communist League. For the first time in the history of the international youth movement, there emerged an organisation of a new type fulfilling the functions of the Party's helper and reserve, proletarian by nature, communist in its aims and purposes, the meaning and content of its activities, which was based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism: a mass organisation by the composition and nature of its membership, a militant contingent of the international revolutionary youth movement.

After the victorious socialist revolution Lenin repeatedly dealt with questions associated with the communist education of youth. Lenin's speech "The Tasks of the Youth Leagues" delivered at the Third Komsomol Congress is a remarkable document. It shows how deeply Lenin saw into the substance of the social processes which the Party was to regulate after the interventionists and internal counter-revolutionaries were routed and work was begun on building a socialist society. Not everybody at that time fully understood the profound significance of the call he addressed to the young generation of the Soviet country: "...the tasks ... might be summed up in a single word: learn."<sup>1</sup>

"But each year, each succeeding decade disclosed ever more clearly and conclusively the full meaning of this precept of Lenin's, of his call to bring up our youth as builders of communism," Leonid Brezhnev said.<sup>2</sup>

At present new specific problems arise relating to the upbringing of young people as an active political force and reserve of the Communist Party. Far more young people today join in political activities much earlier than before,

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<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 283.

<sup>2</sup> L. I. Brezhnev, *Following Lenin's Course*, Vol. 3, p. 136 (in Russian).

they grow ideologically at a time when the general educational, cultural and technical standards are rising rapidly.

Creatively developing Lenin's ideas on the Party guidance of the Komsomol in the present period of building communism, the Party leads the Komsomol in all its activities, develops the Komsomol's independent activities and extends its sphere of influence wherever young people are to be found, supports useful initiatives advanced by Komsomol branches and ensures the Komsomol participation in the administration of state affairs. The Party presides over the selection, placement and training of Komsomol functionaries and directs the efforts of its own and Komsomol branches to the solution of major tasks involved in the communist education of young people. The Party brings up the young generation in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism, Soviet patriotism and proletarian internationalism, instilling in it communist morality and a communist attitude to work, and gives the Komsomol a greater role in the building of the material and technological basis of communism. The Party pays attention to increasing the general educational, cultural and technical levels of the rising generation and to its all-round development. The Party entrusts the guidance of the Young Pioneers to the Komsomol. The Party orientates the Komsomol towards taking an active part in the international communist and democratic youth movements.

The Party's guidance of the Komsomol rests on a scientific foundation and is equally far removed from petty tutelage and so-called theories of "youth avant-gardism", "equality", and so on.

The Party's guidance of the Komsomol has nothing of administration, regimentation, or formalism in it. All work among young people is directed taking into account their interests and with their own active participation.

The line pursued by the CPSU in its work with the Komsomol is designed to develop its initiative. At the same time, the Party has always been against making the independence of youth organisations an end in itself. Soviet experience attests to the fact that in socialist society

youthful enthusiasm becomes a genuine creative force only when combined with the Communist Party's revolutionary and political wisdom. The success of the communist upbringing of young people depends on the dialectical comprehension of these two principles as well as on the scientific methods of their application in practice.

Lenin wrote: "The middle-aged and the aged often *do not know how* to approach the youth, for the youth must of necessity advance to socialism *in a different way, by other paths, in other forms, in other circumstances* than their fathers."<sup>1</sup>

Lenin considered the ability to find specific forms of work with young people and youth organisations and to help them correct their errors principally by persuasion to be one of the major principles of the guidance of young people by the Party. He wrote: "Adults who lay claim to lead and teach the proletariat, but actually mislead it, are one thing: against such people a *ruthless* struggle must be waged. Organisations of *youth*, however, which openly declare that they are still learning, that their main task is to train party workers for the socialist parties, are quite another thing. Such people must be given every assistance. We must be patient with their faults and strive to correct them gradually, mainly by *persuasion*, and not by fighting them."<sup>2</sup>

Simultaneously Lenin stressed that one must not seek popularity with young people at the price of essential principles of scientific socialism or by following trends fashionable among the young. He wrote: "We must not flatter the youth."<sup>3</sup>

Of course the youth problem arises in different ways in different social conditions.

In recent years the capitalist countries have seen an upsurge of the youth movement and an intensification of social and political activity among young people.

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<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 23, p. 164.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

This is mainly due to the crisis of capitalist society whose internal contradictions have become more acute. In this connection Communists in the capitalist countries are faced with the tasks of drawing the broadest sections of young people into the struggle against the threats of war and imperialism, bringing them closer to working-class, socialist positions and instilling Marxist-Leninist views in them. The 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties pointed out that "only close unity with the working-class movement and its Communist vanguard can open for them truly revolutionary prospects".<sup>1</sup>

Some bourgeois sociologists maintain that the conflict of generations is a constant social feature common to all epochs and independent of any social and political circumstances. Kenneth Keniston, an American sociologist, claims that the radicalism of the young is merely a transposition to the social scene of the feelings and rebellion aroused by family conflicts which, in turn, are merely due to the fact that the two generations formed in entirely different life situations.<sup>2</sup>

The most complete exposition of the "generation gap" theory is to be found in *The Conflict of Generations* by Lewis Feuer, another American sociologist, who, following the Freudian Oedipus complex conception, maintains that the conflict of generations is a universal motive force in history, and more important than the class struggle. Explaining the features of the modern student movement, Feuer uses the notion of "gerontocracy", i.e., a society characterised by the concentration of excessive economic and political power in the hands of the old, a fact he presumes provokes protest from the young.<sup>3</sup>

This pseudo-scientific theory of the "conflict of generations" which reduces social processes, the class struggle

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<sup>1</sup> *International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, Moscow, 1969, Prague, 1969, p. 26.*

<sup>2</sup> K. Keniston, *The Uncommitted. Alienated Youth in American Society*, New York, 1965, p. 231.

<sup>3</sup> L. Feuer, *The Conflict of Generations*, New York, 1969.

above all, to vulgar biologism is utilised in order to run down the youth movement and extol capitalism. Lenin wrote a propos of such interpretations of social phenomena: "Nothing is easier than to tack an 'energeticist' or 'biologico-sociological' label on to such phenomena as crises, revolutions, the class struggle and so forth; but neither is there anything more sterile, more scholastic and lifeless than such an occupation."<sup>1</sup>

At the meeting of representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of European countries, held in February 1973 in Moscow, the delegations pooled their experience of working with the young as well as their opinions on the prospects for the wider involvement of young people in the movement for security and co-operation in Europe and in the common struggle of the progressive forces against imperialism for peace, democracy and socialism. The delegates noted, amongst other things, that the ruling class in capitalist countries brings the entire strength of the state machine, church, mass media and other channels to bear on young people in the hope of making them indifferent to politics and progressive ideas.

Otto Podolsky, a member of the CC CPA and Chairman of the Young Communist Union of Austria, writes: "...To divert the young from social problems the ruling classes present relations between generations in a false light and set young against old. They use the mass media to foster a consumer mentality and advertise spurious ideals..."<sup>2</sup>

The state of the young in the capitalist countries was also described by Jean Colpin (French Communist Party). "...The spiritual 'crisis' of the young generation," he writes, "of which so much has been written in the West, is a direct result of capitalism's inability to respond to its aspirations and needs in the conditions created by the scientific and technological revolution. Young people react sharply to the 'paradoxes' of a society in which economic

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<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 14, p. 328.

<sup>2</sup> Otto Podolsky, "Educating Young Communists", *World Marxist Review*, 1973, No. 5, p. 38.

progress comes into contradiction with social progress; they denounce the system subjecting them to capitalist exploitation and age discrimination in wages and jobs, and the various bans it imposes. . . ."<sup>1</sup>

The deepening crisis of capitalism has turned in the West into a tragedy for millions of jobless young men and women deprived of a future and doomed to poverty.

A large proportion of the unemployed—whose number has reached 15 million according to UN figures—are young people. They account for 45.8 per cent of the jobless in France, 47.2 per cent in Denmark, 37.6 per cent in Holland, 28.4 per cent in West Germany, 32.7 per cent in Italy and 30.3 per cent in Britain.

Under developed socialism, as the Party's leading role in all sectors of the life of society rises, as the tasks involved in the building of communism become more complex, as the significance of ideological and educational work increases while the people's educational and cultural standards improve, the Party is faced with essentially new tasks regarding the communist education and guidance of its militant reserve and helper, the Komsomol.

In developed socialist society, the Komsomol's role in assisting the CPSU in every sphere of economic, state and cultural development has increased; its efforts to form the Marxist-Leninist outlook of the Soviet youth have intensified. The development of socialist democracy has made it possible to draw large numbers of young people into the management of public affairs and production. The significance of the Komsomol's activities in the international communist and democratic youth and student movements has increased.

The Komsomol, which initially had a membership of 22,000, has now turned into a mass organisation uniting 35 million young men and women. During the Komsomol's sixty years of existence, more than 130 million people have been reared in its school and tempered politically.

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<sup>1</sup> Jean Colpin, "Working with Youth", *World Marxist Review*, 1973, No. 4, p. 1.

Almost 3 million young men and women annually enter the field of the national economy. Roughly 70 per cent of them have a secondary education. About 55 per cent of Komsomol members are employed in the national economy. In 1974, 5,994,000 of them were employed in industry, over 3,000,000 in agriculture, 1,204,000 in construction, 935,000 in transport and communications, 930,000 in trade and public catering. The Komsomol includes about 11,000,000 workers, more than 2,000,000 collective farmers, 1,653,000 engineers, technicians and agricultural experts, and over 800,000 school and college teachers and doctors.

Since its formation, the Komsomol has prepared more than 12,000,000 young men and women for joining the CPSU.

The proportion of Komsomol members in the total number of those admitted to the Party is growing from year to year. Komsomol members accounted for 40.1 per cent of those admitted to the CPSU as candidate-members in 1966, 48.9 per cent in 1969, 64 per cent in 1973, and 70 per cent in 1975. In the interval between the 23rd and 24th CPSU congresses 1,350,000, and in 1971-72 571,935 Komsomol members joined the Party.

The character of Soviet youth is shaped by Soviet society's way of life. Soviet youth has grown up in a society free from exploitation and inequality, ensuring its social and political rights, securing its future, and giving it broad access to creative work, education and culture. Soviet youth carries on the traditions engendered by the people's selfless struggle during the Civil War, the Great Patriotic War of 1941-1945 and the building of the foundations of a socialist society, and is the Party's reliable support.

This, however, does not mean that the education of the young presents no difficulties or problems.

As the Party is guiding socialist society on scientific principles, it is aware that to make young men and women join in building a new society, assimilate Marxist-Leninist views and develop the mentality of the new man much persevering effort must be exerted.

It is hard to overestimate the value of the Party's work with the young as the present young generation is to play a great and important role in building a communist society in the Soviet Union; it is to make its contribution to the world-wide struggle between the forces of peace, progress and socialism, on the one hand, and the forces of reaction, aggression and imperialism on the other.

In carrying out the task of the communist education of Soviet youth, the Party is always concerned with the growth of the Komsomol and youth publications. Two hundred and twenty-six Komsomol and Young Pioneer periodicals in 26 languages of Soviet peoples are published in the USSR.

In socialist society, the Communist Party provides the necessary conditions to help young people to master the results of modern science and technology. The Party encourages young people's creative activities carried on in such forms as National Reviews of youth creativity in science and technology, groups engaging in creative work in science and technology, integrated research teams, voluntary associations for creative work, innovators' councils, young innovators' schools, and so on.

During the ninth five-year period, the change over to universal compulsory secondary education was in the main completed in the USSR. With every passing year, Soviet young people have better opportunities of getting a higher or technical secondary education.

Colleges have preparatory departments for young people from factories and farms. Candidates with a record of work in production enjoy privileges in entering colleges. Young workers and farmers are often sent to various schools in an organised fashion. Colleges open branches at large enterprises. Students get larger monthly grants and better hostels.

Sending Communists to work in Komsomol branches is a major form of CPSU guidance of the Komsomol. There has been a Party core in the Komsomol ever since it was formed. Under developed socialism, when the Party set the Komsomol tasks of greater scope and complexity,

when the general educational and cultural standards of young people have risen while the membership of the Komsomol has grown considerably and it has come to play a greater role in all spheres of the life of society, the Communists' responsibility for the education of the young generation has increased.

In accordance with the decision of the 23rd CPSU Congress on the need to build up the Party core in Komsomol branches by sending more Communists to work in them, the Party organisations are now recommending for work in the Komsomol more young Party members who have shown themselves to be good workers in production and active in social work. There were 267,328 members and candidate-members of the Party sent to work in the Komsomol in 1967, 460,638 in 1970, and 790,768 in 1974. Today almost a million young Party members work in Komsomol organisations.

While it carries on its activities under CPSU guidance, the Komsomol is an independent voluntary organisation whose members take part in its activities on the basis of a free and businesslike discussion of questions concerning the internal life of the organisation. This helps establish an identity of views and, on this basis, unity of action, helping to instil a sense of responsibility for the common task. The Komsomol bases its work on staunch adherence to the Leninist principles of collective leadership and on the all-round promotion of democracy, initiative, criticism and self-criticism in the organisation.

The Komsomol and Soviet youth as a whole firmly support their peers fighting for freedom and national independence. By its international activities over sixty years the Komsomol has contributed in no small measure to the development of the world communist youth movement. The Komsomol acts jointly with communist youth organisations in other countries on the principle of working-class solidarity and community of interests, aims and purposes in the common struggle.

An active component of the international communist and workers' movement, the Komsomol, youth organisations in

the socialist countries, and young communist unions are making a significant impact on the mounting activity of the broad sections of young people, promoting the growth of political awareness among young workers, farmers, intellectuals and students.

The *co-operatives* are an important form of working people's voluntary association.

There are farming, consumer, producers', housing and other co-operative organisations. All co-operatives are formed in the same way, by people joining them as members and owning some property in common (co-operative property). The future of different kinds of co-operatives is not the same. Producers' co-operatives, for instance, have outlived their usefulness and merged with national industry. The consumer co-operatives, which have at present millions of shareholders and play an important role in the rural retail trade system, may in the future merge with the single state system of trade. It is equally possible that it will exist parallel to state trade and will eventually merge into a single distribution system in communist society.

Production co-operatives, the collective farms, thrive particularly in the countryside. They are schools of communism for the Soviet farmers and schools of public self-administration. Collective farms are not only economic but also social bodies uniting an entire class of Soviet society, the peasants. These independent voluntary co-operative organisations make their own decisions on all economic and social matters on the basis of the laws and regulations of the socialist state with the Communist Party playing the leading role.

Lenin regarded the co-operatives as a means of actively influencing the peasants in a manner easily understandable and accessible to them.<sup>1</sup> He drew up a programme of co-operation in agriculture as a method for bringing the peasants to socialism.

The socialist state guides the co-operatives mainly by making recommendations to them. Lenin repeatedly men-

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<sup>1</sup> See V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 478.

tioned that in guiding the peasantry it was essential "not to tie our [neither the Party's nor the Soviet Government's] hands by any orders, directives or rules. . . .

Under no circumstances to permit what would be most dangerous and harmful at the present time, and what the local authorities may easily slip into—superfluous, clumsy and hasty regulation that has not been tested by experience."<sup>1</sup>

In his work "On Co-operation", written in 1923, Lenin completed his co-operative plan for the socialist reorganisation of the countryside. Lenin stressed that under Soviet rule co-operatives acquired "an altogether exceptional significance", that it "nearly always coincides fully with socialism", that the "mere growth of co-operation . . . is identical with the growth of socialism".<sup>2</sup>

The socialist collective-farm system is a great gain for the working people. It is Lenin's brilliant co-operative plan translated into life. The peasants' adoption of the socialist path was a fact of immense significance. Economic relations in the countryside were based on socialist property. With the establishment of the collective-farm system, the social causes breeding exploitation of man by man were finally abolished. An efficient form of communal economy was found, providing for a correct combination of the peasants' individual and common interests. Collectivisation consolidated the gains of the October Revolution, making the alliance between the working class and the peasantry still stronger. The peasants became an active force in the building of socialism and communism.

The collective-farm system has immense latent reserves for the further development of the productive forces of agriculture and for raising the cultural and living standards of the peasants. The measures effected by the Party and government in recent years are aimed at making the best possible use of all potentialities and reserves inherent in the collective-farm system, ensuring the all-round de-

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<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 327.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 473, 474.

velopment of the collective farms as economic and social organisations which are a form of drawing the masses into the building of communism.

The establishment of large socialist economies—the collective farms—together with the mechanisation and electrification of farming make work in agriculture closer in character to work in industry. To intensify farming, the collective farmers learn to use the new machines supplied by Soviet industry, raise the productivity of labour and provide more and better services and amenities in the countryside.

Under the Soviet Constitution, a collective farm is granted the free use of its land in perpetuity. The land question has been solved in keeping with the famous Decree on Land drawn up by Lenin. The economic base of the collective farm is the state-owned land and the common co-operative property. In accordance with collective-farm Rules and Soviet laws, the collective farm and its executive body have the sole charge of its property and funds.

Over the years of the development of the collective-farm system, co-operative property in agriculture has undergone notable changes. It has become larger both in the aggregate and on the scale of individual farms. Its objective content too has altered. All these changes reflect the closing gap between collective-farm and national property. It would, however, be premature at present to describe collective-farm property and the basic funds which are the key element of this property as a variety of national property.

The emergence and development of co-operative property as a socialist form of property depend decisively on state socialist property. Material assistance rendered by the state also played an important role in the emergence and development of collective-farm property. But the main source of growth of collective-farm property at all stages of the development of co-operatives were the collective farms' own accumulations.

A collective farm is a social organisation and its work is based entirely on the independent activities of the

collective farmers who manage their affairs and organise production themselves. In this they are supported and assisted by the Party and government which take political, economic, legal and organisational measures promoting the all-round development of the collective economies.

The further development of collective-farm democracy is facilitated by the Model Rules for collective farms adopted at the Third All-Union Congress of Collective Farmers. The draft of the Rules were discussed in detail in the press. The Rules are based on Lenin's ideas on co-operation and describe a collective farm as a co-operative organisation of farmers joining voluntarily to conduct in common large-scale agricultural production. By its social nature it is a democratic self-governed socialist organisation.

The Rules state: "A collective farm as a social form of socialist economy is fully up to the tasks of the further development of the productive forces in the countryside. It provides for the management of production by the collective farmers themselves on the basis of collective-farm democracy and enables a correct combination of collective farmers' interests with the social interests of the whole people. A collective farm is a school of communism for the farmers."<sup>1</sup>

The Model Rules ensure the further consolidation and development of collective-farm democracy. Council of teams and other divisions of the collective farm, meetings of authorised representatives, team meetings and other forms of democratic administration of the affairs of the collective farms have been institutionalised. The collective-farm Board, Chairman and Audit Committee may be elected by open or secret ballot, at the discretion of the general meeting. All the affairs of a collective farm are managed on the basis of broad democracy, the farmers taking an active part in making decisions on various matters in

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<sup>1</sup> *Triumph of Lenin's Co-operative Plan*, Documents of the Third All-Union Congress of Collective Farmers, November 1969, Moscow, 1969, p. 87 (in Russian).

the life of the collective farm. On large collective farms where it may be difficult to convene a general meeting of the members, questions in the purview of the general meeting may be resolved by meetings of delegates elected by the teams and other divisions of the collective farm. The collective-farm Board is an executive body elected by and accountable to the general meeting of the members. It is in charge of all organisational, production, financial, cultural and educational activities on the collective farm. In performing its duties, the Board relies on numerous active members of the collective farm. The Chairman and Board members may be recalled by the decision of a general meeting, should they fail in their duties.

In accordance with the decisions adopted by the Third All-Union Congress of Collective Farmers, collective-farm councils have been set up in districts, regions, territories and republics. There are at present 2,417 such councils in operation. They are composed altogether of over 85,000 elected representatives of collective farms, Soviet and agricultural authorities and scientific bodies and include 64,000 rank-and-file collective farmers.

Collective-farm councils are closely linked with production and can do much to organise the large-scale introduction of the results of science and technology and modern experience.

The collective-farm councils facilitate the development of creative initiative and a sense of being master of the land and common property among collective farmers, thus making them more active in the management of production and advancing democratic principles.

Recent years have seen the emergence on collective farms of such forms of management as planning commissions, commissions on cost accounting, pension committees, commissions for cultural and other amenities, councils of the elders, club and library councils, women's councils, credit union councils, and so on. These bodies play an important role in instilling new attitudes to labour, increasing awareness and tightening discipline.

Ever more attention is being paid to scientific organisation and production management. Councils for the scientific organisation of labour (SOL) help collective-farm boards to solve the economic questions of agricultural production. A SOL Council is a new elected body attached to the collective-farm Board and works to draw collective farmers into tackling important problems in organising labour at all levels on the farm and so to ensure, on the basis of the creativity of the masses, the further development of the productive forces.

Without a durable economic basis—the public ownership of land and common collective-farm property—no declared principles of collective-farm democracy would have any real validity.

Of course, collective-farm democracy implies duties as well as rights, above all the duty to consolidate socialist relations in the countryside and to preserve and multiply public and collective-farm property. On using his rights and fulfilling his duties consistently, each collective farmer promotes collective-farm democracy, helping to develop and consolidate it.

To speak of the CPSU's experience in developing and consolidating the economic foundations of collective-farm democracy and providing real conditions for the participation of the farmers in the management of the affairs of the socialist countryside is to speak of the immense theoretical and practical work done by the Party to develop creatively Lenin's agrarian programme and co-operative plan and of its scientific, comprehensive approach to complex problems associated with the development of the productive forces and improvement of the relations of production in the countryside.

The development of socialist agriculture has always been and continues to be at the centre of the Communist Party's attention. The Party has always fully appreciated the enormous contribution made by agriculture to the stronger alliance between the working class and peasantry as well as to the national economy and higher living standards for the people.

Scientifically substantiated agrarian policy principles for the period of building communism are set out clearly in the CPSU Programme. The Party sets two basic, closely related tasks: (1) to build up an abundance of high-quality foodstuffs for the population and of raw materials for industry, and (2) to effect the gradual transition of social relations in the Soviet countryside to communist relations, eliminating the distinctions between town and country.

Describing the collective-farm system established in the Soviet Union, Leonid Brezhnev said: "*Politically*, the collective-farm system strengthened the Soviet state and its main basis, the union of workers and peasants, and ensured real conditions for the participation of the peasants in the management of social production and in decisions of general affairs of state.

"*Economically*, the collective-farm system placed at the service of socialism and communism the advantages of large-scale production and made it possible to develop agriculture on a modern industrial basis.

"*Socially*, the collective-farm system not only delivered the working peasant from exploitation and poverty, but also made it possible to establish in the countryside a new system of social relations which lead to the complete obliteration of class distinctions in Soviet society."<sup>1</sup>

A new stage was opened in the development of socialist agriculture by the March 1965 Plenary Meeting of the CC CPSU. It occupies a special place due to the significance of the theoretical and political conclusions it drew and of the practical tasks ensuing from them as well as to its profound and strong effect on social and economic progress in the countryside and on economic development at large. The Plenary Meeting evolved the principles of the Party's contemporary agrarian policy, spelled out the key problems of ensuring an upswing of agriculture, and worked out the guidelines for their solution.

Mapping out the ways to bring about an upsurge in agriculture in the mid-sixties, the Party was mindful of

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<sup>1</sup> L. I. Brezhnev, *Following Lenin's Course*, Moscow, 1972, p. 235.

the fact that over a long period of time, partly for objective reasons and partly because of certain miscalculations in the past, numerous unsolved problems had accumulated in the countryside and were adversely affecting agricultural production and holding back the progress of the economy at large. The lag of agriculture was especially manifest compared to the rapid growth of socialist industry, culture, science and technology as the Soviet Union had entered the period of building the material and technological base of communism. "This situation," Leonid Brezhnev said, "placed a special responsibility on the Party and its Central Committee and required of us that we draw up an agrarian policy to ensure the steady growth of agriculture, the transformation of the nature of agricultural work and the change in the very make-up of the village. Since the March 1965 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, we have been seriously engaged in working on this policy solving the key questions step by step. . . ."<sup>1</sup>

The Party has always believed that agrarian policy is an important component of its general political course. The development of the productive forces of agriculture is therefore viewed in close association with the whole of the socialist economy.

The current agrarian policy pursued by the CPSU is a continuation and creative development of Lenin's teachings on the agrarian question in changed historical conditions. The essence of this policy, its main directions and its aim were scientifically substantiated by the March and May 1966, October 1968, and July 1970 Plenary meetings of the CC CPSU, and by the 23rd and 24th Party congresses.

Agrarian policy was set out in a generalised and comprehensive fashion and was developed further in Leonid Brezhnev's speech at Alma Ata on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the development of the virgin lands.

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<sup>1</sup> L. I. Brezhnev, *Our Course: Peace and Socialism*, Part Five, Moscow, 1974, p. 55.

The speech contained a profound Marxist-Leninist analysis of the achievements scored by the Soviet Union in the economy. It detailed the main directions of agrarian policy at the present stage, showing what had been done by the Party and people to implement this policy, and set concrete tasks to develop agriculture further and improve performance in all sectors of the economy.

One of the main directions of the Party's agrarian policy at present is to set up and perfect a system of economic relations and conditions able to provide a material incentive for the farmers to raise production and help build up economically the collective and state farms even more.

The focal point of the Party's economic policy in the countryside is a new system of planning production and its purchases of farm produce. The pivot of this system is the introduction of fixed plans of purchases for some years ahead at higher purchase prices including incentive prices paid for deliveries over and above the plan. The new system of planning also envisages greater economic independence for, and initiative by the collective and state farms in planning and organising production, distributing their incomes, and introducing economic cost accounting. These and other measures have proved highly effective and have had a beneficial impact on the economic activities of the collective and state farms.

Another important direction of the Party's agrarian policy is to put agriculture on a modern industrial basis, drastically speeding up scientific and technological progress in this sphere of the economy. This presupposes the utilisation of a complex of factors determining the successful development of agriculture, including the supply of machinery and fertilisers, extended capital construction, land reclamation, the training of skilled personnel and improvement of the organisation of production.

The country's grown economic potential has made it possible to redistribute the national income in favour of agriculture and increase capital investment in that branch.

Of the 320,000 million roubles invested in agriculture

during the entire period of Soviet rule, 213,000 million roubles were invested during the past two five-year periods.

The Party evolved in the Ninth Five-Year Plan a comprehensive programme for the development of agriculture. It was, in fact, a matter of the formation and plan-regulated development of the country's agricultural-industrial complex.

The 25th CPSU Congress identified the tasks confronting agriculture and set two interrelated aims. The first is to secure a reliable supply of food and agricultural base materials for the country and always to have adequate reserves for this. The second is to make steady progress in levelling the material, cultural and everyday conditions of life in town and countryside, as is required by the Party Programme. Both these aims are of fundamental economic and political importance. Both determine the content of the Party's guidelines which are a creative development of Lenin's agrarian policy. These guidelines are entirely consistent with the basic interests of the collective-farm peasantry and the working class, have stood the test of time and received nationwide approval.

An ever broader utilisation of the national economic potential emerges as an indispensable condition of the successful development of agriculture.

The central link in the comprehensive programme of the development of agriculture is the intensification of agricultural production, its greater efficiency, which poses before the Party a whole range of problems associated with the social function of these processes, with their active influence on the conditions of work, on the cultural and technical standard of the farmers. Today, as Leonid Brezhnev has stressed, a farmer has to deal with complex machines, with electricity, with chemistry, with the sciences of field management and livestock management. And this is precisely the process of the transformation of agricultural work into a variety of industrial work.

The next important step made by the CPSU in its pursuit of Lenin's co-operative plan is to perfect the organi-

sation of production and improve the management of agriculture.

In the Soviet Union much experience of collective agricultural production and of productive utilisation of land, machinery, manpower, and other resources has been gained. Soviet agriculture is the largest in the world.

However, the unspecialised, fragmented production patterns which persist still have an adverse effect on labour and cost efficiency. They no longer correspond to the modern level of the productive forces of the countryside and, to a certain extent, hold back its technical re-equipment and make it more difficult to set it on an industrial basis.

In this connection the Party has outlined ways of further improving production relations in agriculture by intensifying the socialisation and division of labour, which in turn implies the improvement of the organisation and management of production.

The idea is above all to continue the specialisation and concentration of production which allow fuller use to be made of the advance achieved by modern science and technology and of the advantages of large-scale socialist farming.

In charting this course, the Party based itself on the quantitative and qualitative changes that have taken place recently in the productive forces of agriculture in connection with the consolidation of its economic and technological base and the emergence of large, highly mechanised agricultural enterprises specialising in one product or other, also bearing in mind the useful experience already amassed in some regions and republics where large stock-farms and complexes have been in operation for some time.

The Party assigns a great role in speeding up these processes to inter-farm co-operation which, by means of pooling the resources of several farms, makes it possible to set up quickly modern large specialised enterprise of an industrial type and thus appreciably increase the efficiency of social production.

The Party sees the specialisation and concentration accomplished on the basis of inter-farm co-operation as an effective means of solving the social tasks that developed socialist society faces.

"Inter-farm enterprises and amalgamations," Leonid Brezhnev said, "will not only help to bring about an increase in farm output but will also contribute to the important social task of raising the level of socialisation of collective-farm production, obliterating the distinctions between collective-farm and state forms of property. And that is a major task of the Party, I would even say a policy task."<sup>1</sup>

That is why inter-farm specialisation and the concentration of production with a view to putting it on a modern industrial basis are not only the main path of the further development of agriculture, but also another stage in the implementation of Lenin's co-operative plan.

The historical experience of reorganising agriculture on socialist lines has now acquired international significance. This path is being followed also by other socialist countries providing fresh evidence of the relevance of Lenin's co-operative plan.

#### VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS AND OTHER SOCIO-POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS IN THE SOVIET POLITICAL SYSTEM

Directly adjoining the political organisation of socialist society are numerous voluntary public associations—scientific, cultural, educational, sports, defence and other societies—which participate under the Party's guidance in carrying out the common task of building communism.

Voluntary associations are organisations in which citizens can use their personal leanings and abilities. The activities of these organisations are of importance both to the formation of the well-developed man of communist so-

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<sup>1</sup> L. I. Brezhnev, *Questions of the CPSU's Agrarian Policy and the Development of Virgin Land in Kazakhstan*, Moscow, 1974, p. 350 (in Russian).

ciety and to the inculcation of the habit of managing public affairs.

Voluntary associations are formed, and their activities are based, on the principles of voluntary membership and democratic centralism. Each association has its Rules. Voluntary associations enjoy the right to nominate candidates for election to government bodies.

The CPSU Central Committee recently called on workers in all branches of the economy to concentrate on speeding the growth of labour efficiency and the efficiency of socialist production. The Soviet *Scientific and Technical Societies* contribute notably to the acceleration of technological progress in production. They concentrate on raising the technological level of production and the quality of goods by tapping internal reserves and having the basic production funds put into operation more promptly, thus minimising materials consumption, and so on.

Much is done to speed technological progress by another voluntary mass organisation, the *All-Union Society of Inventors and Innovators*.

The scientific and technical societies help to refine technologies and promote mechanisation and automation. They work to increase labour efficiency, improve quality, master new production capacities and save raw materials.

These societies have now achieved a level unprecedented in their history. They now have more than six million members—scientists, engineers, technicians, agricultural experts and leading workers and collective farmers who belong to more than 100,000 primary branches at industrial, transportation and building enterprises, on collective and state farms, at scientific research and development centres, ministries and establishments. The societies run more than 3,000 lecture centres disseminating the latest technological and economic knowledge. These centres are attended by more than 752,000 persons. The societies make it possible to use more fully the reserves of the national economy and help to ensure the fulfilment of pledges to produce high-quality goods over and above the plan by enterprises taking part in the socialist emulation movement. They

represent one of the largest social groups pursuing creative work in science and technology.

The innovators' numbers and activity are growing from year to year, as is the economic effect of their proposals introduced into industry.

The voluntary design bureaux are one widespread form of collective participation of the people in improving technology. Their members are engineers, technicians and workers interested in design work. The bureaux help innovators and inventors to prepare their proposals and have them introduced into production, improve equipment, reduce the level of manual work, draw up projects for small-scale mechanisation and equipment modernisation and find and utilise the means of increasing production efficiency.

The economic reform gave play to the initiative and creativity of the masses. The activity of the scientific and technical societies is constantly increasing while the forms and methods of their work improve. Recently, for instance, it has become a widespread practice to transfer the duties of production councils at enterprises to the STS primary branches which cope well with them. The STS councils to be found at many Soviet enterprises continuously concern themselves with major questions of the development of production as well as draft plans for the introduction of new technology. They draw graduate experts and leading workers into innovatory activities.

To involve every specialist in promoting technological progress is the primary objective pursued by the STS organisations at factory level. They set up job-orientated sections, social creative associations, such as economic analysis bureaux, scientific labour organisation councils, research centres and groups. In these each specialist is given a chance to develop his abilities and contribute to the realisation of innovations, improvement of technology and growth of labour efficiency. Such voluntary associations are highly popular among engineers, technicians and foremost workers at many Soviet enterprises. Their research results in new machines, instruments and

plants, progressive techniques, higher quality and lower costs.

Problems arising in production may be too difficult for primary branches to cope with separately. In such cases it is necessary to pool the creative efforts of specialists in different lines, including specialists from related enterprises. Experience has shown that such co-operation yields good results.

The Scientific and Technical Societies, like all other voluntary organisations, rely on their members' awareness, initiative and personal interest in creative work and in raising the efficiency of production by common effort.

Fostering creative initiative and the spirit of innovation among specialists is considered by the Party to be a very important matter. Accordingly, Party committees keep track of what Scientific and Technical Societies are doing, orientating them towards advancing production, promoting the scientific organisation of labour and improving economic methods of management.

At the present stage of socialist production the following are the most typical forms of organisation facilitating the formation and manifestation of initiative among working people, the initiative which is aimed at the early fulfilment of the plan targets, also facilitating the search for means to raise labour productivity and make production more efficient, and to stimulate the membership to improve their educational standards and professional skills.

1. The primary branches of Scientific and Technical Societies, the All-Union Society of Inventors and Innovators, Innovators' Councils, Young Specialists' Councils, Scientific Organisation of Labour Councils and Groups, councils and groups concerning themselves with aesthetics and culture in production, creative and integrated teams for improving production, voluntary design and technological bureaux, information groups, and so on, whose efforts are aimed at improving plant, techniques and the organisation of production.

2. The standing production conferences, social personnel departments (run by volunteers), commissions enabling

the Party organisations to exercise their right of control over the management, people's control posts and groups, "Komsomol Spotlights", etc., whose activities are aimed at fulfilling the functions of administration.

3. Voluntary economic analysis and standardisation bureaux, teams engaged in tapping reserves, and so on, whose work has to do with the working people's participation in improving the economics of production.

These diverse forms of organisation permit the involvement in creative work of practically all categories of workers in industry.

The work for raising the Soviet people's political, scientific and cultural standards is conducted by educational societies, first and foremost by the All-Union *Znaniye* (Knowledge) Society which was founded in 1947 and has a membership of 2.5 million including 1,700 Members and Corresponding Members of the USSR and Union republic Academies of Sciences and 114,000 Doctors and Candidates of various sciences.

The *Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries* was set up in 1958 to promote and strengthen cultural contacts, friendship and co-operation between the Soviet people and the peoples of other countries. More than forty million Soviet citizens take part in the Union's activities, about 120,000 have been elected to the leading bodies of the Union and friendship associations. In 1973, the Union comprised 58 societies and associations for friendship and cultural contacts with foreign countries, 14 republican societies, 16 associations and sections in diverse branches of science and culture, an association for friendship between Soviet and foreign cities, six departments in different cities and towns of the Russian Federation, about 800 republican, territorial, regional, city and district departments, and about 20,000 collective members (factories, collective farms, etc.).

The *USSR Voluntary Society for Assisting the Army, Air Force and Navy* had 312,180 primary branches in 1973, with eight million members.

The *Union of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies*, founded in 1925 and numbering 413,000 primary branches in 1973, with a total membership of 89,200,000, disseminates relevant knowledge among citizens and aids victims of war, natural disasters, and so on.

The *Voluntary Sports Societies* are engaged in promoting through their primary branches mass physical culture, sports and tourism.

In the Soviet political system new socio-political institutions appear or old ones come to play a greater part. Decisive significance is attached in the Soviet political system under developed socialism to the *labour collectives* (bodies of workers), emerging ever more clearly as the basic units of society. They play an important role in advancing production and making it more efficient, in inculcating the communist spirit in the masses and enlisting their participation in the administration of society, and in promoting socialist democracy.

The initiative and creativity of the masses, however manifested, acquire purpose, build up and become decisive to social progress not by themselves, but in a system of social relationships, involving collectivism. People find themselves in a community, it is there that they become aware of their place in life. The community alone affords the means whereby one can develop one's gifts, "hence personal freedom becomes possible only within the community."<sup>1</sup>

These tenets are particularly relevant in developed socialist society. Collectivism provides real material and political guarantees in the Soviet Union. Consciousness, self-consciousness and freedom of action are ensured increasingly in working people's associations and through these associations. It is as members of labour collectives that working people are linked to the general system of economic, political and ideological relations and become active and conscious participants in social progress.

The Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the

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<sup>1</sup> Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 5, Moscow, 1976, p. 78.

24th Party Congress gives a clear definition of the role played by workers' collectives: "This is a major field of struggle for stepping up the labour and social activity of Soviet people. The new, socialist qualities of working people and relations of friendship and comradesly mutual assistance take shape in these collectives. The responsibility of each to the collective and of the collective for each of its members is an inalienable feature of our way of life."<sup>1</sup>

A collective is made up of workshops, teams, sections and departments (primary collectives) interacting on the principles of co-operation and mutual assistance. Along with production divisions, diverse public organisations operate in a collective under the guidance of the Party branches. The activities of a collective give embodiment to the unity of economic and ideological work which enables the Party branches and economic managers to tackle comprehensively such questions as improving production and dealing with ideological work, and social problems.

Tightening labour discipline and raising the awareness of each worker are always at the centre of the Party organisations' attention. Communists are instilling in workers an honest, creative attitude to their jobs, self-discipline and an awareness of the social significance of their efforts.

The achievements of a collective seeking to increase public wealth depend on how successfully this task is tackled.

In the present situation workers' collectives are faced with difficult tasks. They must play a greater role in the development of social relations and in communist education and bear more responsibility for the state of things in every sphere—in production and everyday life, education and culture.

Party organisations are particularly concerned that there should be an atmosphere of mutual respect and constructive criticism in every workers' collective. Responsibility for the state of things in the collective, for the state of the political, economic and moral education of the

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<sup>1</sup> *24th Congress of the CPSU, Moscow, 1971, p. 97.*

masses devolves on all Communists, all executives. Well-organised work in ideological education has a notable economic effect. Equally, economic successes, good organisation of work and leisure and everyday life make an impact on people's minds, mood and behaviour, on the entire social climate.

The public takes an ever more active part in performing functions once considered exclusively the government's. Take, for instance, the maintenance of law and order. Social organisations and independent bodies set up by the masses take part in it together with the courts, the Procurator's Office and the militia which still bears the main responsibility for maintaining public order and fighting crime. On the initiative of workers, collective farmers, office and professional workers and students, *volunteer public order squads* have emerged and are operating to keep up public order and assist the authorities in preventing and curbing antisocial acts and crime.

The *comrades' courts* are another important form of enlisting the public's participation in fighting crime. These are elected community bodies looking into a wide range of cases such as breaches of labour discipline, public order and the rules of socialist community life.

In recent years *villagers' general meetings*, a direct form of democracy, has become widespread. They are of particular significance in districts where the population is socially unhomogeneous, collective farmers living side by side with industrial, transport and state-farm workers and members of the intelligentsia. Thanks to these meetings, the efforts of all sections of the population are pooled, enlisting, whenever necessary, the citizens' participation in collective- and state-farm production, mobilising local opinion to fight shortcomings, and so on.

A prominent role in the political system of socialism and in promoting Soviet democracy belongs to the *people's control*.

Ever since 1965 when it was launched, people's inspectorate has been actively assisting the Party and government in working for an all-round upsurge of the socialist

economy, strengthening state discipline, checking the fulfilment of Party and government directives by Soviet, economic and other bodies, and in streamlining the government machine.

The people's inspectorate has appropriate groups at factories, building projects, on collective and state farms, at offices, educational establishments and house-manager's offices. The people's control groups consist of more than nine million persons representing Party, trade union, Komsomol and other social organisations.

These people daily check how Party and government decisions are fulfilled. They discover reserves in the production system, help to introduce the results of science and technology in production, wage a relentless struggle against bad management, waste, red tape and other faults in factories and offices.

The people's control is not, however, carried out by its official bodies alone. In a broader sense, it is carried on by social organisations, and by citizens themselves. This broad and truly nationwide control is a school in which working people master the skills of managing state and public affairs. The Party insists on the further development of this form of democracy, on making it more efficient, regarding it as a good school for instilling in all citizens a sense of personal responsibility for the progress of public affairs, for the interests of the country.

Such is, in the main, the system of political organisation of socialist society, whose successful operation is ensured thanks to the leadership of the Communist Party. The Party, which works out the general policy, thereby provides the basis on which all elements of the political organisation of socialist society can rally together. It co-ordinates the actions of different establishments, directing their work along the general lines evolved by it. In this way, the Party invests the whole system of political organisation of socialist society with such strong purpose as to multiply many times over its strength in tackling the task that the Soviet people faces, the task of building a communist society.

## Chapter 2

### DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES OF ORGANISATION AND OPERATION OF THE POLITICAL SYSTEM OF SOCIALISM

All the elements of the socialist political system—both governmental and public—operate subject to the principles of democratic centralism, collective leadership, internationalism, planning, publicity and socialist law.

Each of these principles expresses an essential aspect of the organisation and operation of the political system, one of its characteristics. Simultaneously they are inter-linked and interdependent and appear as a single and integral complex acting throughout the political system and all its elements.

This of course does not make it unnecessary or impossible to examine each principle separately.

#### DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM: THE MAIN PRINCIPLE OF THE POLITICAL SYSTEM OF SOCIALISM

The activities of the entire system of political organisation of socialist society are based on the principle of democratic centralism, an organic combination of uniform, centralised, planned management of the economy and social and cultural development with local initiative and with a diversity of ways and means of advancing towards the common goal. Democratic centralism is implemented taking into account its specific manifestations in different areas and at different stages of social development.

The democratic character of its structure and activities is a major condition given which the Communist Party

can perform its leading role in the political system of socialism.

The objective inevitability and historic necessity of democratic centralism as the keystone of the structure and activities of the Communist Party lies in the fact—incontrovertibly proved by Marx and Engels—that the Communist Party is the vanguard of the working class whose interests and objectives require self-organisation.

Engels wrote: "The bourgeoisie is already carrying out considerable centralisation. The proletariat, far from suffering any disadvantage from this, will as a result rather be in a position to unite, to feel itself a class, to acquire a proper political point of view within the democracy, and finally to conquer the bourgeoisie. The democratic proletariat not only needs the kind of centralisation begun by the bourgeoisie but will have to extend it very much further."<sup>1</sup>

Lenin developed further the principles of the organisation of a militant proletarian party evolved by Marx and Engels, and applied them in changed circumstances. Faithful to the legacy of Marx and Engels, Lenin wrote: "... absolute centralisation and rigorous discipline of the proletariat are an essential condition of victory over the bourgeoisie."<sup>2</sup>

The socialist revolution does not make centralisation unnecessary. Without centralisation it is impossible to defend the revolution's gains, to effect socialist reforms and control the economic and political mechanism of society. For this reason centralism forms the framework of socialist economic management, becoming a principle of the state organisation of socialist society.

Lenin stressed that the principle of democratic centralism is stipulated by the very nature of Soviet power and by the need to use this power so as to direct new social relations and set up and develop the socialist economy and large-scale industry without which socialism cannot be built. He pointed out the objective necessity of combining democratic and centralist principles in administration, a

<sup>1</sup> Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 6, Moscow, 1976, p. 372.

<sup>2</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 24.

necessity dictated by the needs of the development of socialist production and the democratic nature of the new political power.

Lenin considered it most important to encourage the initiative of the masses and ensure proper leadership of the new society by allowing, on the one hand, no parochialism as this often bordered on anarchism, and, on the other, by ruling out bureaucratic centralism, never confusing democratic centralism with bureaucracy and routinism.

At the same time he held that democratic centralism presupposed "the fullest freedom of various localities and even of various communes of the state in developing multifarious forms of state, social and economic life".<sup>1</sup>

The principle of democratic centralism never implied any mechanical combination of democratic and centralist principles in the activities of state and social organisations. Democracy and centralism are two inseparable aspects of one principle, interdependent, interpenetrating and interacting, whereby the unity of will and action of millions of working people is ensured.

Under democratic centralism every citizen has a chance to take part in electing his representatives, discussing laws and enacting them. "But it does not at all follow from this that we shall permit the slightest chaos or disorder as regards who is responsible in each individual case for definite executive functions, for carrying out definite orders, for controlling a definite joint labour process during a certain period of time."<sup>2</sup>

Lenin was for the greatest possible development of the collective principles in government combined with the personal responsibility of officials in state and social organisations for carrying out the decisions taken.

The collective discussion of major questions on the basis of a free exchange of opinions and principled criticism and self-criticism is a reliable guarantee that problems of social

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<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, pp. 207-08.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 212.

development will be competently considered and optimal solutions found. The collective application of decisions and at the same time greater individual responsibility in performing definite executive functions and directing certain processes, constant control from below, and the enhancement of Party guidance are at the basis of the co-ordinated action of state bodies and public organisations and help to organise their efforts most effectively for the implementation of the programme of building communism.

Democratic centralism combines the democratic principles on which state bodies and public organisations are formed and on which they conduct their activities with rigorous discipline as regards the implementation of their decisions. Lenin wrote: "And it must be clearly understood how vastly different democratic centralism is from bureaucratic centralism on the one hand, and from anarchism on the other."<sup>1</sup>

Pointing out the dialectical nature of the relation of centralism and democracy in Party development, Leonid Brezhnev stressed: "Both anarchic lack of discipline, presented as democracy, and bureaucratic centralisation, hindering the promotion of the initiative and activity of Communists, are equally injurious to the Marxist-Leninist Party."<sup>2</sup>

The principle of democratic centralism plays an important part in the political organisation of socialist society. The realisation of this principle pursues clearly defined aims and tasks in developing the political organisation of socialist society. Democratic centralism is not implemented automatically but is the result of purposeful actions by the Party and state which take account of its specific manifestations in different areas and at different stages of social development.

The principle of democratic centralism has a specific effect in each of the components of the political system of socialism.

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<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, p. 207.

<sup>2</sup> *24th Congress of the CPSU*, p. 114.

Taking shape historically as an intrinsic need of the political development of the working class itself, democratic centralism has a special place among the Marxist-Leninist principles of the organisation of the Communist Party.

The implementation of democratic centralism helped to cement the Party. It helped the working class to win in its revolutionary struggle and to build a new society.

The very first communist organisations of the proletariat based their activities on centralism interpreted and effected in democratic terms. Stringent centralism and consistent democracy characterised the structure of the Communist League and the International Working Men's Association.

Marx and Engels firmly supported centralism in the organisation and activity of the proletarian party, justly rejecting charges of authoritarianism and bureaucracy.<sup>1</sup>

The validity of the principle of democratic centralism has been borne out by the entire experience of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet state.

Lenin consistently spoke in favour of democratic centralism and paid attention above all to the establishment of correct relations between central and local bodies of the Party, which he saw as the most important condition of its organisational unity and the cohesion of its membership. As early as the period when the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party was forming, theoretical answers were given to the basic questions of Party development, including the question "How is the need for the complete liberty of local Social-Democratic activity to be combined with the need for establishing a single—and, consequently, a centralist-party?"<sup>2</sup>

Noting that the work of local branches was the basis of the entire activities of the Marxist Party, Lenin simultaneously pointed out: "For the centre not only to advise,

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<sup>1</sup> See Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works* in three volumes, Vol. 2, Moscow, 1976, p. 293.

<sup>2</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 4, p. 218.

persuade, and argue . . . but really conduct the orchestra, it is necessary to know exactly who is playing which fiddle, and where and how; where and how instruction has been or is being received in playing each instrument; who is playing out of tune (when the music begins to jar on the ear), and where and why; and who should be transferred, and how and where to, so that the discord may be remedied, etc."<sup>1</sup>

Analysing the activities of the Paris Commune, Marx wrote that revolutionary Paris had sought to replace the centralisation of the bourgeois state which existed outside French society by a political unification of French society itself through communal organisation.<sup>2</sup> Marx considered the accusation that by abolishing the central government the Commune had sought to destroy national unity to be a deliberate forgery. Commenting on these observations, Lenin stressed, "Marx purposely used the words: 'National unity was . . . to be organised', so as to oppose conscious, democratic, proletarian centralism to bourgeois, military, bureaucratic centralism."<sup>3</sup>

Engels regarded a united, centralist-democratic republic as the most suitable state structure for the victorious proletariat to adopt. In such a republic, he pointed out, the unity of the state system from top to bottom should be established on the basis of the absence of compulsion and by ensuring the most complete local self-government.<sup>4</sup> It was by this that the state structure achieved the quality of democratic centralism which, Lenin wrote, implied the "complete elimination of all bureaucratic practices and all 'ordering' from above."<sup>5</sup>

After the victory of the October Socialist Revolution, Lenin's ideas on democratic centralism were embodied and developed further in the organisation and activities both

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<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 6, p. 250.

<sup>2</sup> See Marx/Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 17, Berlin, 1968, S. 562.

<sup>3</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, p. 430.

<sup>4</sup> See Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works* in three volumes, Vol. 3, Moscow, 1976, p. 436.

<sup>5</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, p. 447.

of the ruling Communist Party and the Soviet state and in the organisation and activities of the entire political system of the socialist society. The Rules adopted by the Eighth All-Russia Conference of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks)—they were the first Rules of the ruling party—stated: "The guiding principle of the organisational structure of the Party is democratic centralism."<sup>1</sup>

Explaining the essence of this principle, Lenin wrote: "Democratic centralism means only that representatives from the localities get together and elect a responsible body, which is to do the administering."<sup>2</sup> Such bodies were to be "strong and authoritative party centres invested with wide powers and enjoying the unanimous confidence of the membership."<sup>3</sup>

Speaking at the Ninth Party Congress, Lenin said: "Democratic centralism means that the congress supervises the work of the Central Committee, and can remove it and appoint another in its place."<sup>4</sup> Lenin wrote about the need for precisely such order in the party of the working class: "Now we have become an organised Party, and this implies the establishment of authority, the transformation of the power of ideas into the power of authority, the subordination of lower Party bodies to higher ones."<sup>5</sup>

The supreme body of the CPSU is the Party congress. It expresses the Party's organised opinion and will, approves the Party Programme and Rules, determines the Party line in home and foreign policy and decides on the major questions of the building of communism. The congress' decisions are binding on all Party branches and members. They may be repealed or replaced only by another Party congress. The Central Committee directs the Party's activities and the local bodies in the interval between congresses. Like the congress, the CPSU Central Committee en-

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<sup>1</sup> *The CPSU in Resolutions...*, Vol. 2, p. 127 (in Russian).

<sup>2</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 30, p. 465.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. 31, p. 210.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. 30, p. 465.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. 7, pp. 367-68.

joys immense moral prestige in the Party and simultaneously has full power within the Party.

The importance of the principle of democratic centralism has also found confirmation in the activities of the CPSU in building a developed socialist society. The 24th CPSU Congress stressed that "strict observance of the Leninist principle of democratic centralism must remain an immutable law of the Party's life, as the decisive condition of its strength and ability to act."<sup>1</sup>

In Soviet state development, the principle of democratic centralism has the following basic characteristics:

all central and local bodies of state power are elected on the basis of Soviet suffrage;

all deputies and Soviets are responsible and accountable to the voters;

the higher organs of state power direct the lower bodies;

the bodies of state administration are formed by the appropriate bodies of state power;

the bodies of state power lead the bodies of state administration subordinated to them;

the higher state administration bodies with general terms of reference superintend the lower state administration bodies subordinated to them;

the higher sectoral administration bodies superintend the lower sectoral administration bodies subordinated to them.

Thanks to such a system of relations between central and local bodies of power and administration, guidance in principal matters is centralised while operational functions are decentralised. This system allows the independent social activities of the masses to be united on a national scale while every opportunity is afforded for the unhindered manifestation and development of initiatives from below. The common interests of all working people are combined with the specific interests of different nationalities within the framework of the Russian Federation

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<sup>1</sup> *24th Congress of the CPSU*, p. 233.

and of autonomy in order to achieve the common goal of building a communist society.

The principle of democratic centralism in the organisational structure and activities of state administration bodies is expressed in the "dual" subordination of republican and local authorities. "Dual" subordination, Lenin said, is needed where one has to reckon with actual and unavoidable differences (i.e., in agriculture, industry, trade, etc.). Lenin considered the entire area of administration to be the activity requiring the most careful consideration of local distinctive features. He wrote: "Failure to make allowances for local differences in all these matters would mean slipping into bureaucratic centralism, and so forth. It would mean preventing the local authorities from giving proper consideration to specific local features, which is the basis of all rational administration."<sup>1</sup>

With "dual" subordination, the working masses' control over the local administration becomes more effective and real, while also providing the conditions for enhancing the role of representative organs of power, the Soviets. "Dual" subordination makes it possible to pool and direct into one channel the efforts of the working people and of state bodies in building communism.

The consistent implementation of the principle of democratic centralism serves to make the Soviet political system and each of its component parts (subsystems) more effective.

Applied to state administration, this principle results in a unified state administration policy while the masses can freely exercise their initiative in implementing this policy; this principle also enables the co-ordination of the activities of the central and local bodies of state power and state administration; it makes a centralised solution of general problems and of the key questions of state administration possible, while fully taking account of the needs of the building of communism in the localities; it ensures a correct combination of national and local interests, as well

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<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 364.

as of the interests of society and the individual, in the process of state administration; and it also ensures broad rights and the independence of the local authorities in administering the areas under their control.

Strict adherence to democratic centralism provides for the most expedient structure of the state bodies and for the efficiency of the forms of state administration, which latter makes it possible to pursue a single policy both centrally and locally with the decisive participation of the masses.

Lenin expressed the economic necessity of centralism, its gist, in the formula: "... devising labour-saving methods of centralisation".<sup>1</sup>

Lenin always stressed the importance of correct relations between the centre and the provinces, the idea that such relations are not established automatically. Wherever this problem fails to get sufficient attention, there is the danger either of excessive centralisation or petty tutelage nipping the initiative of the subordinate bodies.

In the original version of his article "The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government", Lenin wrote: "Our task now is to carry out democratic centralism in the economic sphere."<sup>2</sup>

At the Ninth Party Congress Lenin subjected to criticism the anti-Party group of so-called Democratic Centralists (Decists), who had come out against centralised state administration, undivided authority and the enlistment of the former régime's experts in production.

The Decists linked up with the "labour opposition" which set the trade unions against the Communist Party and the Soviet state, denying the fact of the Party's leadership and the significance of the dictatorship of the proletariat as the main instrument in building socialism. Lenin exposed the unsoundness of the demand put forward by the "labour opposition" that economic management be transferred to the "producers" united in the trade

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<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 26, p. 118.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. 27, p. 208.

unions, as it doomed the economy to anarchic fragmentation, undermining democratic centralism in the activities of the socialist state. Simultaneously, Lenin stressed that democracy in a socialist society does not consist in enterprises being turned over to the immediate producers but in the working people themselves setting up their local and central bodies of power to carry out the will of the masses, in the Soviets being united into a national government to act on the principles of democratic centralism. Lenin wrote that "any direct or indirect legalisation of the rights of ownership of the workers of any given factory or any given trade on their particular production, or of their right to weaken or impede the orders of the state authority, is a flagrant distortion of the basic principles of Soviet power and a complete rejection of socialism. . . ."<sup>1</sup>

Lenin identified the main ways and forms of the development of common property as the economic basis of socialism. Large-scale mechanised industry by its very nature requires socialisation on a national scale. This has been borne out in the course of building socialism in the USSR and in the other socialist countries. The conception of the so-called co-operative socialism, according to which industrial and other establishments must be given over to separate bodies of workers, has therefore nothing to do with scientific socialism. "The aim of socialism," Lenin said, "is to turn all the means of production into the property of the whole people, and that does not at all mean that the ships become the property of the ship workers or the banks the property of the bank clerks."<sup>2</sup>

The successful building of socialism and communism greatly depends on how consistently the principle of democratic centralism is carried out in the management of the economy and all other areas. For this reason the Party and government keep promoting and widening the scope covered by this principle. In recent years, especially after

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<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 42, pp. 100-01.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 63.

the 23rd and 24th CPSU congresses, the right of the Union republics and local government bodies to tackle economic, social and other problems was extended. This, of course, does not imply any rejection of centralism. Centralism is objectively necessary to the socialist state. The CPSU Programme points out that the building of communism presupposes every possible development of the democratic principles of government simultaneously with the enlargement and improvement of centralised management of the economy by the state in all the principal areas of economic development.

The centralised solution of fundamental national problems in the Soviet Union is combined with local initiative, the working people being afforded every chance to exercise their creativity and initiative. This found expression, for example, in the decisions of the September 1965 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee and of the 23rd CPSU Congress which recognised the need for an economic reform. These decisions were amplified in the joint decisions of the CC CPSU and the USSR Council of Ministers, first and foremost in the decision of October 4, 1965 on improving planning and enhancing economic incentives in industry.

These decisions altered in many respects the character of the relations between the central administration and the enterprises. The result was yet another major step in developing the principle of democratic centralism. The economic independence of enterprises was strengthened. Their relations with the economic management bodies were now not merely those of a subordinate but those of an equal. The economic management bodies had their terms of reference and duties brought more in line with the new requirements of economic policy. The progress of democratic centralism has been expressed in the measures effected over the past few years to improve economic management.

The December 1974 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee posed the tasks of improving the mechanism of economic management by optimising the pattern of management, improving planning systems and methods,

and increasing economic incentives to raise the efficiency of socialised production. These tasks imply the further development of democratic centralism.

The advancement of democratic principles in economic management was expressed in the extension of the independence of enterprises as primary units of the national economy: they were given more rights to conduct economic operations. The detailed regimentation of every aspect of the work of a factory on the basis of plan directives gave rise to the planning of its end results alone. The democratic principles manifested themselves in a more consistent pursuit of economic cost accounting, in a greater role being given to the economic methods of management, in the further development of the collective principle of the management of production, etc.

The essence of democratic centralism as a dialectical unity of centralism and democracy was reflected in the decision of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers "On Measures to Improve Further the Management of Industry" of March 2, 1973. It was also reflected in the Resolution on Production Amalgamation (the grouping of factories) issued by the USSR Council of Ministers as a follow-up to these measures. Both documents demand the simultaneous expansion of democratic principles and of the centralised management of the national economy.

The establishment of industrial amalgamations as middle sections relieved the central bodies of part of their immediate supervision of enterprises. Accordingly, centralisation at the level of industries decreased while increasing at amalgamation level. As industrial amalgamations were invested with broad powers of immediate supervision of factories and the central bodies relieved of some functions in that respect, the principle of democratic centralism became firmly rooted in the economic sphere. The implementation of the principle of democratic centralism in line with the concrete historical tasks of social development has always been an object of particular concern for the Party.

The 25th CPSU Congress described democratic centralism as a major condition for improving the organisational structure and methods of management. The Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 25th Congress said: "We shall have to reinforce both principles of democratic centralism simultaneously. On the one hand, centralism must be developed and a barrier thereby raised to departmental and parochial tendencies. On the other, it is necessary to promote democratic principles and local initiative, to relieve the upper echelons of management from petty matters and ensure speed and flexibility in decision-making."<sup>1</sup>

The Party considers that the time has come to settle the question of improving the methods of comprehensively resolving inter-branch and territorial problems of major importance to the state; that there must be unified centralised programmes covering all phases of work—from design to practical execution; and that in each case there should be specific bodies and concrete persons bearing the responsibility for this and co-ordinating all the efforts within the framework of one programme or another.

Also to be resolved is the problem of setting up a system to manage groups of related industries (e. g., fuel and energy, transport, output and processing of agricultural produce, and so on). In parallel, the role of ministries will be enhanced and the work of setting up production amalgamations completed.

Experience has shown that the Marxist-Leninist principle of democratic centralism is of universal significance. Use is made of the CPSU's experience of organisation in the formation of truly revolutionary working-class parties across the world. Today all Marxist-Leninist parties recognise democratic centralism as the main principle of their organisational structure and activities.

The principle of democratic centralism has always been and remains an object of criticism by bourgeois ideologists and revisionists.

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<sup>1</sup> *Documents and Resolutions. XXVth Congress of the CPSU*, p. 72.

They contrast centralism and democracy and try to prove that they are incompatible, describing the principle itself as "despotic", "etatist", etc., and contending that while the CPSU may have been justified in applying it in the period of struggle for proletarian dictatorship, the victory of socialism renders it unnecessary, and that this principle is accidental, a nearly academic invention.

The working class in the capitalist countries is still associated with large-scale mechanised production even more concentrated and centralised than at the time of the inception of the communist movement and emergence of revolutionary working-class parties. The working class is still opposed by the economically and politically centralised force of capital, while the ruling class has become more experienced. Far from losing its significance as the guarantor of the strength and cohesion of every Communist Party, the principle of democratic centralism has acquired still greater significance in the changed situation.

In the socialist countries, the economy has advanced and grown more complex, so that the task of continually improving centralised management is as relevant as ever.

The International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties which was held in 1969 in Moscow declared: "The greater the strength and the unity of each Communist Party, the better can it fulfil its role both inside the country and in the international communist movement."<sup>1</sup>

### COLLECTIVE LEADERSHIP

Collective leadership is an important trend in the Party, state and economic leadership and in the activities of all Soviet mass organisations. It flows from and is bound up with the principle of democratic centralism. The solution of every major question relating to the Party, government, the economy or culture is preceded in the Soviet political system by discussions, exchanges of opinions and elucida-

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<sup>1</sup> *International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, Moscow, 1969, p. 37.*

tions of collective experience in order that the decision adopted should not be one-sided and should preclude errors.

The principle of collective leadership follows from the Marxist-Leninist proposition on the decisive role played by the masses in history.

The single common will of the multimillion Soviet people is determined and crystallised at congresses, conferences, sessions and meetings of Communists and non-Party people, workers, collective farmers and intellectuals.

The civil will's specificity and distinctiveness is that it is the will of a class or people organised as a state and is promulgated on behalf of the state (or its agencies). It always has a definite form of expression prescribed by the state and its implementation is ensured by the state.

The higher the awareness of the masses, the better their participation in the building of communism is organised; the more active they are in learning and using the objective laws, the greater the initiative and activity displayed by the masses and their representatives in state administration; the more it is enriched by the results of the personal experience and the creativity of numerous innovators and vanguard workers, the greater the reorganising force of the Soviet state administration in the process of building communism.

The democratic essence of collective leadership manifests itself both in the collective deliberations of the leading Party bodies and in the broad involvement of Communists in the life of the Party. Lenin stressed: "To be a party of the masses not only in name, we must get ever wider masses to share in all Party affairs."<sup>1</sup>

Marxism-Leninism teaches that the revolutionary parties and their leaders, closely linked with the masses, expressing their interests, enjoying confidence and prestige among the masses thanks to their creative thought and their devotion to the common cause, have a decisive role in awakening the masses' revolutionary energy and directing it towards the revolutionary remaking of society.

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<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 7, p. 117.

Lenin wrote in the first issue of *Iskra* (The Spark): "Not a single class in history has achieved power without producing its political leaders, its prominent representatives able to organise a movement and lead it."<sup>1</sup>

In his book "*Left-Wing*" *Communism—An Infantile Disorder* Lenin wrote: "... political parties, as a general rule, are run by more or less stable groups composed of the most authoritative, influential and experienced members, who are elected to the most responsible positions, and are called leaders. All this is elementary."<sup>2</sup>

In the light of what has just been said, the reasonings of some western writers about collective leadership in the CPSU, about antagonism between the "top" and the "grass roots", between those who "have power" and those who "have none" look flimsy indeed. G. Brunner, of the Federal Institute for Research in Marxism-Leninism (USA), writes: "... Leninist doctrine views the party as a tightly organised and disciplined political entity, and as such demands from its members total obedience and unconditional acceptance of all decisions reached by the top leadership. The rank-and-file member thus finds himself in the dubious position of being expected . . . to be a model of virtue for the society at large as well as an instrument of those above him."<sup>3</sup>

The CPSU has always and with the utmost determination fought all attempt to oppose the "top leadership" to the "rank and file" or draw other similar distinctions in the Party. The resolution of the Ninth All-Russia Party Conference, held in September 1920, pointed out, for example, that "the Party distinguishes its members solely by the degree of awareness, dedication, staunchness, political maturity, revolutionary experience and readiness for self-sacrifice and fights any attempt to draw a distinction between Party members by any other characteristic, e. g.,

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<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 4, p. 370.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. 31, p. 41.

<sup>3</sup> G. Brunner, "Bylaws of the Elite: The Party Statute", *Problems of Communism*, March-April 1965, p. 48.

'top leadership' and 'rank and file', intellectuals and workers, nationality, and so on."<sup>1</sup>

Lenin regarded regular meetings of collective Party bodies—from Party congresses and plenary meetings of the Central Committee down to primary branch meetings as well as the meetings of their bureaux and committees—indispensable to collective leadership. Only a democratic procedure of decision-making, he stressed, can prevent errors as well as subjectivism and voluntarism in policy.

Lenin assigned a special place to collective Party leadership in its higher central bodies. He considered it essential that the work of the Central Committees and leading figures should proceed in the spirit of the decisions and instructions coming from collective Party bodies. He wrote: "It must be emphasised from the very outset, so as to remove all misunderstanding, that only the corporate decisions of the Central Committee adopted in the Organising Bureau or the Political Bureau, or by a plenary meeting of the Central Committee—only these decisions were carried out by the Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party. The work of the Central Committee cannot otherwise proceed properly."<sup>2</sup>

Lenin was careful to see that Party congresses and conferences were held regularly and that the Central Committee and its Political Bureau or its Organising Bureau also met regularly. The principle of collective Party leadership was observed also for some years after Lenin's death.

In the period of the personality cult, however, this Leninist tradition was violated.

The Party pointed out the abnormality of that situation and took drastic measures to correct it. The July 1953 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee stressed the need for the restoration and strict observance of the principle of collective leadership. The 22nd CPSU Congress introduced a paragraph into the Party Rules stating

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<sup>1</sup> *The CPSU in Resolutions...*, Vol. 2, p. 189 (in Russian).

<sup>2</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 30, p. 444.

that collective leadership was the supreme principle of Party leadership.

The steady expansion of the collective leadership principle at all levels is a prominent feature of the current stage of the development of the CPSU. The Rules state: "The supreme principle of Party leadership is collective leadership, which is an absolute requisite for the normal functioning of Party organisations, the proper education of cadres, and the promotion of the activity and initiative of Communists. The cult of the individual and the violations of inner-Party democracy resulting from it must not be tolerated in the Party; they are incompatible with the Leninist principles of Party life."<sup>1</sup>

The October 1964 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee condemned subjectivism and voluntarism as methods of leadership and rejected all attempts to substitute voluntarist, intuitive actions for the scientific approach to the solution of political and economic tasks on the basis of the practical experience of the masses. It was of great importance to the confirmation and development of the Leninist norms of Party life and of the principles of leadership in social, political and economic life. Its decisions facilitated the further development of democracy and collective leadership within the Party and helped to tighten Party discipline and increase the Party's ties with the masses.

The principle of collective leadership in the CPSU is expressed above all in the regularity with which meetings, conferences and congresses are convened. These authoritative bodies express the collective mind and experience of the Party. Their decisions are binding on all Party branches and members. During the past ten-odd years three Party congresses have been held. They looked at the most important state and Party problems, questions of economic development and the tasks of the CPSU, and Soviet foreign policy.

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<sup>1</sup> *Rules of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*, Moscow, 1976, p. 16.

The observance of the principle of collective leadership is ensured by the appropriate provisions given in the Party Rules. In accordance with these provisions, the supreme leading body in each Party organisation is: the general meeting of the primary branch, the conference of a district, city, regional or territorial branch, and the congress of the Communist Party of a Union republic or the CPSU. Meetings, conferences and congresses are the broadest and most authoritative bodies. They express the will of the organisation as a whole, discuss and decide policies and the practical tasks of the organisation, and elect the leading bodies.

It is of fundamental significance that the Rules set the frequency at which plenary meetings of Party committees are to be held. The CPSU Central Committee is to meet at least once every six months, regional and territorial committees and the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of Union republics must meet at least once every four months, and district, city and municipal district committees are to meet at least once every three months.

The work of the Central Committee may serve as an example of the consistent implementation of the principle of collective leadership. In the interval between the 23rd and 24th CPSU congresses the Central Committee held 16 plenary meetings. The Political Bureau sat regularly once a week and so did the Secretariat of the Central Committee. It is worth noting that the meetings of these bodies, especially the plenary meetings of the Central Committee, are attended not only by the members and alternate members of the Central Committee and the Central Auditing Commission but also by specially invited Party and economic executives, industrial and agricultural experts, scientists and cultural figures.

The plenary meetings of the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of the Union republics and of the overwhelming majority of the territorial, regional, city and district Party committees are convened in strict accordance with the Rules.

Between the 24th and 25th CPSU congresses the Central Committee, the Political Bureau and the Secretariat of the Central Committee worked with great intensity. In that period the Central Committee held eleven plenary meetings to decide on key questions in the life of the Party and the whole country. The December Plenary meetings in 1972, 1973, 1974 and 1975 were of especial importance. They gave a concrete analysis of important economic problems and brought to the fore the tasks which required the greatest concentration of effort. Foreign policy questions were discussed at several plenary meetings. The Plenary Meeting in May 1972 discussed the problems of the struggle for détente and one in April 1972 examined the foreign economic policy of the Soviet Union.

The Political Bureau of the Central Committee has held 215 meetings between the 24th and 25th Party congresses. It regularly considered various questions relating to industry, agriculture and capital construction, and improvement of administration and management in every sector of the state and economic apparatus. Special attention was paid to the fulfilment of the measures outlined by the 24th Congress for raising the people's living standard. There was regular discussion of the basic problems involved in improving work within the Party and ideological work, of questions of external political activity of the Soviet Union, and of building up its defence capability.

The Central Committee Secretariat, which held 205 meetings in the period between the 24th and 25th Party congresses, constantly dealt with the activity of Party organisations, the selection and placement of personnel, and controlled the fulfilment of the decisions adopted.

The Central Committee carefully studied and summed up the experience of local Party organisations. It discussed the activity of a number of republican Communist Party Central committees, territorial and regional committees, and city and district committees to establish how they furnished Party guidance to the economy and carried out organisational, political, ideological and educational work. The experience of the masses' labour activ-

ity has also been thoroughly analysed. Many valuable initiatives of Party organisations, bodies of workers and individuals in Moscow and Leningrad, the Ukraine and Kazakhstan, the Urals and Byelorussia, Central Asia and the Baltic area, the Transcaucasus and Moldavia were approved and recommended for countrywide application.

The decisions taken by the Central Committee and its Political Bureau and Secretariat as a result of circumstantial collective discussion provided the Party organisations with a clear orientation and directives which helped to improve their performance.

The constant numerical growth of the leading Party bodies is an important index of the collective character of their work. This growth is due not merely to the growth of membership but to the CPSU's desire to extend collective leadership and pave the way for training new Party executives. Whereas 330 members and alternate members were elected to the Central Committee at the 22nd, 360 at the 23rd, and 396 at the 24th Party congresses, at the 25th Congress 426 people were elected to the Central Committee.

The principle of collective leadership is equally evident in the work of the local Party bodies.

Collective leadership is ensured in the Party by the fact that all its organisations are headed not by individual leaders, but by collective bodies—bureaux and committees.

While it upholds the principle of collective leadership, the Party is at the same time against any formal collective leadership which results in a waste of energy and is not conducive to prompt performance. Another side of the principle of collective Party leadership at all stages of the CPSU's activities has been and remains the organic combination of collectivity with the personal responsibility of each Communist for carrying out the collectively evolved decisions.

The principle of collective leadership pervades the structure of the state bodies and the methods of their work. This principle is ensured by the representative character of the Soviets, the participation of the deputies

in all the activities of the Soviets, the involvement of the masses in drafting Soviet decisions, the collective discussion of the proposed measures, by the people's massive participation in carrying out the decisions adopted and verifying their execution, and so on.

Addressing the Third All-Russia Congress of Trade Unions, Lenin said: "In no other country have there been so many congresses of peasants and workers as in ours. That is the way we develop an enlightened attitude. What the Soviet Constitution gives us no other state has been able to give in two hundred years. To take only the number of congresses—no other state has summoned so many in a century of democracy. In this way we arrive at common decisions and mould a common will."<sup>1</sup>

Since 1920, when these words were uttered, socialist democracy in the Soviet Union has expanded still more, citizens' participation in administering the state having turned literally into a matter for the whole people, and the unity of the common will has become stronger.

The principle of collective leadership characterises not only the activities of the Soviets but also their executive bodies from top to bottom. They make all major decisions collectively. In the sectoral management bodies, too, one-man management is combined with numerous forms of collective discussion by different citizens' councils attached to Soviet executive committee boards and departments, by scientific-technological councils, by standing production conferences, activists' meetings, general meetings, and so on.

Lenin, who firmly opposed "boundless collectivity", was against turning collective institutions into talking shops, against playing at collectivity, and taught that the collective discussion and solution of all questions in Soviet establishments must be accompanied by fixing most exactly the responsibility of each Soviet official for the execution of definite, clearly and unequivocally outlined assignments and practical jobs.

These instructions retain their relevance to this day.

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<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 30, p. 511.

The implementation of the principle of collective leadership in the activities of the Soviet state results in a correct combination of the leaders' experience with the experience of the masses, in the development of criticism and self-criticism in the activities of different bodies of the state apparatus and officials, and in a systematic and steady improvement of different forms and methods of managerial activities.

The strength of the Soviets as representative bodies of the people's state power is not only that they rely in their activities on the broad mass of the people, although this fact by itself distinguishes the Soviet system from any forms of government, even the most democratic, in an exploiting society. The main thing is that people in socialist society are not merely the social support of the political authority but an active participant in its implementation.

A real condition for implementing the principle of collective leadership springs from a major advantage of socialist democracy, namely, that the working people's participation in the formation of representative government bodies is not limited to voting, that the organisation and holding of elections is entirely in the people's hands from the nomination of candidates to counting the results.

During election campaigns Soviet people work on election committees and discuss candidates at general meetings held at factories and offices and at candidates' meetings with the voters.

A great deal of work has to be done by election committees formed of representatives of public organisations, societies and bodies. During the 1975 elections to the Supreme Soviets of the Union and Autonomous republics and to the local Soviets, 2,259,918 election committees were formed, composed altogether of 9,261,000 citizens.

Under the USSR Constitution the right to nominate candidates is granted to public organisations and working people's associations: Communist Party organisations, the trade unions, co-operatives, youth organisations and cultural societies. Candidates are nominated both by the

central and local bodies of these organisations and societies as well as by general meetings of factory and office workers held at their places of work, of servicemen in their military units, by collective farmers on farms and in villages, and by workers and other personnel of state farms held on the state farms.

Everyone attending an election meeting can make proposals, discuss the candidate, praising or criticising him, or raise objections to him. Election campaigns have shown that wherever the discussion of the candidates was not comprehensive enough there were instances (67 in the 1973 election to the local Soviets) of candidates being withdrawn and replaced even after registration by the district election committee.

In socialist society, the bodies of state power represent the whole people, expressing their will and protecting their interests, and practically all voters go to the polls. For example, at the election to the USSR Supreme Soviet, held on June 16, 1974, ballots were cast by 99.98 per cent of the electorate.

Active participation in elections by all voters is a natural thing in a state in which the people are full master of the country and every citizen is vitally interested in sending the best people to the bodies of state power. Another natural feature is the unanimity with which the voters cast their ballots for the candidates of the bloc of Communists and non-Party people. At the election to the Ninth Supreme Soviet of the USSR, held on June 16, 1974, the candidates for the Soviet of the Union polled 99.79 per cent of the vote, the candidates for the Soviet of Nationalities polled 99.85 per cent of the vote in all Union republics, 99.68 per cent in the Autonomous republics, 99.72 per cent in the Autonomous regions, 99.72 per cent in the National areas.

Deputies decide on questions of state, social and cultural development, organise the implementation of the Soviets' decisions, and exercise supervisory functions. The content and direction of a deputy's activities are determined by the electors' mandate.

The law on the status of deputies perpetuates the practice of deputies being given instructions by electors. It binds the deputies to participate in organising the fulfilment of the electors' instructions and in supervising their implementation by enterprises, institutions and organisations. A similar duty is imposed on every appropriate Soviet which considers the instructions approved by electors' meetings, endorses a plan of measures for their implementation, taking them into account when working out the plans for economic, social and cultural development and in drafting the budget.

The principles on which relations between electors and deputies rest in the capitalist countries are altogether different. There it is not the electors who determine the programme of the deputy's activities but the deputy himself presents to them a programme which is aimed above all at catching votes.

Under socialist democracy, it is not only a moral obligation but the duty of a deputy to maintain contact with his constituents after the election.

A Soviet deputy is accountable to the electorate. Under the law, a deputy must periodically report to his electorate on his work and the work of the Soviet. Supreme Soviet deputies must give an account of their work at least once a year, and local Soviet deputies, at least twice a year. Actually, many deputies report on their work more often than that, while in many places they do so after every session of the Soviet. In 1972, for example, 98.8 per cent of the local Soviet deputies reported back to the electorate. More than 260,000 meetings were held, attended by 47.5 million or more than a third of the gainfully employed population.

The main questions within their competence are discussed and decided on collectively by the Soviets, at sessions attended by all deputies. Hence it is clear that the enhancement of the role of the Soviets as collective bodies depends to a great extent on the improvement of the session activities. This line is consistently pursued in Party documents, in legislation, and in practice.

The sessions of the Soviets are convened regularly at the intervals fixed by law. The sessions examine major questions of economic, social and cultural development. In many places they also approve comprehensive economic and social development plans. They thus exercise more fully their functions of organising the economic and cultural activities. Deputies actively participate in Soviet sessions. In 1972, 1,359,000—or 62.7 per cent of the deputies—spoke at the sessions of local Soviets.

### PRINCIPLE OF INTERNATIONALISM IN THE SOVIET POLITICAL SYSTEM

The principle of internationalism is of great significance to the organisation and operation of the entire political system of socialist society. The Communist Party has pursued this principle ever since the early days of Soviet government and it has become a rule of Soviet life.

The theoretical and practical foundations of proletarian internationalism were laid by Marx and Engels, who substantiated in their works and documents associated with the First International the need for the unity and cohesion of the international proletariat. The gist of proletarian internationalism is expressed in the slogan advanced by the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, "Workers of the world, unite!"

The concept of proletarian internationalism elaborated by the founders of Marxism-Leninism comprises the following: solidarity of the international working class in the struggle against exploitation and oppression, and for social and national emancipation; firm and consistent protection of the freedom and equality of all nations and peoples; a consistent and unswerving fulfilment of its internationalist duty by each contingent of the international working-class movement. Simultaneously, proletarian internationalism is closely bound up with patriotism.

The principle of proletarian internationalism is closely related to the strategy and tactics of the entire revolutionary struggle waged by the working class for remaking

society on communist lines. The CPSU's fidelity to this principle was stressed at its 25th Congress. Addressing the Congress, Leonid Brezhnev said: "We should like to lay special emphasis on the importance of proletarian internationalism in our time. It is one of the main principles of Marxism-Leninism. . . . We Soviet Communists consider defence of proletarian internationalism the sacred duty of every Marxist-Leninist."<sup>1</sup>

Internationalism is an essential feature of the world outlook and policy of the working class.

Marx, Engels and Lenin attached great significance to the nationalities question and invariably underlined its close relation to the struggle waged by the working class and all working people for their social emancipation.

Marxism-Leninism sees the nationalities question as subordinate to the questions of the socialist revolution, proletarian dictatorship and the interests of the struggle for socialism and communism, as the nationalities question can be genuinely resolved only when on the path of the struggle for socialism. Marxism-Leninism firmly rejects all attempts to invest the nationalities question with a self-contained character, separating national from class interests. Lenin wrote: "Marx had no doubt as to the subordinate position of the national question as compared with the 'labour question'. But his theory is as far from ignoring national movements as heaven is from earth."<sup>2</sup>

A consistent solution of the nationalities question was linked by Lenin with the victory of the socialist revolution, proletarian dictatorship and the firm establishment of socialism. "The bourgeoisie," Lenin wrote, "always places its national demands in the forefront, and does so in a categorical fashion. With the proletariat, however, these demands are subordinated to the interests of the class struggle."<sup>3</sup> This approach has made it possible to single out the international interests of the working

<sup>1</sup> *Documents and Resolutions. XXVth Congress of the CPSU*, p. 37.

<sup>2</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 20, p. 436.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 410.

people while taking into account their specific national requirements.

Regarding the nationalities question in its close unity with the class struggle of the proletariat, Lenin wrote: "We are evolving a national programme from the proletarian standpoint."<sup>1</sup> The working class alone, he stressed, fighting against social and economic oppression of all kinds, could abolish national oppression and establish relations of genuine friendship and fraternal co-operation among peoples, and it was only along the path of socialism that a truly Marxist resolution of the nationalities question could be achieved. "By transforming capitalism into socialism the proletariat creates the *possibility* of abolishing national oppression; the possibility becomes *reality* 'only'-'only'!—with the establishment of full democracy in all spheres. . . . And this, in turn, will serve as a basis for developing the *practical* elimination of even the slightest national friction and the least national mistrust, for an accelerated drawing together and fusion of nations that will be completed when the state *withers* away."<sup>2</sup>

The CPSU has held by this fundamental Marxist-Leninist position over the years. As he was summing up the results of the half century of the development of the multinational socialist Soviet state, Leonid Brezhnev said: "Communists have always viewed the national question through the prism of the class struggle, believing that its solution had to be subordinated to the interests of the Revolution, to the interests of socialism. That is why Communists and all fighters for socialism believe that the main aspect of the national question is unification of the working people, regardless of their national origin, in the common struggle against every type of oppression, and for a new social system which rules out exploitation of the working people."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 20, p. 41.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. 22, p. 325.

<sup>3</sup> L. I. Brezhnev, *Following Lenin's Course*, Moscow, 1975, pp. 55-56.

The sixty-year-long experience of creating, consolidating and developing the USSR, the first multinational Union state in the world, bears out the truth of Marxism-Leninism which regards the nationalities question as an essentially social question.

Developing the ideas of Marx and Engels, Lenin evolved a coherent doctrine on the nationalities question. He elaborated the scientific principles of the national policy of the Communist Party and drew up a revolutionary programme for the practical implementation of the age-old hopes of the proletariat and all working people to create a different world in which there was no room for oppression of man by man and of one nation by another. The basic principles of the national policy of the Communist Party elaborated by Lenin have played a tremendous part in the struggle of the peoples of Russia to overthrow the tsarist autocracy and capitalism and to establish and build up Soviet rule and socialism.

The teaching of Marx, Engels and Lenin on proletarian internationalism was not only developed further in the CPSU's theoretical activities but was given real embodiment in the efforts of the Soviet people to build socialism and communism.

The emergence, development and consolidation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, all the achievements of the Soviet people are inseparable from the guiding political and organising activities of the Leninist Communist Party of the Soviet Union, multinational in composition and profoundly internationalist in essence. The ideological and organisational unity of the Party has become the decisive force in rallying together the Soviet working people of all nationalities and an earnest of the present and future successes in the building of communism.

The Party organisations of the Union and Autonomous republics, Autonomous regions and National areas steadily implement Leninist national policy. They adhere to the principles of Soviet patriotism and socialist interna-

tionalism and actively participate in the building of communism.

The CPSU is a party of Leninist internationalists not only with respect to its ideology but also in its composition and structure. The Bolshevik Party was the first political party in history to base itself on the principle of the unity of proletarian organisations in which workers of all nationalities merged into a single fighting force. Lenin wrote as early as 1905: "To dispel any idea of its being national in character, the Party called itself 'Rossiiskaya' and not 'Russkaya'."<sup>1</sup> After the establishment of the Soviet Union, the Party, emphasising this feature, took a new name, calling itself the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) and later on, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The Party unites the foremost representatives of all Soviet peoples. It is the most graphic embodiment of the fact that the Soviet working people are comrades-in-arms and friends, that the peoples of the Soviet Union are indissolubly united. All Communists in the land, irrespective of nationality, are members of a united Leninist Party. They have the same rights and duties and bear equal responsibility for the country's future.

The internationalisation of the life of the Soviet people, the rapprochement of different peoples, and the growth of the peoples' friendship are notably influenced by the development and improvement of democracy in all the parts of the political system of socialist society, above all the development of democracy in the socialist state.

The socialist state which, under the CPSU's guidance, is the main instrument in building the new society, is simultaneously the main instrument for resolving the nationalities question, the political form of uniting peoples. It was such large, integral, democratically built states

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<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 8, p. 496.

The adjective *Russkaya* (Russian) pertains to nationality, *Rossiiskaya* (Russian) pertains to Russia as a country.—Ed.

that Lenin saw as the political form of "closer unity and even fusion of nations".<sup>1</sup>

The Marxist-Leninist principles of national-state development on the basis of the fraternal co-operation of equal peoples have been embodied in the Soviet Union for the first time in history. Under Lenin's guidance a multinational socialist state, the USSR, was set up. The USSR is a voluntary union of equal Soviet socialist republics, based on the principles of proletarian internationalism, unity of the economic and political organisation of society, and the community of their ideological and cultural lives. The cohesion of more than a hundred socialist peoples, their rapid economic and cultural growth, the establishment of a single proletarian ideology, such are socialism's achievements in resolving the age-old nationalities problem which no other system can cope with. The monolithic unity of the peoples of the USSR is the indispensable condition for the successful building of communism.

Working out the Marxist theory of the state, more especially the problems of socialist national statehood, Lenin theoretically substantiated the conclusion that in the conditions of the joint struggle for socialism carried on by working people of different nationalities under the guidance of the Communist Party, the right of nations to self-determination, secession included, would be conducive not to their separation, but, on the contrary, to their voluntary union. This was facilitated also by the internationalist nature of the leader of the revolution—the working class, and by the international composition and internationalist principles of the Party.

The destruction of the old bourgeois-landlord exploiting state machine in the course of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the emergence of a new, truly popular government and administration were the first steps towards the establishment of relations of friendship and co-operation among the peoples of the Soviet Union.

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<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 21, pp. 413-14.

Even in the first basic legislative acts (the Declaration of Rights of the Peoples of Russia, the Declaration of Rights of the Working and Exploited People, the 1918 Constitution of the Russian Federation) the Soviet state promulgated and ensured the complete equality and sovereignty of all peoples in the country, their right to self-determination, and the abolition of all national privileges and restrictions.

The Declaration of Rights of the Peoples of Russia, adopted on November 2(15), 1917, declared the following fundamental principles:

the equality and sovereignty of the peoples of Russia;  
the right of the peoples of Russia to free self-determination up to secession and the formation of an independent state;

the abolition of all national and religious privileges and restrictions;

the free development of national minorities and ethnic groups on the territory of Russia.

The implementation of the principle of internationalism in the Soviet state administration ensures:

the enlistment of local working people in the state administration of every sphere of life and activity on the basis of national sovereignty;

the selection of personnel for the apparatus of national-territorial statehood from among persons familiar with the home life, national characteristics and the language of the people concerned;

that full attention is paid to the specific interests of each nationality, its traditions, customs and the distinctiveness of its historic development;

international friendship and co-operation, the education of the working people in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and Soviet patriotism.

The Declaration of Rights of the Working and Exploited People written by Lenin and approved by the Third All-Russia Congress of Soviets (January 1918) proclaimed the establishment of the Russian Soviet Republic on the basis of a voluntary union of free nations, as a federa-

tion of Soviet national republics. The Declaration stated that the workers and peasants of each nation were entitled to decide independently at their own congress of Soviets whether or not and on what terms they wished to take part in the federal government and the rest of the federal Soviet institutions.

Thus, the Party used the new state from the start in such a way as to implement its programme on the nationalities question in the interest of the working people and in the name of socialism since without a genuinely democratic solution of the nationalities problem socialism is impossible.

An instrument of drastic social, including national, reforms from the very beginning, the Soviet state emerged and took shape as a multinational state of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The first Soviet republic, the RSFSR, began its existence as a federative state. The working people of the different nationalities inhabiting it actively fought together with the Russian working people for the ultimate triumph of Soviet rule everywhere. Other national Soviet republics which rose on the ruins of the Russian empire wanted from their earliest days to unite with Soviet Russia in order to defend their revolutionary gains. To quote an example, on June 1, 1919, the All-Russia Central Executive Committee of the Russian Federation passed a decree on the Russian, Ukrainian, Byelorussian, Latvian and Lithuanian republics uniting to wage a struggle against world imperialism. In 1920-1921, relations between the Russian Federation and other republics rested on a treaty basis.

In this way, the tendency evinced by the Soviet republics to unite into an integral federative state became steadily stronger. Working people of different nationalities having embarked on a socialist path were increasingly aware of the objective need for rallying together as a fraternal family. Lenin's conclusion that the right of nations to self-determination would be conducive to their unity was borne out in practice.

At Lenin's suggestion on October 6, 1922, a Plenary Meeting of the Communist Party Central Committee adopted the historic decision on relations between the RSFSR and independent Soviet socialist republics. The Plenary Meeting fully supported the internationalist idea of forming a union of Soviet socialist republics that would subject great-power and nationalist views to sharp criticism and resolved: "To consider it necessary to conclude a Treaty between the Ukraine, Byelorussia, the Federation of Transcaucasion Republics and the RSFSR on the formation of a 'Union of Socialist Soviet Republics' leaving each of them free to secede from the 'Union'."<sup>1</sup>

In December 1922, the Seventh All-Ukraine, First Transcaucasian, Fourth All-Byelorussia and Tenth All-Russia congresses of Soviets unanimously approved Lenin's principles on the union of the Soviet republics, passing decisions on the establishment of the USSR and electing delegations to the All-Union Congress of Soviets.

The First Congress of Soviets of the USSR convened on December 30, 1922. Effecting the freely expressed will of the working people of the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic, the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic, the Byelorussian Socialist Soviet Republic and the Transcaucasian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic, the All-Union Congress of Soviets unanimously passed the Declaration on the Formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and approved the Treaty on the Formation of the USSR concluded by the authorised delegations of the Union republics.

The Declaration determined the principles on which the Soviet republics united into one state while the Treaty determined the organisation of the USSR, i.e., the formation of the all-Union bodies of power and administration, their competence and terms of reference. These documents were incorporated in the Constitution of the USSR finally approved by the Second All-Union Congress of Soviets on January 31, 1924.

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<sup>1</sup> *The CPSU in Resolutions...*, Vol. 2, p. 401 (in Russian).

The formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was the major landmark of state development. It greatly facilitated the country's successful economic and cultural development, helping to safeguard its independence and integrity and to build and consolidate the socialist society. In the course of building the Soviet state the principles of proletarian internationalism and socialist federalism were fully implemented.

The historic significance of the formation and growth of the USSR as a political entity comprised of many nations and peoples is immense. It must be specially noted that if the Soviet government could use the valuable, if brief, experience of the Paris Commune when carrying out social, economic and some political reforms, there was practically nothing to draw upon in the area of relations between nationalities. Though the Commune had proclaimed all citizens to be equal irrespective of race or nationality, it had no time to go any further. The Soviet state has consistently effected the principles of the liberty and equality of all peoples in every sphere of public life.

Lenin paid great attention to the problems of the development of Soviet federalism. He approached the question of the forms of state structure from a concrete historical standpoint, taking into account the totality of the conditions of the life of the nations, their economic and political relations, their historically established customs and traditions, etc.

After the victory of the February bourgeois-democratic revolution, Lenin came to the conclusion that for Soviet Russia the federative form of state structure was not only possible but necessary. In the situation that emerged just before the October Socialist Revolution, when "the centralism of the tsar and the bourgeoisie engendered hatred of and disgust at all centralised authority among the masses",<sup>1</sup> the introduction from the top of a single, unitary state (even with national territorial autonomy) could be seen as restricting the national rights of the formerly

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<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, p. 384.

oppressed nations and could therefore harm the international consolidation of working people. For this reason the Party Programme adopted in March 1919 said: "...the Party puts forward the federative association of states organised according to Soviet type as one of the transitional forms along the road towards complete unity."<sup>1</sup>

Within the framework of Soviet federalism the Union republics enjoy the most extensive rights in every area of their political, economic, social and cultural lives.

Each Union republic has its own Constitution and legislation taking account of national features (naturally within the limits of all-Union legislation), its own government with broad powers, its own state budget, national emblem, and flag. The higher bodies of state power in the Union republics have the right to initiate laws. This goes to show that the Soviet socialist federation effectively ensures the national sovereignty of every people in it.

Those who argue that Union republics presumably enjoy no substantial rights are utterly wrong. For instance, in *Soviet System and Democratic Society*, a comparative encyclopaedia, we read: "The reality of the Union republics' independent life may be judged from their laws. For the most part, they deal with trifles, like the question of the flag, administrative division, honorary titles and family law..."<sup>2</sup> In fact, however, the legislative activity of the Union republics covers all aspects of public life requiring legal regulation and is reported and discussed in the press.

The consistent implementation of the sovereignty of nations was one of the conditions providing for national equality.

The Soviet Union's socialist internationalism has manifested to the world a model of a truly democratic resolution of the nationalities problem, of the integral combination of the flowering and unity of peoples, of the

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<sup>1</sup> *The CPSU in Resolutions...*, Vol. 2, p. 45 (in Russian).

<sup>2</sup> "Sowjetsystem und demokratische Gesellschaft", *Eine vergleichende Enzyklopädie*, Bd. II, Freiburg-Wien, 1968, S. 568.

consistent implementation of the principle of national sovereignty in the political system, in the state's activities, in its internal and external policies.

In the USSR, the people's power and the equality of nations, the sovereignty of a people and national sovereignty are inseparable notions. Their implementation follows from the very essence of the Soviet socio-political system. Genuine people's power—the power of the working people, equality, equal rights and unity of nations—are the unshakable foundation of the Soviet multinational state. The national sovereignty of all peoples, big and small, inhabiting its territory is ensured both by the socio-political content of Soviet rule and by the very form of the USSR's state structure—a socialist federation.

The Soviet Union, as the experience has shown, presented the best possible political form in which to ensure the solution of the nationalities problem, the flowering and drawing together of numerous peoples, and the formation of the united multinational Soviet people. The Soviet Republic grew out of numberless Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies, formed by the working people themselves in order to defend and realise their vital economic and intellectual interests. The Soviets were not introduced from the top, by decree, but were set up on the revolutionary initiative of the masses and, being a "working corporation", tackled the vital tasks facing society. One of the most difficult of these tasks was to establish a new set of relations between the different nations and peoples.

The very emergence of the Soviets whose members were representatives of different peoples and which were organised on internationalist lines implied a consistent implementation of the Leninist principles of the solution of the nationalities problem. The international nature of the Soviets urged the working people in the republics to set up a united state. The Soviets' activities have shown that workers and peasants can successfully govern a state on the principles of the broadest and most consistent democracy and complete national equality. The Soviets of

Working People's Deputies ensure simultaneously both the people's sovereignty and national sovereignty. They are the durable political basis both of the Union as a whole and of all the national-state formations in it.

The Soviet form of the socialist state has proved highly dynamic and effective thanks to its popular, democratic nature. To achieve the unity of the multinational Soviet people, it was necessary not only to emancipate the formerly oppressed peoples, to promote their economic, social and cultural development, to secure and legally ensure their equality in every area of the economy, politics and culture, but also to develop in them the habits of political activity and enlist the participation of the formerly backward masses in governing society and the state.

Conscious masters of the new life, new statesmen, economic managers, educators, artists and scientists from among the native people in the national republics were formed in this process, which was developed under the guidance of the Communist Party, above all, with respect to the state and to the Soviets. It was also around the Soviets, bodies of state power, that public organisations sprang up: these formed, so to speak, the various steps on the ladder of that comprehensive Soviet school of state and social administration and self-administration.

The state and the whole system which organises Soviet democracy did not merely direct the peoples' development and guide the solution of the nationalities problem, although it was, undoubtedly, a major area of their activities. The state political system itself—the mechanism of the dictatorship of the proletariat and subsequently the mechanism of the government of the whole people, too—became the most important factor in the flowering and drawing together of the Soviet peoples.

The sixty-year-long experience of the Soviet state has borne out completely Lenin's proposition that the Soviets are an all-embracing mass organisation which ensures the involvement of all citizens in "constant and unflinching, moreover, decisive, participation in the democratic admi-

nistration of the state".<sup>1</sup> The Soviets have become an all-inclusive organisation of the multinational people, an embodiment of its unity, an unprecedented school of public activity for millions.

The internationalist unity of the socialist nations and peoples was formed and consolidated, and feelings of proletarian internationalism, friendship and monolithic cohesion were instilled in the masses in practice through the Soviets ever since they emerged.

Their consistent democracy, the mass character, proximity and accessibility to all sections of the working population enable the Soviets to unite the multinational masses round the working class and the Communist Party and enlist their participation in administering the state.

The Law on the Status of Deputies to the Soviets of Working Peoples' Deputies in the USSR, adopted in 1972, lists among a deputy's other duties, the duty to strengthen in every way the union of the working class and the collective-farm peasantry and the friendship and brotherhood of the peoples of the USSR, to consolidate the social and political unity of Soviet society, to take into account the economic, cultural, national and other features of the Union or Autonomous republic, Autonomous region or National area from which the deputy is elected, or of the territory of his constituency.

The Soviets are bound most closely with the people. All the peoples inhabiting the Soviet Union are represented in them. This is a guarantee that full account is taken of the specific national features when tackling questions of state, economic, social and cultural development. The Soviets are guided in their work by the interests of all nationalities living in the given republic. They tackle economic questions taking into account natural, national and other local features, develop the media using national forms of presentation and the local language, and develop culture and education bearing in mind the national features of the population. The Soviets thus ensure

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<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 28, p. 465.

in practice the unity of the national and the international, the strengthening of the peoples' friendship.

In the course of the building of communism, the USSR is acquiring greater significance as a historically justified state form of the joint struggle of free peoples for the Party's policy objectives and the communist ideals.

The system of state agencies in the USSR is thoroughly internationalist. It unites all working people into one fraternal peoples' union and ensures every people an equal chance to participate in the state's development.

The system of state agencies of the new state, the Soviet Union, was worked out with Lenin's valuable advice.

It was Lenin's idea to elect representatives of all Union republics chairmen of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR. Lenin supported the suggestion of setting up a two-chamber Central Executive Committee of the USSR, so that one of the chambers should be the Soviet of Nationalities.

These and many other of Lenin's ideas were included in the first Constitution of the USSR (1924) which was based on the principles of equality of the Union republics, their free will and union.

All the peoples inhabiting the Soviet Union are broadly represented in Soviet state bodies. The USSR Supreme Soviet, for example, consists of two equal chambers, the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities. The presence of two chambers in the USSR Supreme Soviet is due to the multinational composition of the Soviet Union.

The two-tier structure of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the chambers being equal and formed by equally democratic process, ensures representation of all the republics, Autonomous regions and National areas in the highest body of state power. All Union republics, irrespective of the size of their populations, return an equal number of deputies—32 to the Soviet of Nationalities. Similarly, all the Autonomous republics return 11 deputies each, Autonomous regions—5 deputies each, and National areas—one deputy each.

The equality of the chambers is manifest in the fact that both are elected on the same principles and consist of an approximately equal number of deputies. Their inner structure is also the same, each chamber electing a chairman and deputies who preside at their sittings and take charge of the proceedings.

The equality of the chambers is also to be seen in the fact that both enjoy an equal right to initiate laws and discuss the points on the agenda simultaneously. A law is considered adopted if passed by both chambers, and joint sittings of the two chambers are presided over alternately by the Chairman of the Soviet of the Union and the Chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities.

The two-chamber structure of the USSR Supreme Soviet makes it possible to express correctly the common interests of all working people and to take into account the specific needs of all the peoples and creates an atmosphere of mutual confidence and friendship among them.

The Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet is also formed taking into account the multinational character of the USSR and the equality of the peoples. The chairmen of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviets of the Union republics are elected deputy-chairmen of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

The chairmen of the Councils of Ministers and of the Supreme Courts of the Union republics are *ex officio* members of the Council of Ministers and the Supreme Court of the USSR respectively.

The sovereignty and competence under the law of a Union and an Autonomous republic ensure the all-round consideration of the national specific features in the activities of all state agencies on their territory. Lastly, the local Soviets through which the working people of each nationality exercise state authority are elected by the indigenous population and reflect its national composition.

Under the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union the state pays constant attention to the ever more complete and all-round implementation of the Leninist principles of solving the nationalities question.

This internationalist quality of the state invariably manifests itself at all periods of the development of Soviet society including the hardest of them (the Civil War, economic dislocation and famine, external isolation, the Second World War). The concrete tasks of national policy, such as ensuring the political equality of all peoples, achieving their actual equality, developing all-round co-operation among the fraternal peoples, have changed and will change, but the aims of national policy, the all-round development and drawing together of the socialist nations, are immutable.

The 25th CPSU Congress has confirmed that in the area of internal policy the Party is steadfastly pursuing a Leninist course for the greatest possible development of the creative powers of each Soviet nation and nationality. The Party's plans mapped out at the 25th CPSU Congress are filled with concern for it: "... just as all the other five-year plans, the Tenth Five-Year Plan will be a programme for the development of all the republics, peoples and nationalities of our great socialist Motherland. Soviet society's economic and social progress means the progress of the Russian Federation, the Ukraine, Kazakhstan, Byelorussia, Moldavia, the Central Asian and Baltic republics and Transcaucasia. The integral economic organism that covers the entire country is the solid material foundation of friendship and co-operation among peoples."<sup>1</sup>

In the tenth five-year period the Union republics will play a still greater role in deciding on questions of industrial, social and cultural development, greater output of consumer goods, expansion of retail trade and service taking account of local and national features, the fullest possible utilisation of natural, manpower, and other resources. The task has been set to ensure further economic growth in all Union and Autonomous republics and economic districts, National areas and Autonomous regions.

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<sup>1</sup> *Documents and Resolutions. XXVth Congress of the CPSU*, p. 55.

The national-state development based on the principles of proletarian internationalism has made it possible to rouse to independent political creative activity formerly oppressed millions. This is one of the greatest stimuli to constant development and improvement of socialist democracy.

Having solved the national problems inherited by the Soviet people from capitalism, the Party still does not think that the development of national relations may be struck off the agenda. Leonid Brezhnev said: "Is it appropriate, some may ask, to talk of such problems now that our multinational socialist state has been in existence and developing successfully for 50 years, now that the Soviet people have started to build communist society? Yes, comrades, it is. . . . We have successfully dealt with those aspects of the problem of nationalities that we inherited from the pre-revolutionary past. But in a mature socialist society, national relations continue to be a constantly developing reality, which keeps posing new tasks and problems. The Party never loses sight of these questions, tackling them in good time in the interests of the country as a whole and of every Republic in particular, in the interests of communist construction."<sup>1</sup>

In the conditions of developed socialist society, the CPSU is faced with new tasks of working out the paths and forms of the development of national relations.

The essence of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine of national relations under developed socialism is that the Communist Party has (1) substantiated the Leninist principle of the class, proletarian, internationalist approach to national relations in present-day conditions; (2) revealed the dialectics of solving the nationalities question in the process of establishing the new socio-economic formation, summing up the results of the historic achievements in creating a socialist type of national relations; (3) identified the main trends and features of the development of national relations in mature socialist society and the

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<sup>1</sup> L. I. Brezhnev, *Following Lenin's Course*, Moscow, 1975, p. 76.

link between the flowering and drawing together of nations; (4) revealed the correlation between the international and national factors during the building of communism, emphasising the need for a greater role for the international factor and the need to take into account national features; (5) substantiated the proposition that the Soviet people is a new historical community; (6) enriched the theory of Soviet statehood, revealed the need to continue along the Party's Leninist course for building up the Soviet Union; (7) set new tasks in the consolidation of the unity, friendship and brotherhood of the peoples of the USSR, the education of the working people in the spirit of Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism and the elimination of nationalist prejudices; and (8) pointed out the need to combine international and national interests within the framework of world socialism and of the struggle against bourgeois nationalism and chauvinism.

Speaking in the Kremlin on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the USSR, Leonid Brezhnev said that the "further drawing together of the peoples and nationalities of our country is an objective process. The Party is against hastening the process: there is no need for that, since it is dictated by the entire course of our Soviet life."<sup>1</sup>

Tackling the questions of national relations from the standpoint of consistent proletarian internationalism, the CPSU tolerates neither the ignoring nor the inflating of national features, educating all working people in the spirit of intolerance of nationalism and chauvinism, national narrow-mindedness and conceit, of respect for all peoples and nationalities.

In the multinational Soviet state, the peoples of the country are drawing together, each of them developing harmoniously.

In the economy, the development of democratic forms of management results in all the republics' diverse resources and efforts being increasingly pooled in building

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<sup>1</sup> L. I. Brezhnev, *Following Lenin's Course*, Moscow, 1975, p. 77.

the material and technological basis of communism. Here the unity and brotherhood of the Soviet peoples are tempered and steeled as they work together day by day within the framework of an integral national economic complex, assisting one another in the process of specialisation and co-operation of production based on one countrywide economic development plan.

At the earlier stages of the building of socialism, the solution of the nationalities question also implied, along with the removal of all national oppression and antagonism between peoples and the achievement of political equality for all peoples, the steady elimination of economic and cultural inequality and creation on this basis of national relations of a new type—free and equal co-operation, mutual assistance, brotherhood and mutual confidence. At the current stage of socialism growing into communism, it is already a matter of the complete social uniformity of nations, their complete economic levelling, the formation, under the great internationalisation of the life of society, of new international entities and international culture. It is a matter of overcoming all manifestations of nationalism and chauvinism and making internationalism a standard of behaviour for all citizens.

Thanks to fraternal mutual assistance and, first and foremost, thanks to the great internationalist feat of the Russian people, the obvious difference in the levels of development of the republics and regions of the Soviet Union has been wiped out.<sup>1</sup> The CPSU approaches the economic questions from the standpoint of raising the efficiency of the entire Soviet economy, taking account of the specific interests of the Union and Autonomous republics.

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<sup>1</sup> In the first 50 years, the Soviet Union's total volume of industrial output has increased 320 times. As a result of the Party's policy aimed at an accelerated development of certain republics, industrial output increased 600 times in Kazakhstan, more than 500 times in Tajikistan, more than 400 times in Kirghizia, almost 240 times in Uzbekistan, more than 130 times in Turkmenia, more than 300 times in the RSFSR, 176 times in the Ukraine, more than 350 times in Byelorussia, 150 times in Georgia, 64 times in Azerbaijan, more than 500 times in Armenia, and so on.

The CPSU's course for specialisation and production co-operation on the basis of the integrated development of the Union republics and for closer interaction and mutual replacement of all sections of the national economy is a graphic expression of the principle of internationalism in economic policy. This, however, does not mean that the Party strives to achieve everywhere the same ratio between industry and agriculture or between certain industries. Its efforts are directed at bringing about a situation where, given the developing division of labour in the Soviet Union, all economic branches in every republic will rest on an advanced technical base, on the entire scientific and technological potential of the Soviet Union.

In the political arena, the improvement of socialist democracy implies the further growth of social activity on the part of all Soviet citizens, their greater participation in social regulation and supervision over the operation of the state machine, greater powers for public organisations, better public discipline and enhancement of the socialist rule of law in every sphere of social and private activities. Each of these processes includes greater social activity by citizens, irrespective of nationality and place of residence. Workers and activists of different nationalities work at state agencies, establishments and organisations and in diverse public associations (whether mass organisations or local bodies set up by the citizens independently). Such joint activities draw people together and promote friendship.

The greater social uniformity of Soviet society, of society as a whole and of each individual people having a social structure of the same type is of fundamental significance to the consistent Marxist-Leninist solution of the nationalities question.

The process of internationalisation pervades every sphere of the Soviet people's life.

The political organisation of mature socialist society makes it easier for working people of all nationalities to pool their efforts in building the material and technological basis of communism.

The Party, trade union and Komsomol organisations play a paramount role in educating the entire Soviet people in the spirit of socialist internationalism and Soviet patriotism.

The labour collectives, bodies of workers which are now multinational almost everywhere in the Soviet Union play a particularly important part in fostering and enhancing friendship among peoples and bringing them together. It is in such bodies that the international and generally Soviet characteristics are combined most directly in people's work, views and behaviour. In a collective of working men, people are brought together by the very atmosphere of common work and friendly mutual assistance in carrying out common tasks. Everyone's role and prestige are determined by his efficiency and his moral qualities, not by nationality.

In the field of culture, the further progress of democracy implies the provision of better conditions for the all-round development of the individual, the blooming of art, national in form and socialist in content, for creative work in science and culture.

At present, there are no culturally backward peoples in the Soviet Union. The key task now is all-round exchanges of cultural values between peoples, the enrichment of Soviet socialist culture, literature and art. This is the richest source of friendship among the Soviet peoples.

Over the sixty years the Soviet Union has existed there has shaped and blossomed forth a Soviet socialist culture which is integral in spirit and basic content. It embraces the more valuable qualities and traditions of the culture and everyday life of each Soviet people. Simultaneously each of the Soviet national cultures is not nourished by its own sources alone; it also draws on the spiritual wealth of the other fraternal peoples and, in turn, exerts a beneficial influence on them. In the diversity of the national forms of Soviet socialist culture, common international features are growing more evident. Being socialist in content, it simultaneously appears in

all its variety of national forms and singleness of internationalist spirit. It presents therefore an organic fusion of spiritual values created by all Soviet peoples.

The rapid growth of international contacts and cooperation gives added significance to the Russian language as one of mutual cultural enrichment of all Soviet peoples and nationalities.

In the intellectual sphere, as in the sphere of material production, an enormous role in bringing the Soviet peoples together belongs to the scientific and technological revolution which, combined with the advantages afforded by socialism, results also in fruitful social change, such as the growth of cultural standards, rapprochement of classes and social groups and, certainly, the extension of international intercourse, a greater contribution by all republics and peoples to the progress of science, technology and production. Under socialism, progress in science and technology is bound up with social and political progress, with the improvement of democratic forms of society's functioning and regulation.

Of special importance is the efficiency of state and public administration as a factor uniting the peoples of the Soviet Union. The proportion of what is international, pan-Soviet, in this field is especially great.

The successful training of local personnel has now made it possible to "exchange" such personnel, to promote gifted men and women irrespective of their place of residence or nationality, in strict adherence to the Leninist principles of judging personnel by their business and political qualities. This naturally helps to improve the operation of the Party, the economic and Soviet apparatus, and the entire system of socialist democracy.

The formation and successful development of the USSR are of immense world significance, being an important landmark in mankind's social progress. The Soviet experience of building a multinational socialist state has received international recognition and is of great assistance to all fighters for social and national emancipation. Speak-

ing of the significance of this experience, Gus Hall, General Secretary of the Communist Party, USA, said that the Soviet Union had been for fifty years a beacon of hope to millions of deprived people throughout the world who wanted to be free. The Soviet Union instilled confidence in those fighting capitalist exploitation and provided inspiration to millions on all continents in their struggle for national liberation. The Soviet Union pointed out the way for all those suffering under racial discrimination. The Soviet Union's golden jubilee showed the peoples of the world a symbol of the radiant future of human society.

In his speech on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics Leonid Brezhnev said: "As the Party resolves the problems of the country's further development along the course charted by Lenin, it attaches great importance to the continuous, systematic and deep-going education of all Soviet citizens in the spirit of internationalism and Soviet patriotism. For us these two concepts comprise an indivisible whole. Needless to say, they are fostered in the people by the Soviet way of life, by all its realities. But there must also be conscious effort by the Party, by everyone working on the politico-ideological front. Our work in this direction is an extremely important part of the general effort of building communism."<sup>1</sup>

The activities of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union are a most vivid example of the combination of national and international tasks and their skilful and wise solution. The Peace Programme put forward at the 24th CPSU Congress is an expression of the consistently internationalist policy of the Soviet Union aimed at strengthening the unity of the revolutionary forces.

The principle of socialist internationalism on which the CPSU has based the political system, national-state development in the USSR, simultaneously emerges as the

<sup>1</sup> L. I. Brezhnev, *Following Lenin's Course*, Moscow, 1975, p. 77.

key principle of foreign policy the Soviet Union is guided by in world affairs. The Soviet Union is consistently building up relations of fraternal alliance, mutual assistance and co-operation with socialist countries. It supports the struggle being waged by the international working class against the capitalists, renders disinterested aid to the developing nations, actively participates in the struggle against colonialism, neocolonialism and racialism in order to achieve lasting peace and social progress.

The emergence of the socialist world system has enriched the content of proletarian internationalism. The close ties between patriotism and internationalism have become more manifest. To be a real patriot of a socialist country is to be simultaneously a patriot of the entire socialist community. The consolidation and development of socialism opens new possibilities in the struggle for the international aims of the working class and all working people, for the revolutionary remaking of the world, for democracy, national independence and durable world peace.

Ever since its founding, the activities of the CPSU both on the home scene and in foreign relations have been pervaded by internationalist ideas.

In its relations with socialist countries the CPSU firmly follows the tested rule of conducting affairs in the spirit of genuine equality and interest in each other's success and working out decisions that meet international as well as national interests. No matter what problems arise, the Party believes that they must be resolved in the spirit of strengthening friendship, unity, co-operation and non-interference in the affairs of the fraternal countries.

This policy is highly appreciated by the fraternal parties and peoples of socialist countries. To quote an example, Fidel Castro told the 25th Congress: "Our people take pride in their relations with your country, which are a model of internationalism at work, of mutual understanding, respect and confidence. Never has the Soviet Union, which has rendered decisive assistance to

our people, made any demands of us, set conditions or dictated what we should do."<sup>1</sup>

The Soviet Union's attitude to the complicated processes taking place in the developing countries is clear and definite. "The Soviet Union does not interfere in the internal affairs of other countries and peoples," Leonid Brezhnev told the 25th CPSU Congress. "It is an immutable principle of our Leninist foreign policy to respect the sacred right of every people, every country, to choose its own way of development. But we do not conceal our views. In the developing countries, as everywhere else, we are on the side of the forces of progress, democracy and national independence, and regard them as friends and comrades in struggle.

"Our Party supports and will continue to support peoples fighting for their freedom. In so doing, the Soviet Union does not look for advantages, does not hunt for concessions, does not seek political domination, and is not after military bases. We act as we are bid by our revolutionary conscience, our communist convictions."<sup>2</sup>

The 25th Congress has demonstrated the CPSU's unshakable loyalty to the principles of proletarian internationalism. It has convincingly shown that internationalism is the best form of combining the international aims of the working class, the world communist movement, and the struggle for the emancipation of mankind with national and patriotic interests.

The 25th CPSU Congress has demonstrated once again the unsoundness of the efforts to renounce the principle of internationalism.

Addressing the 25th CPSU Congress, Leonid Brezhnev pointed out: "But as we see it, to renounce proletarian internationalism is to deprive Communist Parties and the working-class movement in general of a mighty and tested weapon. It would work in favour of the class enemy who,

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<sup>1</sup> *Our Friends Speak. Greetings to the 25th CPSU Congress*, Moscow, 1976, p. 35.

<sup>2</sup> *Documents and Resolutions. XXVth Congress of the CPSU*, p. 16.

by the way, actively co-ordinates his anti-communist activities on an international scale."<sup>1</sup>

Delegates and guests of the Congress stressed in their speeches that loyalty to proletarian internationalism was a guarantee against the narrow empirical conception of the goals of the revolutionary struggle, against slipping into opportunism and nationalism, and that it ensured the world communist movement and the countries of the socialist community the prestige and attraction that made all fighters for peace, democracy, national freedom and socialism, for overall human progress, rally round them.

#### **PLANNING: PRINCIPLE OF THE OPERATION OF THE POLITICAL SYSTEM OF SOCIALISM**

Planning, which reflects the requirements posed by the objective laws governing the development of society and which follows from the essence of socialism, is one of the key principles of the functioning of the Soviet political system.

The building of socialism proceeds on a large-scale general plan consciously and purposefully following a programme designed in advance. The principle of planning was adopted by the Communist Party and Soviet government early under Soviet rule, when the country went over to peaceful constructive work. At the present stage of building communism, the question of economic planning and regulation have acquired special relevance.

The conscious activity of the multimillion community of Soviet people based on the knowledge of objective laws rules the natural and social forces in an organised and plan-regulated fashion, directing them as benefits society best and utilising them for the good of the people, for the satisfaction of its material and intellectual needs.

The implementation of the basic tasks of developed socialist society—the building of the material and technological basis of communism, the general raising of the

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<sup>1</sup> *Documents and Resolutions. XXVth Congress of the CPSU*, p. 37

people's living standards, the obliteration of essential distinctions between town and country and between work by brain and by hand, and socialist economic integration—requires the extension of planning.

Planning is the core and pivot of the entire economic mechanism. Properly organised socialist economic management is a complex, multifaceted thing. Its main purpose and the reason why it should be improved is to provide for a steady growth in labour productivity, to make social production more efficient, and intensify it by using the latest results of the progress of science and technology as much as possible.

The activities of all state bodies are planned. Planning helps to view their work in a long term, ensures the co-ordination of the activities of the state, economic and public organisations, and introduces a steady rhythm to the whole business of state economic management as well as making it more prompt. Planning also determines the place of each agency and official in the mechanism of state regulation, directs attention towards key tasks, organises and musters forces and the means for the priority solution of key tasks, enables appropriate steps to be taken in good time, opens new possibilities, resources and reserves, and enables to continuously supervise and check the execution of orders.

Socialist planning has its source in the famous GOELRO Plan, the first economic plan in history, a plan for the electrification of Russia. It was of such immense political and economic significance, that Lenin called it another Party Programme.

The decision on working it out was adopted by the All-Russia Executive Committee in February 1920. The decision read: "...Soviet Russia now has, for the first time, an opportunity of starting on more balanced economic development, and working out a nationwide state economic plan on scientific lines and consistently implementing it."<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 32, p. 138.

Early in 1921, at Lenin's suggestion, a Planning Committee was set up on the basis of the commission of scientists, engineers and prominent experts who had drafted the GOELRO Plan. The Planning Committee was to map out and exercise general supervision over the implementation of an integrated state economic plan. It marked the beginning of a system of interrelated long-term and annual plans.

In the process of the implementation of the GOELRO Plan by annual plans, the need arose for intermediate, medium-term plans. That was how the idea of five-year plans appeared. The choice of a five-year period depended at that time on many circumstances, such as the rate of technological progress, the average rate at which new factories were built then, and so on.

The GOELRO Plan and the First Five-Year Plan were fulfilled ahead of time, proving the feasibility of economic control on a national scale with the help of national economic development plans designed beforehand.

The methods of Soviet planning founded on the principles of the Marxist-Leninist economic science have been developing and improving ever since.

At the beginning of the 1960s, however, when the Soviet economy considerably exceeded the prewar level, planning had to be improved as the economic ties became much more complicated while the technological revolution imposed the need for a more flexible and effective introduction of its advances.

In recent years, economic development plans have become better substantiated scientifically and better balanced. The development of some economic branches has been optimised and the economic and social aspects have been more closely co-ordinated.

In the course of the economic reform the sectoral management of production has been restored and the powers of economic executives at different levels increased. The economic reform has helped to draw more working people into management and to improve planning and the system of incentives to efficient work.

Under developed socialism, planning and management have to meet essentially new requirements. And it was not by chance, of course, that the December 1973 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee pointed out the need to further improve planning and management and the economic mechanism at large.

Raising the role of centralised planning and management is inseparable from the further growth of socialist democracy, from making more and more working people share in the management of production, and from promoting local initiative. Bodies of workers have recently come to play a much greater part in drafting the plans for their economic and social development. A movement has been launched among the workers for adopting supplementary plans for tapping available but unused reserves so as to reach and exceed the national plan targets.

Soviet planning has always been comprehensive. Its significance is now greater than ever before, above all because of the enormous increase in socialist reproduction. The country's economic potential has practically doubled in ten years.

The comprehensive approach was characteristic of the Ninth Five-Year Plan which contained an extensive social programme, a comprehensive programme for the development of agriculture, and a programme for scientific and technological progress.

Comprehensive programmes are usually designed to solve certain problems involving major structural changes in the economy and co-ordinate the activities of several industries and Union republics. To substantiate them scientifically, research is carried out on major national economic problems and scientific forecasting is applied.

The 24th CPSU Congress set the fundamental guidelines on basic issues of economic policy in developed socialist society.

The 25th Congress has specified them with reference to the next five years and for a longer term. In terms of the principal objectives and the basic orientations of

economic activity the Ninth and Tenth five-year plans are an integral whole reflecting the long-term orientation of the Party's economic policy.

The supreme fundamental long-term aim of the Party is, of course, a steady rise in the people's living standards and cultural level.

This aim determines economic strategy which also covers a precise identification of the ways and means of attaining the aims set. These are the dynamic and balanced growth of social production, its higher efficiency, faster scientific and technological progress, greater labour efficiency and better quality at all levels of the economy. All these things constitute the key task of the Tenth Five-Year Plan which was drawn up in parallel with the elaboration of the guidelines for the country's long-term economic development up to the year 1990.

The orientations for fifteen years do not have the same mandatory nature nor are they as detailed as the five-year plans. Their purpose is to "determine well in advance the character and magnitude of the tasks facing us, to concentrate efforts on fulfilling them, see possible problems and difficulties more clearly, and facilitate the preparation and implementation of programmes and projects extending beyond the five-year period."<sup>1</sup>

According to preliminary estimates, in 1976-1990 the Soviet Union will roughly double the material and financial resources it had in the preceding fifteen years.

During the past fifteen years real incomes per capita have approximately doubled, while the total volume of material benefits and services has increased approximately 2.4 times. This gives one an idea of the scope of the tasks that can be set for the next fifteen years.

The elaboration of large integrated programmes for two or three five-year periods is becoming increasingly important for the development of all branches of the national economy.

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<sup>1</sup> *Documents and Resolutions. XXVth Congress of the CPSU*, p. 48.

Such programmes can be drawn up, closely co-ordinated, provided with resources and linked up in time only on a long-term basis. They will take into account the continuous progress of Soviet and world science and technology and the possibilities for economic co-operation with other states. They will make provision for a better distribution of the productive forces in the country and the need for developing new areas, particularly those rich in primary materials and fuel.

The Tenth Five-Year Plan is remarkable for its orientation towards efficiency and quality. In terms of planning it implies an endeavour to provide for a more balanced and proportionate development of the economy and create better conditions for improving the quality indices of work. It also implies the orientation of all branches of the economy, of the work of every ministry and enterprise towards a fundamental improvement of efficiency and quality.

As assigned by the Party Central Committee and the government the academic institutes and the ministries and departments concerned jointly drew up the draft Comprehensive Programme for scientific and technological progress and its social and economic effects for 1976-1990. The Programme is an integral part of current and long-term planning, giving the orientations without which the economy could not be managed successfully.

One of the most urgent and difficult tasks in planning is the further development of the integral system of national economic plans which comprises long-term, five-year, and annual plans.

The national economic plans are not the mechanical sum of three kinds of plans but a unity of the three. Calculations in the case of the integral system of plans have to be made for a period of fifteen years; this can only be done by computers. For this reason ministries and departments are now working on an automated system of plan drafting (ASPD). The production of this system is connected with the general tasks of improving planning and management.

Theoretically, the ASPD is based on the Marxist-Leninist methodology of planning which, in turn, is based on the objective laws governing the development of socialist society, on the socio-economic nature of the phenomena and processes under examination. Technically, the ASPD is based first of all on a group of computers.

The 24th CPSU Congress pointed out the need to set up on the basis of a system of computation centres and a unified communication network a national automated system for storing and retrieving information. Separate elements of this system are already being formed or operating. As they are developed further, these elements will be linked more closely and it is this interlocking of all automated systems that constitutes the greatest merit of the national system, making it of such immense significance to the economy. Its core will be the GOSPLAN's automated system of plan drafting (ASPD). Its fundamentals are being worked out by Soviet scientific organisations. It will interact with the automated control systems of other central bodies—the State Committee for Material and Technical Supply, the State Bank, the Central Statistical Board, automated control systems of ministries and departments and Union republics and with the special automated system for the regulation of scientific and technological progress.

Research is now under way into how experts' conditions of work will be affected by the electronic processing of information. The results will be applied for devising appropriate training programmes for planners.

In developed socialist society economic relations have become extremely complicated and more multifaceted and dynamic than ever before not only between economic branches and areas, but also between the USSR and the member-countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA). The Soviet Union's economic relations with the developing and industrialised capitalist countries have expanded. In this situation the comprehensive solution of the national economic problems is of increasing significance.

The co-operation of the CMEA countries has now entered an essentially new stage of international socialist economic integration. The vast productive forces created in the CMEA countries make it necessary to strengthen the economic ties between them.

Socialist economic integration is methodically regulated by the Communist and Workers' Parties of the CMEA countries.

The 23rd special CMEA Session, which convened in April 1969, mapped out the main lines of integration and identified the key problems to be tackled further on by the countries concerned. The Council agencies were asked to draw up a comprehensive socialist integration programme. The Comprehensive Programme for the Further Extension and Improvement of Co-operation and the Development of Socialist Economic Integration by the CMEA Member-Countries was adopted at the 25th CMEA Session in July 1971. It was designed for a period of 15-20 years and contained the necessary economic and organisational measures, to be implemented step by step, taking into account the interests of each individual country and the community at large. The adoption of the Programme is furthering the planning of co-operation among the socialist countries. Co-ordination of the national economic plans, practised since 1954, is the hub of the system of the CMEA countries' joint planning.

Thus, the interested CMEA countries worked out several major joint projects enabling a more effective solution of the fuel and raw materials problem. Most of them signed in 1972 a General Agreement on the joint construction of a pulp and paper plant near Ust Ilimsk (East Siberia) which will cost 800 million roubles and will produce 500,000 tons of pulp a year. Another agreement was signed in 1973 on a joint asbestos project at Kiyembay with an annual output of 500,000 tons. In accordance with a multilateral agreement a gas pipeline is now under construction and will run from the Orenburg region (in the Urals) to the western border of the Soviet Union. When completed, the gas pipeline will make it possible to in-

crease gas supplies to the European socialist countries. In implementing the Comprehensive Programme, CMEA agencies have concluded 17 multilateral agreements on specialisation and co-operation in the production of the most advanced equipment, covering more than 1,700 items of machinery.

Great strides have been made by industry and agriculture in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. These are sufficient proof of the immense advantages inherent in the socialist planned economy and of the increasing reliability of the national economic plans.

The functioning and development of socialist production is a natural historical process which is based on objective laws: the basic economic law, the law of plan-regulated, balanced economic development, the law of distribution according to the quantity and quality of one's work, amongst others.

To know and apply objective economic laws in socialist society is a historical necessity. Methodically applying the objective economic laws of socialism in the economy is the main purpose of economic policy. Unless applied in a plan-regulated fashion, these laws cannot be implemented in line with their objective content.

It is a natural feature of the development of socialist society that the Party and government have to translate the requirements of these objective laws into the language of economic policy. Economic conditions must be provided which give scope to the operation of these laws so that their requirements are taken into consideration and implemented in production by men and by institutions.

The meaning of Lenin's formula about the unity of politics and economics and the precedence of politics over economics, therefore consists above all of the fact that the subjective factor—i.e., men's conscious, plan-regulated activities, the totality of state and social organisations led by the Communist Party—is essential to the building of the new society, to regulating production and the entire system of social relations.

Lenin's classic propositions on politics being a concentrated expression of economics, its generalisation and consummation, on the precedence of political approach to economic problems, are well known.

Pointing out the unity of the political and economic aspects of the development of society, Lenin stressed that "politics must take precedence over economics", that to "argue otherwise is to forget the ABC of Marxism."<sup>1</sup> He showed that unless the working class solved its political task correctly, consolidating its alliance with the peasants, it would be unable to remain in power and thus solve its main economic tasks and build socialism. Lenin repeatedly emphasised that the working class must first perform the revolution and win political power in order to have the chance to deal next with the economic remaking of society.

This formula is expressed in the integral political-economic approach to social progress exercised by the Party and the socialist state as well as in the fact that questions of economic development are being tackled from the standpoint of how much a measure aimed at utilising economic objective laws helps to consolidate the socialist social and state systems, because, Lenin wrote, "without a correct political approach to the matter the given class will be unable to stay on top, *and, consequently*, will be incapable of solving *its production problems* either."<sup>2</sup>

The unbreakable link between policy and economy in every action of the CPSU and the Soviet government is seen, first of all, in the fact that policy, being a reflection of objective economic laws, is a concentrated expression and generalisation of the requirements of the development of the material life of society. Secondly, policy determines the conditions, ways, and means needed to make the most of the objective economic laws in order to resolve the urgent problems of production and meet the continually growing material and cultural needs of the people.

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<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 32, p. 83.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 84.

Thirdly, being a reflection of the objective economic laws we already know, policy outlines concrete methods for their correct and most expedient employment in the interest of society.

Marxist-Leninists, who see politics as a concentrated expression, generalisation and consummation of economics, strive to evolve, on the basis of a dialectical-materialist conception of social progress, a scientific policy which is a major factor in and a prerequisite for that very progress. The Communist Party bases its work on the unity of political and economic management because all aspects of the building of communism are closely connected and the solution of social and political problems depends on economic progress while the latter largely depends on how successfully social and political problems are resolved.

The Party exercises its guidance of the economy by working out economic policy, selecting and placing the executives, supervising the implementation of the decisions adopted by the Party and the state, and by organising and ideologically educating the masses. Certainly it has nothing to do with mixing the functions of economic organisations and political bodies or with eliminating personal responsibility and replacing one by the other. What we mean to say is that it is necessary closely to combine political and economic management. Long experience has shown that it is impossible in any way successfully to organise economic activities without engaging in the political education of the masses, just as the political education of the masses is most effective when pursued in the process of tackling some specific economic task.

The Party, the December 1973 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee pointed out, has two things to rely on as far as economic development is concerned. One is improving economic management and putting the economy on a really scientific basis. The other is mobilising the masses, rousing their creative capacity and initiative.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See L. I. Brezhnev, *Questions of the CPSU's Agrarian Policy and Virgin Land Development in Kazakhstan*, p. 353 (in Russian).

As concerns the management of the economy on the individual factory level, this is carried out by Soviet and economic organisations.

Planning holds a prominent place in the life of the Party. It has always been characteristic of the Party's activities, but in present-day conditions its role is far greater. The old forms and methods of planning are being improved or replaced by new ones.

Not so long ago, Party committees confined themselves for the most part to current planning. Plans were made for the month or at best for the quarter. This being so, their attention naturally was for current problems. Apart from that, the plans did not always reflect a comprehensive approach to social, economic and ideological problems. Some plans identified merely the tasks of the bureau, not of the whole Party committee or the branch at large.

After the 23rd CPSU Congress, long-term planning by Party committees became widespread. Since 1967, long-term plans have been adopted by the district Party committees and many primary branches in Moscow and Leningrad, in Krasnodar and Krasnoyarsk territories, and in the Novosibirsk, Sverdlovsk and other regions in the RSFSR and other Union republics. Long-term planning and the comprehensive solution of social and economic problems are part of the scientific approach to Party work. It is one of the requirements of the Leninist style of political leadership. Speaking at the Eighth All-Russia Congress of Soviets, Lenin said: "...We cannot work without a long-term plan that envisages important achievements."<sup>1</sup>

These instructions are steadily followed today. Leonid Brezhnev said that "when charting the roads of social development, the Party proceeds both from current needs and from long-term goals. . . ."<sup>2</sup>

With a long-term plan, attention may be concentrated on the key problems of production and the education of

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<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 511.

<sup>2</sup> L. I. Brezhnev, *Following Lenin's Course*, Moscow, 1975, p. 442.

working people and all questions may be tackled comprehensively, bearing in mind their mutual relationship, and on a scientific basis. Such a plan provides a broad programme of action for Party committees and organisations over a long period of time.

Naturally, an organisational plan will be effective only if it has been drawn up strictly in line with Marxist-Leninist theory and the practice of Party development. The Leninist principle of democratic centralism is the starting point of planning. In this case, this principle implies the guiding role which the decisions and plans of the higher Party committees must play in the work of all Party branches. Simultaneously it means that the latter must display initiative when planning their own activities and choosing the ways and means for the best possible implementation of their tasks.

It is also very important to see the main link in the whole chain. Lenin wrote: "You must be able at each particular moment to find the particular link in the chain which you must grasp with all your might in order to hold the whole chain and to prepare firmly for the transition to the next link."<sup>1</sup> For this reason organisational plans identify the more essential, fundamental questions of Party leadership on which attention is focussed in the first place. These are questions of the further growth of the mobilising role of the Party organisations in the fulfilment of the five-year-plan targets and undertakings given by those participating in the socialist emulation movement; the inculcation of Marxist-Leninist views and communist morality; the further improvement of the style and methods of work of city, district and primary CPSU organisations; the adoption of a Party approach in every field of economic, social and political activities; and more intense work for enhancing the prestige of being a member of the Leninist Party.

A systems approach to planning is also needed. A plan is not a mechanical assortment of diverse measures but

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<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, p. 274.

a complex of co-ordinated, streamlined steps logically connected into an integral whole.

At the same time, in the course of planning questions arise which require further discussion, for example, the question of the duration and contents of a long-term plan.

The common perspective, however, does not exclude but, on the contrary, implies the adoption of current plans of work. Their main purpose is to specify the items in the long-term plan and to outline new measures which can hardly be foreseen but come up in practice. Of a whole range of problems comprised in the long-term plan, the current plan single out those most important at the given moment so as to concentrate efforts on them. Consequently, current plans are to provide for the consecutive implementation of long-term plans, taking into account the situation at any given time. They make it possible to react promptly to this or that trend, forestalling any possible hitches and responding promptly to all that is new in Party work. District and city Party committees usually adopt such plans for a quarter while primary Party branches draw them up for a month or two. Some state and collective farms draw up current plans for the period of field work such as spring sowing or harvesting the crops. Schools and colleges make such plans for the duration of each term.

Party organisations draw up other plans, too. For instance, they map out special plans of work for implementing major decisions of the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet government. To quote an example, such plans were adopted everywhere for the fulfilment of the decision of the CPSU Central Committee "On the Selection and Education of Ideological Personnel in the Party Organisation of Byelorussia".

Recently many district and city Party committees have begun drawing up monthly comprehensive calendar plans. Such plans list the principal events, such as plenary meetings, bureau sittings, Soviet sessions, seminars, etc., envisaged in the current plans of the Party committee, the local Soviet, the Komsomol committee, the people's con-

trol committee. Thanks to the comprehensive calendar plans, measures conducted by Party bodies and mass organisations can be better co-ordinated, preventing any unnecessary duplication.

In a word, planning is being continually improved, thus raising the scientific level of political leadership and enhancing the Leninist style in Party work.

Under developed socialism, the political sphere becomes, in effect, one of scientific activity, due to the maturity of socialist social relations and to the fact that policy is made on the basis of in-depth and all-round studies by the Party and its Central Committee of concrete historical circumstances as well as to the high level to which science is developed in the socialist society.

The Communist Party in socialist society ensures the purposeful co-ordinated operation of all branches of the national economy and of every sphere of the life of society, taking into account and combining the interests and specific features of the different classes and social groups, peoples and generations.

The successful solution of the tasks of building socialism and communism depends greatly on the selection, placement and training of personnel.

#### PERSONNEL IN THE SOVIET POLITICAL SYSTEM

The Soviet political system's prompt and co-ordinated action depends wholly on well-organised and co-ordinated performance by individuals.

For this reason the Communist Party has, since the earliest days of Soviet rule, paid great attention to the selection, promotion, placement, training, and education of personnel.

Lenin always drew attention to the immense importance of personnel training.

He worked out in detail the Party's principles for personnel selection, placement and education. The main thing was to be well acquainted with the people. They must be selected and placed, Lenin wrote, "a) from the standpoint

of honesty, b) from the political standpoint, c) business qualifications, d) executive capacity."<sup>1</sup>

After the victorious October Revolution, when the Communists became the ruling party, the problem of personnel became one of state and economic as well as Party leadership. Early under Soviet rule Lenin wrote that it was necessary to "try as carefully and as patiently as possible to test and discover real organisers, people with sober and practical minds, people who combine loyalty to socialism with ability without fuss (and in spite of muddle and fuss) to get a large number of people working together steadily and concertedly within the framework of Soviet organisation. *Only* such people, after they have been tested a dozen times, by being transferred from the simplest to the more difficult tasks, should be promoted to the responsible posts of leaders of the people's labour, leaders of administration."<sup>2</sup>

The Party had to select and train hundreds of thousands of executives in a backward country, in the face of a shortage of skilled personnel devoted to the revolution. This problem was successfully solved. Over the years, the Party promoted to executive positions in the economy numerous competent, energetic and gifted men and women enjoying prestige and respect among working people.

At the current stage of the building of communism the personnel problem has risen to a new level.

The 25th CPSU Congress stressed that personnel policy is a powerful instrument by means of which the Party exerts its influence on the course of social development.

Owing to the rapid progress in science and technology the emphasis is now on intensive methods of economic development and, on this basis, on all-round growth in the efficiency of social production and success comes to depend more and more on the availability of trained personnel skilled in the use of new machinery, able to control intricate processes, well-informed in economics, and

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<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 45, p. 243.

<sup>2</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, pp. 262-63.

treating their duties and public property conscientiously, in a communist way.

This invests with particular meaning Lenin's words that "management necessarily implies competency, that knowledge of all the conditions of production down to the last detail and of the latest technology of your branch of production is required; you must have had a certain scientific training".<sup>1</sup>

The 24th CPSU Congress discussed all of the more substantial questions of work with executive personnel and mapped out measures to be taken in that respect. The congress' resolution said: "The Party attaches paramount importance to having politically mature, knowledgeable and capable organisers at the head of all sectors of Party, state, economic, cultural, educational and social work."<sup>2</sup>

After the 24th Congress, the CPSU Central Committee specially discussed a whole range of fundamental questions concerning executive personnel and adopted a number of relevant decisions. Of great significance, for instance, were the observations and requirements promulgated by the December 1973 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee. It gave all-round consideration to ways and means of enhancing further the Party's influence on economic development and every sphere of the life of society, and emphasised the importance of the proper education of Party and Soviet officials, ministry and department executives and other similar personnel.

As a result of the Party's constant concern, the qualitative composition of personnel at all levels is steadily improving. This is evident, among other things, in their higher standards of general education and political and technical training. At present, 99.5 per cent of the secretaries of the Republican Central Committees of the Communist Parties, and of the Party's territorial and regional committees have a higher education and more than 70 per cent of them have engineering, technical or agricultural

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<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 30, p. 428.

<sup>2</sup> *24th Congress of the CPSU*, p. 234.

training. Virtually all of them have worked as secretaries of primary Party branches and city and district Party committees. Among the secretaries of city and district committees 99.2 per cent have a higher education while 60 per cent of them are specialists in industry and agriculture. Most secretaries have a long record of Party work. A large proportion of secretaries of city and district committees have also received political education at Party schools.

The solution of major socio-economic problems on which the Party has focused attention lately makes the Party's guidance of society an increasingly difficult and responsible matter requiring that the content and methods of Party and government work be improved. Here too, success depends directly on the level of the ideological, political and professional training of Party personnel.

The Party expects every executive to be not only an economic manager but also a political leader aware of the educational impact his economic or administrative decisions may have.

The Party schools play an important role in the Marxist-Leninist education of Party and Soviet executives. The network of these schools has been growing gradually; it has developed and improved and continues to do so depending on the concrete situation and in line with the Party's tasks at any given stage in the building of communism. In the interval between the 24th and 25th CPSU congresses, 40,000 people were trained in Party schools. There is a wide network of permanently functioning courses. More than 230,000 Party and government executives took refresher courses between the 24th and 25th congresses.

Refresher courses and institutes and college departments for economic managers and experts constitute an important form of work with executive personnel.

Some training and retraining of personnel is done in the field, e.g., theoretical seminars, conferences, schools for Party activists, and so on. An Institute of Economic Management was set up in 1970 to improve executives' skills in modern methods of management, organisation

of production, and in the use of economic mathematical modelling and computers in planning.

The facts have proved the effectiveness of many forms of personnel education such as seminars and schools for active Party and production workers, scientific and practical conferences at which problems of economic management, economic development and workers' education are discussed in detail. Managers' councils at district and city Party committees have proved very helpful. Young specialists' classes have become a fairly widespread form of communist education.

The CPSU has always stressed that work with personnel must be fully in line with the firmly established practice of treating personnel with trust and respect combined with an exacting attitude.

The Report of the CC CPSU to the 25th Congress speaks of the need to improve this work further so as to "provide the Party with an even more extensive reserve of experienced and theoretically mature comrades."<sup>1</sup>

The exchange of Party cards, carried out in 1973-1974, contributed to the further improvement of Party work personnel, enhancing the activity and discipline of Communists. An important result of the exchange has been to make Communist expect more of each other and that an atmosphere of intolerance of any breaches of the Rules has been created in the Party branches.

Another means of improving work with personnel is the listing of the group of people whom the Party committee must know well and personally approve for or remove from their offices.

Another form of working with personnel is certification: this has proved effective in raising the skill and responsibility of employees. In July 1973, the USSR Council of Ministers adopted a decision "On the Introduction of Certification of Executives, Engineers and Technicians and Other Specialists at Enterprises and Organisations

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<sup>1</sup> *Documents and Resolutions. XXVth Congress of the CPSU*, p. 86.

in Industry, Construction, Agriculture, Transport and Communications". The decision outlined the main methods and principles of solving this important problem. In accordance with this decision, the USSR Council of Ministers Committee for Science and Technology and the Labour and Wages State Committee of the USSR Council of Ministers approved on October 5, 1973, the Rules of certification, agreed with the Soviet Ministry of Justice and the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions and identifying the purpose, content and procedure of certification.

According to the Rules, certification is aimed at achieving the best possible use of graduate experts, at raising the efficiency of their work and their responsibility. It is designed to facilitate further improvements in the selection and training of personnel and to raise their business qualifications and ideological standard.

Certification takes into account the employee's personal contribution to the fulfilment of government plans and to the introduction of new technology, his skill, whether he has carried out his commitments as a member of the socialist emulation movement, how well he abides by state and industrial discipline, and whether he takes part in social activities. The requirements that must be met by Soviet graduate experts under present-day conditions were mentioned by Leonid Brezhnev in his speech at the All-Union Meeting of Students on October 19, 1971. He said: "A Soviet specialist today is one who has mastered well the fundamentals of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, has a clear idea of the Party's and country's political objectives, has had ample scientific and practical training, has a perfect mastery of his job. . . . He is a skilled organiser capable of applying in practice the principles of scientific organisation of labour. He can work with people, appreciates collective experience, takes his comrades' opinions into account, critically evaluates results. . . . He is a person of culture and erudition. . . ." <sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> L. I. Brezhnev, *Following Lenin's Course*, Vol. 3, p. 429 (in Russian).

In recent years the CPSU has done a lot to reinforce with personnel all government and social organisations and economic management bodies.

The Party's thoroughly scientific approach to the education of personnel under developed socialism and in conditions of the scientific and technological revolution are attested to by the directives of recent Party congresses on the further development and improvement of public education.

The transition to universal secondary education of youth was completed in the main during the Ninth Five-year Plan. The training of skilled workers at vocational schools was extended and standards raised at them. The training of graduate experts continued on a considerably larger scale. Special attention was paid to training experts in new fields of science and technology. In 1974, 693,500 students (as against 630,800 in 1970) graduated from Soviet colleges and universities.

In 1974, the CPSU Central Committee discussed what was being done to train or improve the skills of collective and state farm executives and experts. The resolution passed on that matter noted that there was a ramified system of retraining and further training of agricultural personnel that enabled farm managers and experts regularly to increase their knowledge and experience. After the March 1965 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, the training programmes in agricultural economics, science and technology took care of 934,000 executives and experts, helping to raise the level of management on collective and state farms and speeding up the progress of science and technology in Soviet agriculture.

Now that the intensification, specialisation and concentration of agriculture have moved into the foreground, executives and experts working on collective and state farms and at inter-farm enterprises and amalgamations are expected to have higher professional and ideological standards than before. In view of this, the Central Committee has recommended that every republic, territory, region and district should work out a long-term plan for

the retraining and advanced training of agricultural personnel and that a sustained effort should be made to build up a reserve of such personnel for promotion to executive positions on collective and state farms and at inter-farm enterprises and amalgamations.

It was suggested that special attention should be paid to providing enough personnel for key agricultural sectors. It was necessary to achieve a situation in which teams, departments and livestock farms were headed by qualified experts who were at the same time skilled organisers and leaders, having a feeling for the new and a profound knowledge of modern techniques, machines and organisation of production and also capable of translating the Party's policy into life.

It was considered desirable to start the publication in 1975 of an *Agricultural Personnel* magazine to report on the progress being made by colleges and scientific centres in the retraining and advanced training of personnel.

At the present stage of the building of communism, when every sphere of the life of society is undergoing profound change, more and more is expected of the builders of the new world in the matters of their political understanding, ethics and professional skill. Important educational problems arise from the present foreign relations situation. This situation is characterised by the fact that the principles of peaceful coexistence are taking root on the international scene while the ideological struggle is at the same time extending and becoming more complicated.

The Party's constant concern about raising the level and the effectiveness of ideological influence on the masses was again highlighted by the decision of the CPSU Central Committee "On the Selection and Training of Ideological Personnel in the Party Organisation of Byelorussia". This decision emphasised that the present level of the development of Soviet society, the immensity of the tasks involved in building communism, and the intensity of the ideological struggle on the world scene all made

more stringent demands on ideological work and, accordingly, on those responsible for conducting it.

The selection and education of personnel is the key point in the Party's guidance of ideological activities. The effective use of ideological means and the improvement of political work with the masses depend decisively on the composition of the personnel, on their qualifications and thoughtful allocation to their posts. The decision of the CPSU Central Committee started from the fact that ideological personnel are moulded and tempered in the process of constant study and professional growth while implementing the tasks posed by the Party. The personnel problem has been posed and worked out in line with the main trends and content of the ideological influence on the life of society and the education of the masses. The decision identifies also the requirements to which the selection, education, training and retraining of ideological personnel must conform.

Serious questions arise before Party committees in the matter of the elaboration and study of specific problems to do with raising the professional skills of ideological personnel, studying pedagogy and psychology, learning to put things across and drawing general conclusions from the best available experience in the ideological education of the masses.

"The modern leader," Leonid Brezhnev told the 25th CPSU Congress, "must organically combine within himself a Party approach and well-grounded competence, a sense of high discipline and initiative, and a creative attitude towards his work. At the same time, the leader must everywhere take account of socio-political and educational aspects, be sensitive to the needs and requirements of people, and set an example in work and in everyday life."<sup>1</sup>

Training local personnel is an important part of the policy pursued by the Communist Party and the Soviet state. The Party tackled the problem of training Party

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<sup>1</sup> *Documents and Resolutions. XXVth Congress of the CPSU*, p. 85.

and government executives from among the minority peoples soon after the victory of the October Revolution. That it has successfully coped with the task is clear from the advances made today in every area of the life of society by all the peoples inhabiting the Soviet Union.

The Party readily promotes women to executive jobs. Women account for 60 per cent of the specialists with a higher or a secondary education. During the past few years the number of women promoted to responsible jobs in the Party, trade unions and the economy has increased quite appreciably. Almost 2,000 secretaries of city and district Party committees are women. Women account for about 30 per cent of the secretaries of municipal district committees. Lately, the proportion of women elected primary branch secretaries has increased to 29 per cent, and in some regions, to 40 per cent.

In 1974 475 women (31.3 per cent) were elected to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and more than a million (48.1 per cent) to the local Soviets in 1975.

Bourgeois critics of the democratic foundations and principles of the CPSU's life and its guiding activities allege that the improvement in the executives' general and technical educational standards in the Soviet Union is due to the fact that these people presumably enjoy a privileged position in the Party and Soviet society. Trying to prove that there is in Soviet society a so-called ruling élite which is allegedly opposed to and out of contact with the people, such critics do not want to see that the high level of education and technical training of our personnel results directly from the overall growth in the culture and education of the whole people, attained thanks to socialist changes. They also pass over the fact that the many thousands of Party and government leaders, outstanding economic executives, scientists and cultural figures have been raised by the Party from among the workers and peasants. More than 80 per cent of the secretaries of the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of the Union republics and of territorial and regional Party com-

mittees, of chairmen of the councils of ministers and of territorial and regional executive committees started their careers as workers or peasants. The same is true of almost 70 per cent of the ministers and chairmen of the USSR state committees. The overwhelming majority of executives and experts—from foremen up to head managers—started their careers as ordinary workers. Two-thirds of the managers of the 700 largest industrial enterprises come from worker and peasant families while half of them were workers themselves.

At present, almost 40 per cent of the members and alternate members of city and district Party committees are workers and collective farmers. They also account for nearly 30 per cent of the regional, territorial and Central Committees of the Communist Parties of the Union republics. The social composition of the deputies to the Soviets and members of trade union and Komsomol bodies are indicative in this respect, too.

The present Supreme Soviet of the USSR has had 32.8 and 17.9 per cent of workers and collective farmers respectively elected to it.

As it deals with the selection and placement of personnel under developed socialism on the basis of the principles elaborated by Lenin, the Communist Party starts from the fact that success in any sector of economic and cultural development depends on the high ideological, political and professional standards of every executive, on his ability to manage the matter entrusted to him.

#### **SOCIALIST LEGALITY AS A PRINCIPLE IN THE OPERATION OF THE SOVIET POLITICAL SYSTEM**

The Communist Party has always viewed socialist legality as a major principle pervading the entire Soviet political system.

The history of the development of the political system of the Soviet Union shows that the implementation of the principle of socialist legality is imposed by none other

than the objective conditions in which the political superstructure of socialism develops. This principle provides for the exercise of democratic rights and liberties by citizens and ensures the protection of their legal rights and interests.

Freedom, of course, depends on the conditions under which people live in society, i.e., on the prevailing system of economic, political and social relations. It is for this reason that the objective of a really progressive, advanced society consists of achieving an all-round improvement of the conditions of life of all citizens. "If man is social by nature", Marx observed, "he will develop his true nature only in society, and the power of his nature must be measured not by the power of the separate individual but by the power of society."<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, if man "draws all his knowledge, sensations, etc., from the world of the senses and the experience gained in it, then what has to be done is to arrange the empirical world in such a way that man experiences and becomes accustomed to what is truly human in it and that he becomes aware of himself as man. If correctly understood interest is the principle of all morality, man's private interest must be made to coincide with the interest of humanity."<sup>2</sup>

A society based on private ownership and the exploitation of man by man cannot attain this goal. It can only be attained under socialism and communism, in which private interests and the interest of society coincide and are in harmony, providing genuine freedom for both society and the individual.

The free cognition of necessity and the translation into practice of the possibilities it engenders require democratic conditions in the life of society and the state and a system of social relations and broad civil rights that can help people to know and use the objective laws in the interest of society and the individual.

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<sup>1</sup> Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 4, Moscow, 1975, p. 131.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 130-31.

The first really democratic social and state system ensuring citizens enduring political, economic, social and spiritual freedoms was set up as a result of the victory of the October 1917 Socialist Revolution and of the triumph of socialism in the Soviet Union. Lenin wrote: "Only Soviet Russia has given the proletariat and the whole vast labouring majority of Russia a *freedom and democracy* unprecedented, impossible and inconceivable in any bourgeois democratic republic."<sup>1</sup>

In exercising their functions, the entire system of Soviet state bodies safeguard citizens' rights and liberties. Simultaneously these bodies have the special task of ensuring and protecting the rights of citizens.

Besides state bodies, the protection of citizens' rights and liberties is ensured by public organisations.

Socialist legality, i.e., the exact and steadfast observance of the law by all state bodies, public organisations, officials and private citizens is of special significance to the proper functioning of the political system of Soviet society, to the further development of socialist democracy and to the full exercise of their rights and liberties by Soviet citizens. In socialist society, the rule of law is an essential element, a characteristic feature and an indispensable property of the political system of socialism. The triumph of the socialist system gives embodiment to Lenin's forecast that "victorious socialism must necessarily establish a full democracy".<sup>2</sup>

At the same time, we must not forget even for a moment that the development of democracy is inseparable from the strengthening of law and order. On the one hand, the extension of democracy in the entire political system of Soviet society engenders laws which correctly express popular consciousness, i.e., a democratic expression of the people's will. On the other, the legal expression and real guarantees of citizens' democratic rights and freedoms, intolerance of their infringement, and a determined struggle

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<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 28, p. 108.

<sup>2</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 22, p. 143.

against any manifestations of lawlessness create in society an atmosphere of security and tranquillity. And this is a major condition of the ever growing participation of the working people in the democratic administration of social and state affairs.

The concepts of socialist democracy and legality are indivisible. Legality is a major element of socialist democracy and one of its essential features.

The relationship between legality and the political system is to be seen above all from the fact that legality as a principle of the activities of state bodies and mass organisations of the working people is decisive to the exercise of political power, the management of society and state, and the protection of citizens' rights and freedoms. It is also a means of ensuring and advancing socialist democracy. Socialist democracy, in turn, ensures the establishment of truly democratic legislation, its continuous improvement and the employment of efficient forms and methods of implementing laws and is decisive in getting citizens actively to uphold the rule of law.

The foundations of socialist law were laid early under Soviet government. An exceptional contribution to its establishment and growth was made by Lenin.

Just one year after the October Socialist Revolution, the Sixth All-Russia Extraordinary Congress of Soviets adopted, on Lenin's suggestion, a decision "On the Strict Observance of the Laws" which declared socialist legality to be one of the fundamental principles of the life of the country. The theses of the decisions were written by Lenin and approved by the Central Committee of the Party. Point one of these theses was: "Legality must be raised (or rigorously observed), since the basis of laws in the RSFSR has been established."<sup>1</sup>

The congress stated that in a year of revolutionary struggle the working class of Russia had evolved the fundamentals of the laws of the RSFSR and that their observance was essential to the further development and

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<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 42, p. 110.

strengthening of the government of the workers and peasants in Russia. It resolved to call upon all citizens of the Republic, all agencies and all officials of the Soviet Government to observe most rigorously the laws of the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic and decisions, rules and orders published by the Central Government.<sup>1</sup>

Lenin suggested that this document should be widely circulated. He asked V.D. Bonch-Bruyevich to have it published as a pamphlet and wrote to him: "Think of a title that would be most clear, striking and resounding. And publish it *as quickly as possible*."<sup>2</sup> This pamphlet was published in 1919 under the title *Observe the Laws of the Soviet Republic*.

According to L.A. Fotieva, Secretary to the Council of People's Commissars, Lenin himself edited the pamphlet and had it sent out to all members of the Council of the People's Commissars. He always kept it at hand at council meetings, citing it and reminding People's Commissars of it.<sup>3</sup> When sending off the pamphlet, he wrote: "I enclose the pamphlet *Observe the Laws of the Soviet Republic* and draw attention to the law promulgated by the Sixth All-Russia Congress of Soviets, which is reprinted in it.

"I remind you of the absolute necessity of rigidly observing this law."<sup>4</sup>

In order to implement the decision of the Sixth Congress of Soviets on the strict observance of the laws as fully and as quickly as possible, the Council of People's Commissars issued, on December 30, 1919, a decree "On Ending Red Tape" which ruled that "all persons guilty of either failing to observe the Sixth Congress' decision or pretending ignorance of it shall incur legal liability and shall be sentenced to punishment of a people's court."<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf., *Codes of the RSFSR, 1918*, No. 90, Art. 908 (in Russian).

<sup>2</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 44, pp. 169-70.

<sup>3</sup> Cf., *Reminiscences of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin*, Vol. 4, 1969 p. 111 (in Russian).

<sup>4</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 44, p. 282.

<sup>5</sup> Cf., *Codes of the RSFSR, 1920*, Nos. 1-2, Art. 7 (in Russian).

In 1919 again, with the Civil War at its height, Lenin wrote that to achieve complete victory over the enemy "the laws and instructions of the Soviet Government must be faithfully observed, and care must be taken that they are obeyed by all".<sup>1</sup> Further, citing the experience of the formation of the Soviet system which had shown most convincingly that any infraction of revolutionary law undermined the strength of the dictatorship of the proletariat, Lenin stressed that "the least disorder, the slightest infringement of Soviet laws, the slightest laxity or negligence at once serve to strengthen the landowners and capitalists and make for their victory".<sup>2</sup>

After the end of the Civil War, Lenin told the Ninth All-Russia Congress of Soviets on December 23, 1921, that "the closer we approach conditions of unshakable and lasting power and the more trade develops, the more imperative it is to put forward the firm slogan of greater revolutionary legality."<sup>3</sup>

Socialist law was at that time to provide for the basic implementation of the changes that Lenin said had already become laws but were not yet realities. As the republic began to carry into effect Lenin's plan for building socialism, the socialist law had to be strengthened. In this connection, the Eleventh All-Russia Party Conference, held in December 1921, pointed out the necessity for introducing "rigid principles of revolutionary law in all areas of life" and noted in particular that "government bodies and agents and citizens are to be held strictly responsible for breaking the laws enacted by the Soviet Government and the order it protects must go hand in hand with greater guarantees being given to citizens' individual and property rights."<sup>4</sup>

Lenin's explanations of the relation between legality and expediency are of exceptional importance to the correct, exact and uniform realisation of Soviet law. He

<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, p. 555.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 555-56.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. 33, p. 176.

<sup>4</sup> *The CPSU in Resolutions...*, Vol. 2, p. 306 (in Russian).

wrote, for instance: "The Workers' and Peasants' Inspection judges not only from the viewpoint of the law, but also from the viewpoint of expediency. The procurator must see to it that not a single decision passed by any local authority runs counter to the law . . . he must only take measures to secure that the interpretation of the law is absolutely uniform throughout the Republic.<sup>1</sup> Simultaneously he said that "when a law hinders the development of the revolution, it must be abolished or amended."<sup>2</sup> This does not mean, however, that any legal body may independently decide whether or not a law is expedient, arbitrarily cancelling laws that are out of keeping with the development of the revolution, the building of socialism and communism. Here is what Lenin wrote in a note to L.A. Fotieva: "Decrees cannot be *bypassed*: the mere proposal invites prosecution."<sup>3</sup>

When a law is at odds with changed circumstances or with a specific situation and therefore not expedient, it may be repealed only by the competent body and only in the way prescribed for such a contingency.

The systematic codification of the laws in force is essential for strengthening the socialist legality. The Communist Party and the Soviet government at all stages of the building of socialism and communism have considered it important to see that all legislation is consistent with the political and economic tasks of Soviet society.

Lenin placed great importance on the codification of Soviet law. For example, early in the existence of the Soviet rule he asked members of the Board of the Commissariat for Justice to visit him "for a talk about the following:

- 1) what precisely has been done for publishing a Collection of Laws and Decrees,
- 2) -for codification. . . ."<sup>4</sup>

In a letter to the People's Commissar of Justice of Feb-

<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin. *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 365.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. 27, p. 519.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. 44, p. 200.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 76-77.

ruary 15, 1922, Lenin wrote: "If our laws are 'contradictory' (of which there is no doubt), what are the People's Commissariat for Justice and the Legislative Proposals Department for?"

"What then is being done towards codification?—towards the removal of contradictions?"<sup>1</sup> A little later, on September 25, 1922, Lenin again inquired: "What are you doing for the publication of a code of laws of the Soviet power? Is the codification department asleep or is it preparing something for the fifth anniversary?"

"Will you wake it up. . . ."<sup>2</sup>

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union repeatedly noted in its decisions that the codification of the Soviet law was essential to strengthening the rule of law in the country. The November 1928 Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee thus declared in its resolution "On the 1928/29 Economic Targets" that in the absence of revolutionary legality and rigid enforcement of rules reduced to order and made known to the population in good time, the economy could not be steered with any certainty, there could be no cost accounting or individual plan and the country's productive forces could hardly be expected to increase.<sup>3</sup>

Already on December 19, 1917, the People's Commissariat for Justice passed a resolution requesting its Codification Department to produce a complete code of the Laws of the Russian Revolution. The Commissariat's decision of November 26, 1920, concerning its departments also mentions the Department of Legislative Proposals and Codification which was to codify the decrees and decisions already in force.

The decision of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars of July 29, 1929, "On the Codification of the Laws of the RSFSR" stated: "Taking into consideration the preparatory work done by the People's Commissariat for Justice to revise

<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 45, pp. 470-71.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 571.

<sup>3</sup> See, *The CPSU in Resolutions. . .*, Vol. 4, p. 131 (in Russian).

the laws of the RSFSR with a view to repealing those that are no longer effective (the publication of a List of the Laws of the RSFSR passed between 1917 to 1927 but which had actually fallen into disuse; the publication of an unofficial Collection of the Effective Laws of the RSFSR for 1917-1927) and to ask the People's Commissariat for Justice to begin codifying the operating laws so as to eliminate disagreement with the more recent laws of the RSFSR and the USSR and incidentally to simplify the wording, reduce the number of laws, and correct slips in terminology as much as may be feasible in the process of codification."<sup>1</sup>

Other decisions about organising the codification were also adopted. Thus it was possible in the first few years after the revolution to launch codification on a large scale. This effort terminated in the publication of some legal acts.<sup>2</sup>

Extensive work on codification has been carried on lately in the Soviet Union.<sup>3</sup>

The improvement and codification of the laws in force are important to the maintenance of the exactly defined rule of law and the protection of Soviet citizens' rights and lawful interests.

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<sup>1</sup> *Codes of the RSFSR, 1929*, No. 60, Art. 600 (in Russian).

<sup>2</sup> 1918 saw the publication of the Constitution of the RSFSR, the code of registry, marriage, family and guardianship laws, and the labour code. In 1920-1926, the Railway Rules, the labour, criminal, civil and land codes, the criminal and civil codes of procedure, the marriage, family and guardianship code, etc., were enacted.

<sup>3</sup> In February 1957, the Sixth Session of the Fourth Supreme Soviet of the USSR passed a law referring to the Union republics' jurisdiction legislation on their judicial systems and the adoption of civil and criminal codes and the respective codes of procedure. The law delimits the legal competence of the USSR and the Union republics, the definition of the fundamentals of legislation on the judicial system and procedure and the fundamentals of civil and criminal legislation being in the jurisdiction of the USSR (on which account the text of Art. 14 of the Soviet Constitution was amended). One of the main tasks of the USSR Ministry of Justice, which was set up in 1970, is codification of the laws in force.

A code of laws of the Soviet state will be issued in the very near future. This will help to enhance the stability of Soviet law and order and will make the Soviet Union's laws more accessible to all Soviet citizens.<sup>1</sup>

The execution or application of Soviet laws presupposes that the court shall take into account the circumstances of the case and shall choose from among possible decisions under the given legal rule the one that is the most expedient in the circumstances and conformable to the interests of the building of communism.

On the subject of the courts, Lenin said that they were to follow faithfully the unified laws of the Federation on the one hand, while on the other, when deciding on a sentence, they were to take local circumstances into account.

While government bodies, public organisations and officials may decide how to implement the instructions of a legal rule in the most expedient way, this does not at all imply any arbitrary action but is done in obedience to Soviet laws and conforms to the requirements of the rule of socialist law. It is, therefore, a matter of unflinching, exact and expedient execution of the provisions of the law, as the Soviet Union's laws are, above all, an expression of what is expedient for the state at large.

Thus, to carry out correctly the requirements of socialist legality, one must know the laws and other legal acts well, pay heed to current political needs, and look deep into the circumstances in which these laws and other legal acts proceeding from them are being implemented.

Hence it is evident that the legal awareness of Soviet citizens observing, executing or applying the rules of Soviet law is of paramount significance. The proper implementation of the rules of law is directly related to how well people are politically and juridically aware. The higher the awareness of Soviet people and the better they understand the political Party line and the provisions of

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<sup>1</sup> See *Documents and Resolutions. XXVth Congress of the CPSU*, p. 99.

Soviet law, the more active the role, the more successful the realisation and the greater the effect of the rule of Soviet law.

Lenin placed great importance on making the masses conscious of socialist legality by disseminating information about the Soviet law. In his letter of April 15, 1918 to the Commissariat for Justice, Lenin suggested binding the courts to take measures "for juridical propaganda among the population, among the workers and poor peasants

(a) in printed form;

(b) by lectures."<sup>1</sup>

Lenin attached exceptional significance to the relationship between socialist legality and culture. His notes for his report at the Second All-Russia Congress of Political Education Workers establish a direct link between the tasks of the cultural revolution and the problem of legality: "Teach people to struggle *in a civilised way* for legality, without at all forgetting the limits of legality in a revolution."<sup>2</sup> Lenin considered that unless a uniform socialist rule of law was established "it [would] be utterly impossible . . . to develop any kind of culture."<sup>3</sup> He wrote with reference to the early years of Soviet rule that although Soviet laws gave everyone an opportunity to combat bureaucracy and red tape, a number of people simply did not know, because of their low level of culture, how to do it.<sup>4</sup>

Lenin's ideas and conclusions about the purposes and importance of socialist legality as an indispensable element, feature and peculiarity of the Soviet political system were reflected in the Party Programme adopted by the Eighth Party Congress. According to the Programme, the fundamental purposes of the socialist rule of law were: to protect the political and economic foundations of the Soviet system from criminal encroachments; to provide for systematic economic development, the regulation of social

<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 44, p. 77.

<sup>2</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 36, pp. 549-50.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. 33, p. 365.

<sup>4</sup> See *Ibid.*, p. 75.

relations, and the efficient functioning of the whole Soviet administration; to protect citizens' democratic rights and liberties; to instil respect for the socialist laws, and to strengthen citizens' ability to be organised, their discipline and self-discipline. Considerable attention to problems of socialist legality was paid in the CPSU Programme adopted by the 22nd Party Congress. It stated: "It is the duty of Soviet people to see to it that legality and law and order are rigidly enforced; they must not tolerate any abuses, and must combat them. . . .

"The Party's objective is to enforce strict observance of socialist legality, to eradicate all violations of law and order, to abolish crime and remove all the causes of crime."<sup>1</sup>

The Party leads the way in advancing socialist democracy and ensuring socialist legality and citizens' rights and freedoms.

Outlining the ways of moving ahead, the CPSU works out measures helping to overcome obstacles and contradictions. It stated: "The Communist Party of the Soviet Union strongly condemned the personality cult, which led to abuses of power and violations of socialist democracy and revolutionary legality. It also condemned subjectivism, which ignores the laws of social development and the opinion of collective bodies, substituting voluntarist decisions for scientific guidance. Strict observance of the Leninist norms of Party and state life, development of criticism and self-criticism, consistent observance of the principle of collective leadership and broad ties with the masses are guarantees against these negative phenomena. The Party rejects all and any attempts to direct criticism of the personality cult and subjectivism against the interests of the people and socialism, attempts aimed at smearing the history of socialist construction, discrediting revolutionary gains and revising the principles of Marxism-Leninism."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *The Road to Communism*, pp. 551, 552.

<sup>2</sup> *On the Centenary of the Birth of V. I. Lenin. Theses of the Central Committee, Communist Party of the Soviet Union*, p. 26.

The 24th and 25th CPSU congresses carried forward the line for strengthening the rule of socialist law. The prominence given to the latter is due to the urgent necessity to ensure greater stability in economic plans and standards, tighten up state discipline and increase responsibility at all levels of economic management, enhance the role of the Soviets, the prestige and activity of the Soviet deputies, and make state administration more efficient.

In its all-out effort to build communism, the people will brook no economic mismanagement, wastefulness or slackness, let alone crime. So it is necessary to go on strengthening the socialist rule or law and to get the courts, the procurator's supervisory agencies and the militia to improve their performance. The Party organisations, trade unions and the Komsomol must do their utmost to persuade all citizens and officials to abide by the law.

As some hangovers of capitalism are still to be found here and there in Soviet society, so that there still are people who steal socialist property, money-grubbers, cheats, hooligans and other anti-social elements who prevent others from living and working in peace, the state, besides persuasion, also provides for coercive measures being applied under the law should individual members of society refuse to obey it of their own free will, breaking Soviet laws and committing legal offences. The 25th CPSU Congress has declared that the Party intends to apply itself as before to improving the work of the militia, the procurator's agencies, the courts and the organs of justice which guard Soviet legality, the interests of Soviet society and the rights of Soviet citizens. Even so, coercion is, in socialist society, not the main but an auxiliary method of ensuring law and order. The state applies it on the basis of persuasion and after the majority of citizens having been persuaded that to follow the law is in their best interests. "Persuasion must come before coercion," Lenin wrote. "We must make every effort to persuade people before applying coercion."<sup>1</sup> This coercion

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<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 32, p. 212.

is besides utterly different in its nature from that applied by the exploiter state. Firstly, it is applied only to individual citizens who disobey or break Soviet laws while exploiter states apply coercion on a mass scale to the exploited and oppressed classes of society. Secondly, it is applied only on the basis and within the limits of the law while coercion, violence and terror are often applied by exploiter states in the absence of any law or even in defiance of it. Thirdly, its aim is not suppression, punishment, or retaliation but the maintenance of law and order and the correction of the offender while the exploiter states, being instruments of the ruling class, apply coercion, violence and terror to suppress their class antagonists.

In Soviet society, an ever greater number of citizens obey the law from conviction. A Soviet citizen is not only himself aware of the need to abide by the law but also protects socialist law and order from infringement. Infringement of the law provokes a reaction not only from the state but also from ever broader sections of the Soviet public.

Soviet law consolidates the democracy of the social and state system of the country, granting broad democratic rights and liberties to Soviet citizens as well as defining their duties to society, the state and other citizens. Soviet law thereby not only proves itself to be thoroughly democratic but is also one of the means of democratising the whole of social life in the Soviet Union and is consequently a contributing factor in the attainment of freedom for society and all its members.

But while democracy allows citizens to enjoy broad rights and liberties, citizens also have to carry out their duties, as otherwise the society and its members could not be free nor could the "kingdom of freedom" ever be attained.

The purpose of the political freedoms which are exercised in the USSR exclusively in the people's interest is to strengthen the socialist system and promote the political activity of the masses. For this reason, these freedoms may not be used to harm the cause of peace, democracy

and socialism. That is why in the USSR warlike and national and racist propaganda, agitation and propaganda aimed at undermining or weakening the socialist state, and libel and slander of the Soviet social and state system are punishable by law. This attitude provides a real guarantee against any infringement of the rights and liberties granted to the working people.

Anti-communist propaganda is now concentrating its attacks on the legal position of the individual under socialism, on the questions of justice and legality, relations between the individual and society, individualism and collectivism, freedom and responsibility. In the process, it is attempting to call in doubt the Soviet people's very right to stand up for the political, social, economic and cultural gains made along the path of socialist development. They proclaim a "democracy without bounds", deny civil duties, and so on.

Addressing the World Congress of Peace Forces in Moscow in October 1973, which also discussed human rights, Leonid Brezhnev said that Soviet laws afforded the country's citizens broad political freedoms and at the same time protected "our system and the interests of the Soviet people from any attempts to abuse these freedoms. And this is in full conformity with the International Conventions on Human Rights ratified by the Soviet Union, which say that the rights they enumerate 'shall not be subject to any restrictions except those which are provided by law, are necessary to protect national security, public order, public health or morals or the rights and freedoms of others' . . . ."<sup>1</sup>

Critics abroad frequently seek to distort the meaning of the measures taken by the Soviet state for the purpose of consolidating legality and law and order. Any reference to the need to tighten up discipline and enhance responsibility of citizens to society is depicted over there as a violation of democracy. This is what the CPSU says about it.

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<sup>1</sup> L. I. Brezhnev, *Following Lenin's Course*, Moscow, 1975, p. 324.

"Indeed, in our concern for the all-round development of the individual and of the rights of citizens, we have also given due attention to the problems of strengthening social discipline and the fulfilment by all citizens of their duties to society. After all, democracy is inconceivable without discipline and a sound public order. It is a responsible approach by every citizen to his duties and to the people's interests that constitutes the only reliable basis for the fullest embodiment of the principles of socialist democracy and true freedom for the individual.

"...For us the democratic is that which serves the people's interests, the interests of communist construction. We reject everything that runs counter to these interests, and no one can persuade us that this is the wrong approach. We know exactly where we are going as we improve our political system. We are fully convinced that the course we have chosen is the right one."<sup>1</sup>

A great deal of legislation has been enacted in the Soviet Union in recent years. The all-Union fundamentals of legislation on land, family, public health, conservation and exploitation of water resources together with the corresponding republican codes were enacted as well as the fundamentals of labour legislation and some other laws. Also of importance was the economic legislation on the economic reform, the expansion of the rights of enterprises and economic organisations, the specification of the functions of economic ministries and departments, such as the acts on improvement of planning and greater economic stimulation of industrial production, on the socialist state-owned industrial establishments, on the ministries of the USSR, on deliveries, on better planning and greater stimulation in the building industry, and so on.

Of special relevance in present-day conditions is the further improvement of economic legislation: the enactment of laws on planning, material and technical supply, financing and the credit system, and on streamlining eco-

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<sup>1</sup> *Documents and Resolutions. XXVth Congress of the CPSU*, p. 103.

conomic management. The codification of the laws in force pertaining to the legal regulation of different spheres of Soviet society is still an urgent problem.

The legislative activity of the Soviet state proceeds with the active participation of the broad sections of the public. The nationwide discussion of major draft laws has become a tradition and is one of the main forms of the people's direct participation in legislation. Such discussions make it possible to benefit from the people's many-sided experience and wisdom, to study the effect of the objective laws of socialism and give them legal expression so that they can be used to further the building of communism. The 25th CPSU Congress has suggested that the practice of submitting draft all-Union laws for discussion by the whole people should be given legal expression.

The participation of Soviet citizens in the legal regulation of social relations in the USSR is far from confined to such discussions. A great number of working people take part in law-making in the Soviets and their agencies.

The masses also participate in the elaboration and adoption of legislation through such organisations as the trade unions, co-operatives, the Komsomol, voluntary societies and associations, etc. It has recently become a widespread practice for mass organisations to prepare drafts of legal acts on their own, independently of state agencies. Such acts may be endorsed (sanctioned) by state agencies and acquire legal force. Some public organisations are directly engaged in drafting laws at the request of state agencies.

The Soviet people's active participation in the law-making process is one of the principles of its truly democratic nature and makes it possible to provide correct, scientific solutions to complex problems in the legal regulation of social relationships. The Soviet people are equally active in supporting the law, thereby helping to achieve the most expedient implementation of legal regulations and ensure an atmosphere of legality in which the members of socialist society can develop freely.

To strengthen socialist legality, Lenin's ideas about the masses' continuous effective supervision of the state and economic management agencies and about the Party and all conscientious forces in Soviet society paying constant attention to the condition of law and order in the country must be implemented in full. Leonid Brezhnev said: "It is not only the task of the state apparatus to strengthen legality. Party organisations, the trade unions and the Komsomol are in duty bound to do everything to ensure the strictest observance of laws and improve the working people's knowledge of the law. Respect for legality and for the law must become part and parcel of the make-up of every person."<sup>1</sup> Only then will Soviet legislation be a potent instrument for the scientific regulation of social relations in the interest of communist construction.

The development and improvement of Soviet legislation and the extension of Soviet citizens' rights imply a corresponding strengthening of the socialist rule of law. "When speaking of the strengthening of socialist legality," Leonid Brezhnev said, "we keep in mind two aspects of the matter. First, the strictest protection of the rights of citizens, the prevention of any arbitrary acts whatsoever, including those committed by officials. Second, we mean the strictest observance of Soviet laws, of the code of public order by all citizens. Crime and any forms of anti-social behaviour are a social evil and we must fight against it every day, firmly and resolutely."<sup>2</sup>

In this connection, the political system as a whole and the state agencies, in particular, face great tasks.

In carrying out its functions, the Soviet state system guarantees Soviet citizens their rights and liberties and ensures these can be exercised. Apart from that, the Soviet state bodies have a special duty to secure and protect civil rights. Under the Soviet Constitution, the USSR Council of Ministers is to adopt "measures to maintain public order, protect state interests, and safe-

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<sup>1</sup> *24th Congress of the CPSU*, p. 97.

<sup>2</sup> L. I. Brezhnev, *Following Lenin's Course*, Moscow, 1975, pp. 447-48.

guard the rights of citizens". Similar duties are imposed on the councils of ministers of the Union and Autonomous republics.

Under the Constitution, the local Soviets of Working People's Deputies are to ensure the maintenance of public order, the observance of the law, and the protection of civil rights.

Local Soviet executive committees play an important role in this. In the process of their administrative and political work which is closely linked with organising the economic activities and improving the cultural standards of citizens, the local Soviet executive committees ensure the maintenance of public order and provide for public safety on their territory while also providing for the safety, consolidation and development of socialist property and for the observance and execution of the laws to protect civil rights.

Lastly, special state agencies, the procurator's office and the courts among them, have a special duty to protect civil rights and ensure the observance of the socialist law. Paragraph 2 of Article 2 of the Rules of Procuratorial Supervision in the USSR (1955) and Paragraph (b) of Article 2 of the Fundamentals of Legislation on the Judicial System in the USSR, the Union and Autonomous Republics (1958) state that the procurator's office and the courts are to safeguard the political, labour, housing and other personal and property rights and legally protected interests of Soviet citizens guaranteed under the Constitution of the USSR and constitutions of the Union and Autonomous republics from all encroachments.

Thus the legislation in force produces the needed legal grounds for the effort to strengthen the socialist rule of law. After the 24th CPSU Congress, the state agencies have stepped up their efforts to strengthen socialist legality and safeguard the rights and freedoms of Soviet citizens.

This provides still further guarantees for the realisation of legal provisions and allows Soviet citizens to use their rights and freedoms as expediently as possible.

Addressing voters on June 14, 1974, Leonid Brezhnev noted that the fundamentals of labour legislation, legislation on education and public health and on environmental protection continued the Party and government line for extending and building up the rights of the individual, the rights of working men and women.

Much has been done, it was stressed at the 25th CPSU Congress. The time has come to draw general conclusions from what has already been accomplished.

The plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, held on May 24, 1977, approved the draft of the new Constitution of the USSR and requested the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR to present it for a nationwide discussion. Chairman of the Constitution Drafting Committee, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Leonid Brezhnev, who spoke at the meeting, gave a detailed and well-substantiated exposition of the Draft Constitution, analysing in depth its distinguishing features and characteristics.

Over the four decades that have elapsed since the Constitution now in effect was introduced, Leonid Brezhnev said, the country has seen profound changes. A developed socialist society has been built in the Soviet Union. Major fundamental changes have involved all aspects of society's life. Socialist property holds undivided sway in the country's economy. An integral and powerful economic organism whose development rests squarely on a combination of the revolution in science and technology with the advantages of socialism has emerged and is functioning successfully.

The social aspect of Soviet society has also become different. The working class today numbers tens of millions of educated, technologically well trained and politically mature men and women. Their social activity and involvement in administering the state have become much greater. The peasants whose psychology has formed on the basis of socialism have also changed. The intellectuals have become truly of the people, truly socialist; their proportion in Soviet society keeps increasing. The peoples of the Soviet Union are equal in actual fact, not merely

legally so. All Soviet Constituent republics have now reached a high development level. The international prestige and influence of the Soviet Union have grown immeasurably. All these profound changes have made it necessary that a new Constitution be adopted.

On 7 October 1977 the extraordinary Seventh Session of the Ninth Supreme Soviet of the USSR adopted a new Constitution of the USSR, which is a concentrated expression of the development of the Soviet state over sixty years.

The Constitution indicates that a developed socialist society has been built in the USSR, and proclaims the supreme goal of the Soviet state—the building of a communist society.

The USSR is defined as a socialist state of the whole people expressing the will and interests of the working class, peasants and intellectuals, of all Soviet peoples, big and small. The Soviets, which constitute the political basis of the USSR, are therefore termed Soviets of People's Deputies.

One fundamentally new point is that the Constitution institutionalises the role played by the Communist Party, the leading and guiding force of Soviet society, the hub of its political system, of all state and social organisations.

The principal tendency of the new content of the Constitution is to give still greater scope and depth to socialist democracy. The democratic principles of the formation and work of the Soviets are carried forward, and their part in tackling major problems of society's life is built up further.

Broadly reflected is also the important role which is played in the country's life by the trade unions, the *Komsomol*, co-operative and other mass organisations of the people. This highlights, as it were, the concern paid by the state of the whole people to the interests of all sections of society and population groups.

The Constitution includes a provision on the role of working communities, fully in line with the importance attached by the Communist Party to promoting democratic principles in the management of production.

The achievement of developed socialism has made it possible to considerably improve the provisions of the Constitution on Soviet citizens' rights and freedoms, extend their content, reinforce the material guarantees, and give fuller expression to political rights and freedoms.

The special Chapter "Social Development and Culture" mentions that the state concerns itself with promoting the development of education, science and art, improving citizens' working conditions and raising their income level and ensuring the growth and equitable distribution of the social consumption funds.

The further consolidation of socialist legality and law enforcement has been given explicit expression.

The new Constitution reflects the new stage in the economic growth of the USSR. It indicates that the Soviet economy has turned into an integrated national economic complex covering all parts of social production, distribution and exchange in the country.

The new Constitution is the first to contain a special Chapter on the foreign policy of the USSR. The need for this has been caused by the thoroughly changed international posture of the USSR, the immense growth of its influence in world politics, and closer interrelation between internal and external factors in the country's development.

The Chapter states that the Soviet Union steadily pursues a Leninist foreign policy, coming out for the consolidation of the security of the peoples and broad international co-operation. The foreign policy of the USSR is aimed at providing favourable international conditions for the building of communism in the USSR, enhancing the positions of world socialism, giving support to the popular struggles for national liberation and social progress, preventing wars of aggression, and implementing consistently the principle of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. The new Constitution is the first to state clearly that the Soviet Union is a part of the world socialist system, of the socialist community. The Soviet Union develops and builds up friendship, co-opera-

tion and comradely mutual assistance with the socialist countries on the basis of socialist internationalism.

Introduced for the first time is also a special Chapter on the defence of the socialist Motherland.

Such are the main points typifying the content of the new Constitution of the USSR which allows the whole world to see how socialist democracy develops, what it is like, and what it is about.

The new Constitution of the USSR will form the core of the new Code of Laws of the Soviet state, the preparation of which has been launched in accordance with the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress.

The Soviet Union's scientifically grounded legislation, enriched by popular wisdom, rigid law enforcement and stable socialist law and order in Soviet society, makes every citizen certain of his rights and duties and provides for the efficient functioning of the whole political system. Every Soviet citizen knows that no one may demand of him things not envisaged in the laws, that he will always find protection for his lawful interests and that not even the slightest violation of his rights will go unpunished. Furthermore, every Soviet citizen knows that the socialist state is interested in his rights and duties being implemented because it serves to raise citizens' awareness to a higher level, to foster their initiative and creativity, to make them more active in the economic, political and cultural life of the country. Thanks to this, the Soviet Union goes from strength to strength and the building of communism proceeds at a fast pace.

## Chapter 3

# SOVIET POLITICAL SYSTEM AT THE CURRENT STAGE

In describing the political system of mature socialism one must start above all from the fact that this stage of social development takes place within the first, socialist, phase of the communist formation. This means that the development of mature socialism and its political system depends on the objective laws prevalent in socialism as a whole. Simultaneously, it is a stage at which the continuity of socialism and communism become increasingly evident.

Soviet experience shows that society can enter the stage of developed socialism without essential formal changes in its political system. In the main, the political system society had at the previous stage continues to function.

This, however, does not mean that it remains just as it was. Socialism is a dynamically developing society, as was noted at the 25th CPSU Congress. That is why the work done by the CPSU, the socialist state and by public organisations to improve the Soviet political system to meet the needs of the building of socialism and communism has a profound social meaning and significance.

How, then, do the specific features of the Soviet political system manifest themselves under developed socialism?

One characteristic feature of the socialist political system ever since it emerged has been its truly popular nature. Whereas during the time that socialism was being built the political system was the dictatorship of the

proletariat, under developed socialism it becomes an organisation of the whole people led by the working class and its communist vanguard.

An important line in the Party's work is the all-round development of the political system in Soviet society. This work is being carried on now that the Soviet Union has built a developed socialist society which is gradually growing into a communist society, now that the state has become a state of the whole people, expressing their interests and the will, and now that a new historical community, the Soviet people, has emerged on the basis of the solid alliance of the working class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia, with the working class playing the leading role, and on the friendship of all the big and small peoples of the Soviet Union. This, as the 25th CPSU Congress stressed, signifies above all an improvement of the socialist state system, the further development of socialist democracy, the consolidation of the legal basis of the life of the state and society, and the invigoration of the activity of social organisations.

It is to take a rather one-sided view to insist that socialist democracy will develop further only through the development of independent organisations of the people supposed to replace the government of today as self-governing institutions in the communist society of the future. Of course, the growth of democracy in the different areas of the life of society depends on the general state of the economy and on the political maturity as well as the educational and cultural standards of citizens. Therefore the concrete ways of the development of the political system of society should be defined in relation to the development of its economic, social and cultural institutions, and other factors and conditions. Every step towards greater democracy in an institution implies not only that the latter is provided with definite material guarantees, but also the correspondingly higher awareness, discipline and responsibility.

On the other hand, the democratisation process which extends not only to the state, but also to the economic,

social, political and intellectual life of society manifests itself differently in different areas and all its manifestations are closely related.

In the *national economy*, the development of democratic forms of management entails an ever closer combination of the resources and efforts of all republics and peoples for the sake of building the material base of communism. Here the unity and brotherhood of the Soviet peoples are forged and tempered as they engage in production within the framework of the single national economic complex, in conditions of mutual assistance, specialisation and cooperation of production based on the integrated state plan for the development of the whole of the Soviet economy.

The new organisation of economic planning and management has been designed in the expectation that the creative role of the masses in production will grow along with democracy.

The basic principles of the economic reform designed to advance democracy and independent initiative of the masses are as follows: to make plans still more scientific, introducing a democratic procedure for their drafting and approval; to set up a clear-cut pattern of all parts of the economy, delimiting their rights and duties on the principle that every question is tackled where it can be resolved in the best way; to combine flexibly planning and commodity-money relations to stimulate interest in results and in raising efficiency.

Given the scientific and technological revolution, the CPSU considers it increasingly important to draw all the participants in social production and all the parts of the economic mechanism into this process as the success of this revolution and its beneficial effect on the economy, on all aspects of society's life, cannot be ensured solely through the efforts of scientists.

The Party believes that the revolution in science and technology requires radical changes in the style and methods of economic work and an improvement in planning and economic incentives in order to create the condi-

tions that can expedite the passage of new ideas all along the line from invention to mass production and erect a reliable economic barrier to the manufacture of obsolete products.

The deeply democratic nature of the new methods of economic management rests on the combination of the masses' initiative, administrative and economic methods, and an intelligent distribution of rights and duties between the higher bodies and enterprises.

In the *political field*, the improvement of Soviet socialist democracy implies increasing the social activity of all Soviet people, extending their participation in the administration of society, intensifying popular control over the work of the state apparatus, extending the terms of reference of public organisations and citizens' rights and freedoms, improving public discipline and strengthening the rule of law in every sphere of social and individual activity. Each of these processes implies the increased social activity of all citizens irrespective of nationality or place of residence. People of different nationalities work side by side in government agencies, institutions and organisations and in diverse public associations, whether mass organisations or local bodies set up independently by the citizens. Common work brings people together, promotes friendship among them and builds up the basic organisational principles of the Soviet political system.

In the *field of culture*, the further advance of democracy implies better conditions for the all-round and harmonious development of the individual, the flowering of art, national in form and socialist in content, and constructive intellectual work in science and the arts.

There are now no culturally retarded peoples in the Soviet Union. The main task today is to exchange cultural values on an international basis, to enrich Soviet socialist culture, literature and art. This channel is the richest vehicle and source of the ever-growing friendship between the Soviet peoples.

In the *area of spiritual life*, just as in the area of material production, the scientific and technological revolution

plays an immense role in bringing the Soviet peoples closer together. Combined with the advantages of socialism, it brings, apart from achievements in science and technology, such progressive social changes as increases in the people's culture, the rapprochement of classes and social groups and, of course, the consolidation and extension of international intercourse and greater contributions by all republics and peoples to the progress of Soviet science, technology and production. Under socialism, progress in science and technology is inseparably linked with social and political progress, with the improvement of the democratic forms of society's life and administration.

Of particular importance is political culture, i.e., the efficiency of state and social administration, as a factor integrating the peoples of the Soviet Union. In this area, the proportion of the international, the common Soviet element, is especially large. The Leninist principles of the state are shared by all Soviet peoples. The building of communism requires that these principles should be uniformly interpreted and applied, regardless of local, national, traditional and similar features.

The successful training of local personnel makes it possible now to "exchange" personnel, promoting the more capable irrespective of nationality and place of residence, in strict adherence to Lenin's principle of selecting personnel depending solely on their business efficiency and political maturity. This cannot fail to have a most beneficial effect on the work of the Party, economic and government apparatus, on the whole system of socialist democracy.

Since its emergence, the Soviet political system has undergone complex development, turning into a mighty factor in the building of socialism and communism.

In analysing the dynamics of the trends of the political system of society, one should start from the Marxist-Leninist provision that this system belongs to the more quickly changing part of the superstructure, particularly sensitive to any shifts occurring in the basis.

It is an essential feature of the changes occurring in the political system of socialist society and of its development that these processes, unlike the changes in the political system of capitalist society, are not a result of class struggle. At the basis of changes in the political system under socialism are changes in the class pattern and class relations characterised by the close alliance between the working class and the peasants and by the co-operation and mutual assistance of all sections of society.

A feature which marks the emergence and development of socialism's political system is that all political organisations in society are led by the working class and are genuinely democratic.

Socialist democracy is a system of organisation and functioning of the state and the whole political system of socialism which is based on granting citizens and people's associations broad rights and freedoms and providing conditions in which they can really be exercised, drawing the masses into vigorous social and political activities and systematically improving the mechanism of social regulation so as to consolidate the positions of socialism and build a communist society.

From this it follows that the development of the socialist political system is not confined merely to the disappearance of forms such as are needed to control the measure of work and consumption, instil discipline and universal regard for the rules of communist life, etc. It is a development that creates conditions enabling all without exception to exercise government functions.

Lastly, the democratisation of a political system is a complex, multifaceted process. It does not develop by means of a mechanical replacement of bodies of one kind (government bodies) by bodies of another kind (social bodies), but by means of the gradual transformation (as a result of growing more and more democratic) of all agencies, organisations and institutions of the developing system of society's political organisation into single communist self-administration.

Such characteristics of socialist democracy as government by the people, equality and individual freedoms spring above all from the socio-economic basis of socialism, that is to say, the common ownership of the implements and means of production, socialist social relations of people free from exploitation, unemployment, poverty and insecurity amongst other factors.

The consistent implementation of the principle "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work" rules out antagonistic contradictions between the working classes and other social groups and is the basis and guarantee of genuine equality for all members of a socialist society.

The common duty to work and the principle of payment by results extending to all equally make up the ground on which such components of social relations as social justice, social activity, collectivism, and friendly co-operation can strike root and develop. The share of each worker in the aggregate wage fund is fixed depending on the quantity and quality of the work he has contributed, irrespective of sex, age or nationality.

What are the real material guarantees of the Soviet political system under developed socialism? First of all, it is the further development of the material and technological base of socialism in the shape of modern large-scale socialised production, the electrification of the country, the use of machine systems in every branch of the national economy. Next, it is the even development of all branches and sectors of the national economy, a gradual creation—as efficiency is raised and production is intensified—of an optimal sectoral pattern of the economy enabling the orientation of economic development towards the fullest possible satisfaction of the people's material and cultural needs, towards the people's greater affluence, and towards the solution of a range of problems involved in providing for man's all-round development. It is, furthermore, the socio-political and ideological unity of all social groups and peoples, society's advance towards complete social uniformity and the unity of nations. Yet

another of these conditions is the transformation of the dictatorship of the proletariat into a state of the whole people, brought about as the social pattern of society undergoes change and its social support expands. The state of the whole people implements democracy for the whole people. Lastly, these conditions include the achievement of a high general cultural standard and a gradual obliteration of the distinctions between town and country and between mental and manual work together with the emergence of a uniform socialist way of life and a single socialist outlook.

An essential characteristic of the political system of developed socialism is that it harmonises with the socio-psychological mode of life. At present, the relation between the socialist political system and the working people has developed into an integral unity of the government and the whole people.

Not only does the social base of the socialist political system increase, but it also undergoes a qualitative change as the classes and social strata it is basically comprised of are turning into socialist classes and sections of the population. In other words, the ever-growing social uniformity of the Soviet people as a historically established new community of people forms the foundation of the political system of developed socialism.

Yet to recognise the comprehensive nature of a political system is still far from amounting to calling it supraclass or extraclass. It undoubtedly retains its class character: this manifests itself above all in the fact that the working class, whose interests and whose ideology are dominant, is the leading social force. It is characteristic of developed socialism that the positions of the working class have been shared and its ideology adopted by all the rest of the working people—the peasants and the intelligentsia. The growing alliance of the working class and peasantry remains the political framework of developed socialist society.

The working class implements its leading part in a society building socialism and communism through the

Marxist-Leninist Party, proletarian by its class nature, historical aims and purposes.

Whereas society's economic basis and social structure are objective factors making for the intrinsic unity of the whole socialist political system, the directing and guiding role of the Communist Party is the paramount subjective factor which invests the whole of the political organisation with intrinsic unity and makes possible the all-round promotion of socialist democracy.

In developed socialist society, a prominent role is played by the intelligentsia. In connection with the scientific and technological revolution its numbers increase while its part in social life is amplified. The socialist intelligentsia is inseparably united with the workers and peasants and is working together with them to build a communist society.

The extension of the processes associated with society's greater uniformity is an important trend reflected in the development of the political system of mature socialism. Under the guidance of the CPSU, the large and small Soviet peoples continue to draw ever closer together. As this process goes on, all attention is being given to the national features and the advancement of the socialist national cultures.

Besides such mass associations as the trade unions and the Komsomol, there are in the Soviet political system various voluntary associations set up under trade unions, cultural and scientific centres, literary associations. These function at factories, clubtype associations, and so on.

For all the diversity of these mass associations, they all carry out one common function. It is that through such voluntary associations, the citizens of the socialist country come to use their diverse rights as established and ensured by Soviet democracy, in the first place, the right to unite in mass organisations which is guaranteed by the Soviet Constitution.

Marxism has never advocated the right to unite "in general", to unite for no matter what purpose. Marxism-Leninism always starts from what is behind this right,

whose interests are realised by it. The laws of the socialist state forbid associations that may be harmful to the common interest or whose purposes and activities are spear-headed against its political and social system.

The immediate aims of public organisations in socialist society are related to the task facing the society as a whole—the task of building communism. The personal interests that citizens of socialist society take in their society's socio-political life is integrally combined with the interests and needs of the whole of society. Thus, the personal interest whose achievement is ensured by the political organisation—cultural, physical and intellectual development—directly and fully coincides with the interests of society.

The fusion of social and personal interests emerges most clearly and consistently in the highest form of social organisation—the Communist Party.<sup>1</sup>

### THE SOCIALIST STATE

The struggle for building communism is inseparable from the all-round development of democracy and the consolidation of the Soviet state and the entire political system of society. Under developed socialism, the significance of the state as the main instrument of carrying out a consistently revolutionary, working-class programme for building communism increases still more.

An important role in the political system of Soviet society is played by mass organisations of the people. The CPSU Programme declares: "The role of social organisa-

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<sup>1</sup> In the Soviet literature a social organisation is defined as a "voluntary association of Soviet citizens with formalised membership which is based on democratic centralism, self-regulation and independent activity and whose purpose, in accordance with the legal interests and rights of the persons united, is to pursue activities aimed at attaining the goals of the organisation and thereby simultaneously at participation in the building of communism". (Ts. A. Yampolskaya, "The Concept of Political Organisation in the USSR", in *Problems of Theory and History of Social Organisations*, Moscow, 1971, p. 19, in Russian.)

tions increases in the period of the full-scale construction of communism. . . . The Party regards it as a major task of the social organisations to promote labour emulation in every possible way and to encourage communist forms of labour, to stimulate the activity of working people in building a communist society, to work for the improvement of the living conditions of the people and the satisfaction of their growing spiritual requirements."<sup>1</sup>

The Communist Party emerges as the political guiding force and the core of all state and social organisations of the working people.

Since the socialist state and the social organisations work for the same aims and purposes, they interact and co-operate. It is clear that the state agencies and voluntary social organisations acting on the principles of independent social initiative will go on supplementing each other for a long time and co-operate, supporting the organs of state power, in solving jointly the common tasks of the building of communism. This, however, does not mean that under socialism public organisations become an appendage of the state.

The development of Soviet society into a society of friendly working classes and of the Soviet socialist state into an organisation expressing the interests not of the working class alone but also of the collective farmers and the intelligentsia signified the further progress of the political organisation of society. The obliteration of social distinctions proceeds faster than the development of practical democracy and faster, too, than rules of law become rules of morality, the routine of community living. Certain functions of the state bodies may gradually shed their state character without, however, losing their political character. It is this that explains why it is possible to transfer gradually some functions of the state to social organisations.

The withering away of the state consists of the withering away of distinctive methods of regulating social rela-

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<sup>1</sup> *The Road to Communism*, pp. 553, 555.

tions used by the state alone, a gradual narrowing down of the area within which the state systematically applies its authority, and a gradual transfer of some functions of the state to social organisations as the social uniformity of society increases.

It would be utterly wrong to contrast independent voluntary organisations and societies with state institutions.

After the victory of the socialist revolution the state, from being the instrument of the oppression of the masses that it was (and still is in the exploiting society) turns into a political agency of the working people itself and systematically controls the building of communism under the Communist Party's leadership. Under socialism, the relation between society and state undergoes a fundamental change. They oppose each other no longer but form an integral whole, an entity. The state does not rise over society but serves it as a mechanism regulating the operation of the social system and providing for the socialist orientation of its development. This role of the state objectively ensues from the social nature of socialist property which is the economic basis of Soviet society and from the need to organise production on a national scale, directing the work of all branches of the national economy under a single plan towards a single purpose.

Lenin stressed that the main task facing the proletariat in the socialist revolution was "the positive or constructive work of setting up an extremely intricate and delicate system of new organisational relationships extending to the planned production and distribution of the goods required for the existence of tens of millions of people".<sup>1</sup>

Over the years of building socialism the life of the Soviet people has changed fundamentally. Society as a whole and each people have a social structure of the same type on whose basis the people's moral and political unity has been consolidated. The all-round development of closely integrated all-Union and national statehood has been ensured. The conditions have been provided for the

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<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, p. 241.

active involvement of the working people of all nationalities in the social and political life of the country, in the promotion of education, science, technology and culture. The ideology of Marxism-Leninism, socialist internationalism and peoples' friendship has struck deep root. The ideological kinship of the working people in the Union republics and their mutual confidence and support have given rise to the intensive exchange of material and spiritual values, experience and personnel. The peoples' mutual influence on each other is growing stronger in a variety of ways, they increasingly join their efforts in striving towards communist ideals, and the economic, socio-political and spiritual ways of life of all the Soviet peoples are being internationalised.

The genuine democracy of its political organisation at the centre of which lies the multinational state of the whole people, the instrument of organisation and regulation, creation and construction, peace and progress corresponds to the developed socialist society and the unity of the Soviet people as a new historical human community.

Under mature socialism, the Communist Party, which organises the masses' conscious and purposeful activity, relies first of all on the Soviet state as the main instrument of building socialism and communism.

The CPSU implements its guidance of the Soviet state along three main lines.

The first is the mapping out of the general political line and of specific guidelines in keeping with which the Soviet state carries on its activities. Describing the Central Committee of the Party as the political headquarters directing the Soviet state machine, Lenin wrote: "No important political or organisational question is decided by any state institution in our republic without the guidance of the Party's Central Committee."<sup>1</sup>

The second is the selection and placing of executive personnel in the Soviet state machine. Lenin stressed that

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<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, pp. 47-48.

this was the indisputable right and clear duty of the ruling Communist Party.

The third is the verification of the execution of instructions and of how well the Party's instructions are being carried out by all government bodies and officials. Lenin wrote: "*To test men and verify what has actually been done*—this, this again and this alone is now the main feature of all our activities, of our whole policy."<sup>1</sup>

The nature of the Soviet state is revealed first of all in the activities of the Soviets as the political basis of popular socialist rule.

The part of the Soviets in the political system of society is steadily growing. The relevant measures taken by the CPSU recently involved all parts of the Soviet system, from the Supreme Soviet of the USSR down to village Soviets. The main purpose of these measures was to enhance the state principles in the work of the Soviets. As a result, the higher organs of state power began to exercise greater control over the state of affairs in the main sectors of economic and cultural development. The work of the local Soviets became more vigorous and diversified. The number of Soviet standing committees at all levels increased and their work became more regular and systematic, enabling the deputies to take more initiative, look deeper into the work of the executive bodies and pay more attention to citizens' needs. The influence of the Soviets in the most diverse areas of local life has considerably increased.

As it takes concrete measures towards raising further the Soviets' role, enhancing their material and financial base and replenishing them with trained personnel, the Party stresses that the Soviets are to solve on their territory all questions of local significance, and to co-ordinate and check, within their terms of reference, the performance of all enterprises and organisations, irrespective of their departmental subordination.

Seeking to enhance the Soviets' authority, the Party stresses the need to promote also the social principles of

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<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 226.

their work. The greatest possible involvement of working people in government has always been and remains the main prospect of the development of the socialist state system.

In keeping with the federative character of the socialist multinational state, the system of the Soviets consists of the USSR Supreme Soviet, 15 Supreme Soviets of the Union republics, 20 Supreme Soviets of the Autonomous republics, 134 territorial and regional Soviets, 10 National area, 3,003 district, 2,006 city, 558 municipal district, 41,128 village and 3,598 township Soviets.

In the USSR there neither is nor can there be any opposition between the local and higher government bodies. A higher Soviet checks the legality of the actions of a lower Soviet, guiding it and bearing the responsibility for its work. On the other hand, all Soviets being elected by the people, they are accountable to the voters. The combination of centralised systematic leadership and local self-government ensures the full co-ordination of local interests with the interests of the whole people, providing for the organisation of all political, economic and cultural life on uniform principles.

Soviets are elected by the people on the basis of universal, equal and direct suffrage by secret ballot.

All citizens who have reached the age of eighteen, irrespective of race or nationality, sex, religion, education, residence, social origin, property status, etc., have the right to vote in the election of deputies to all Soviets, including the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Under the Soviet Constitution, elections of deputies are equal. This means that each citizen has one vote. Women have the right to elect and be elected on equal terms with men. Servicemen have the right to elect and be elected on equal terms with all other citizens.

Elections are also equal because election districts have an equal number of population in each.

Soviet citizens take equal suffrage for granted. In many capitalist countries, however, the vote is made dependent on sex, race, social or property status, education and

occupation. In some of these countries women have no voting rights, in others servicemen. Unequal voting rights often depend on so-called election geography or the carving of election districts and wards specifically to benefit certain candidates. Such districts often contain an unequal number of voters.

In the Soviet Union, all organs of power are formed on the basis of direct suffrage. It means that deputies to every Soviet are elected by the citizens residing on the territory of that Soviet. Direct vote makes for a close relationship between deputy and constituents, enabling the latter to see what their deputy is doing in the Soviet.

Deputies to all Soviets are elected by secret ballot without any undue pressures. The voter casts his ballot independently of anybody, without signing the ballot-paper. He himself puts it into the ballot box.

Thanks to the socio-economic and ideological unity of Soviet society, there has formed a popular bloc of Communists and non-Party people which unites all working people and on behalf of which nominations for the Soviets are made.

Freedom of nomination is guaranteed by the publicity for the procedure which takes place at general meeting of working people at their places of work. Anyone attending may speak for or against candidate or raise objections to him. Co-ordinated nomination does not yet amount to election. Everything is decided at the polls. There have been instances of candidates failing to get enough votes to be elected.

All election expenses are paid by the state. The candidates pay nothing at all.

It is altogether different in the capitalist countries where the high cost of election campaigns limits the range of those who can afford to run in them.

In 1970 in the United States, for example, eleven of fifteen candidates for the Senate were millionaires. The remaining four failed: they were not millionaires. The authors of the book *Who runs Congress?* cite Robert Kennedy in this connection, who said: "We are in danger of

creating a situation in which our candidates must be chosen from among the rich (like the Kennedys) . . . or those who are willing to be beholden to others."<sup>1</sup>

Penrose, a Republican Senator from Pennsylvania, explained frankly enough what the relationship between money and candidates for the higher offices was about. Talking to a group of business "beneficiaries" he said he believed in a "division of labour": the rich sent their men to Congress; the latter passed the laws under which the rich made still more money; and contributing from their profits to the election funds, they sent their men to Congress to pass laws for them to make more money again.<sup>2</sup>

The same book says in this connection: "We all recall the neat textbook diagrams outlining 'how a bill becomes a law,' that very logical process which is our legislative trademark. . . . Unfortunately, life does not imitate art. The diagrams don't show 535 local heroes and potential presidents jousting among themselves for power and prestige. They don't show who holds the levers of power, or how those who control the process control the law. They don't explain the dynamics of power, the shift and flow of forces that make our laws. To get a more realistic picture, we must look at the ruling forces of Congress: the committee system, which gives inordinate power to forty-odd men; . . . the rules of secrecy and power-brokering which seal the system off from the people. The result is more autocratic than democratic."<sup>3</sup>

The activities of a Soviet deputy are not at all like this. A Soviet deputy must regularly inform his constituents about what is being done by the Soviet to carry out the plans of economic, social and cultural development. The deputy takes part in organising the execution of the laws as well as the decisions of the Soviet and its agencies about the needs and requirements of the population, takes steps towards their satisfaction, and submits for the con-

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<sup>1</sup> M. Green, J. Fallows, D. Zwick, *Who Runs Congress? The President, Big Business or You?*, New York, 1972, p. 10.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 7-8.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 53-54.

sideration of relevant state bodies and officials his proposals on questions arising in connection with his activities as a deputy. In his work a deputy relies on the assistance and support of social organisations, local bodies set up by the public to carry on independent activities, and bodies of workers at factories, offices and organisations.

Of great significance in strengthening the ties between the Soviets and the people are the electors' instructions to their deputies.

Under the Law on the Status of Deputies, they must participate in organising the population to fulfil the electors' mandate and in supervising its implementation by enterprises, establishments, and organisations. A similar duty is imposed on the appropriate Soviet which considers the mandates approved by meetings of the electors, endorses a plan of measures for implementing these mandates, taking them into account in elaborating the plans for economic, social and cultural development and in drafting the budget. Electors' mandates are, therefore, an important means of strengthening the ties between the electors, on the one hand, and the deputies and the Soviet, on the other, as they largely determine the content and direction of their work.

Under the same law, the deputy maintains contact not only with his electors, but also with the bodies of working people and public organisations which nominated him, and with the enterprises, establishments, organisations and state bodies on the territory of his electoral district.

One of the deputy's duties is to receive electors regularly. The deputy considers proposals, applications and complaints submitted to him and takes measures to deal with them expeditiously. For this the deputy has the right to exercise control over the investigation of proposals, applications and complaints forwarded by him to various agencies on the territory of the Soviet and to participate personally in it.

A Soviet deputy is accountable to his electors and must periodically report back to them on his own and the Soviet's work.

At electors' meetings many suggestions and proposals are made with the aim of improving the Soviets' work so that they should exercise their functions, use their constitutional rights more fully, and tackle successfully diverse problems of economic and cultural development. Many of these suggestions and proposals have been carried out.

And here is what relations are like between the electors and the government bodies elected by them in a capitalist country. A chapter in *Who Runs Congress?* is headed by a quotation from Woodrow Wilson: "Suppose you go to Washington and try to get at your government. You will always find that while you are politely listened to, the men really consulted are the men who have the biggest stake—the big bankers, the big manufacturers, the big masters of commerce. . . . The government of the United States at present is a foster child of special interests."<sup>1</sup> The instrument of these "special interests" is lobbyism.

As is known, in accordance with the First Amendment to the US Constitution, every citizen may turn to the government to have his rights restored. This provision is used by big business in order to exert pressure on Congress. Eight out of ten large American corporations have their representatives in Washington. The advantage of such lobbies is that they control Congress' information which they are able to obtain and pass on, consisting as they do of highly skilled people employed on a full-time basis who have immense possibilities—up to conducting research financed by big business. Public lobbies can hardly compete with the big business lobbies.

Soviet voters have the right to recall their deputies and demand others to be put in their place. We have already mentioned that the right of recall was introduced by one of the very first decrees of the Soviet government, adopted by the All-Russia Central Executive Committee on November 21 (December 4), 1917. This right has been a major constitutional principle ever since. As working people elect to the Soviets their very best representatives, the

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<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 29.

most likely to stand up for the people's rights, the number of deputies recalled cannot be large anyway. Nevertheless, among hundreds of thousands of deputies acquitting themselves with honour, there may be encountered a few who fail to justify the electors' trust. In that case, and by decision of the majority of the electors, the deputy is recalled and replaced by another. There have been instances of deputies of local Soviets and also of Supreme Soviets of Union and Autonomous republics and the USSR Supreme Soviet being recalled.

The democratic character of relations between voters and their deputies has a direct impact on the political activity of the masses and the content and forms of the work of the Soviets themselves. The Party demands that each deputy should maintain close contact with his electors and pay constant attention to extending it. While he is guided by the general interests of the state, the deputy must take into account the needs of the population in his constituency as well as the economic, cultural, national and other features of the Union or Autonomous republic, Autonomous region or National area which elected him or on whose territory his constituency is situated.

The composition of the Soviets mirrors the social structure of the developed socialist society. The Ninth Supreme Soviet of the USSR, for example, had 498 workers and 271 collective farmers among the deputies.

The Supreme Soviets of the Union and Autonomous republics have a similar composition. At the 1975 elections to the local Soviets 2,210,824 deputies were returned including 896,374 workers and 600,636 collective farmers.

The composition of the Soviets fundamentally differs from that of the parliament of any capitalist country, in which one does not find workers or farmers. In the United States, for example, among the 535 members of Congress there are 184 entrepreneurs and bankers, 57 big landowners and many high-ranking military officers, but there is not a single industrial worker although the working class there accounts for a considerable proportion of the population.

It is characteristic of Soviet democracy that the membership of the Soviets is regularly renewed. The CPSU Programme stipulates that at least one-third of the total number of deputies to a Soviet should be elected anew each time so that fresh millions of working people may learn to govern the state. This is steadily put into practice. Over a half of the deputies to the Ninth Supreme Soviet of the USSR were elected for the first time.

As a representative body, a Soviet carries on its work with the active participation of all deputies.

A deputy is entitled to make proposals concerning the hearing at a session of a Soviet of reports or information from any body or official accountable to or subject to the control of the Soviet. He has the right to make inquiries of the managers of enterprises, institutions and organisations situated on the territory of the Soviet on questions within the jurisdiction of the Soviet concerned. The state agency or official to whom an inquiry is addressed is obliged to reply within the time limits stipulated by law.

The discussion of deputies' inquiries is an effective means of checking the work of the authorities and officials. It is widely used by Soviets at all levels. In 1972, for example, local Soviet deputies made 50,481 inquiries of Soviet executive committees and their departments and of managers of enterprises, institutions and organisations.

On instructions from the Soviet or its agencies the deputy may inspect the work of state agencies, enterprises, institutions and organisations as regards matters within the jurisdiction of the Soviet. The deputy informs the bodies in question about the results of his inspection and, if necessary, submits proposals for improving their work, eliminating the shortcomings revealed, and calling to account those guilty of violating state discipline and legality.

The USSR Supreme Soviet exercises the plenitude of state power. It is the highest representative body expressing the people's will, the vehicle of its state sovereignty.

The USSR Supreme Soviet consists of two chambers—the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities.

The former is elected on the basis of one deputy for every 300,000 of the population, while the latter—on the basis of 32 deputies from each Union republic, 11 deputies from each Autonomous republic, 5 deputies from each Autonomous region, and one deputy from each National area.

The two-chamber structure of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR has nothing in common with the two-chamber system of bourgeois parliaments usually divided into an upper and a lower chamber. The British Parliament consists of two Houses: the House of Commons and the House of Lords; the Italian Parliament, of the Chamber of Representatives and the Senate; the Japanese Parliament, of the Chamber of Representatives and the Chamber of Councillors; the US Congress, of the House of Representatives and the Senate.

In a bourgeois parliament the upper and lower chambers are not equal. The upper chamber is usually formed of persons appointed by the head of state or by multi-stage elections which are held with more restrictions than elections to the lower chamber. To safeguard securely the protection of the interests of the ruling classes, the upper chamber often has the right to control the lower chamber. Deputies of the lower chamber are sometimes pressed by the masses to make concessions and pass bills reflecting certain demands of the working people. The upper house then steps in, either rejecting the bill or delaying its final adoption.

An embodiment of the power and sovereignty of the multinational Soviet people, the Supreme Soviet of the USSR concerns itself with the more important state affairs, guides the work of the lower Soviets, their executive agencies and the whole of the state apparatus. Under Article 31 of the Constitution, it exercises all rights vested in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, insofar as they do not come within the jurisdiction of bodies accountable to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, that is, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, the Council of Ministers, and the ministries of the USSR.

The legislative power of the USSR is exercised exclusively by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. The right to enact all-Union laws regulating the fundamental social relations belongs solely to the country's highest organ of power.

The Communist Party places great importance on the improvement of Soviet legislation as a major lever in regulating social relations.

In recent years, some all-Union legal acts have been enacted, for example, the Law on Changing the System of Industrial Management Bodies and Reorganising Some Other Bodies of State Management, the Law on People's Control Bodies in the USSR, the Rules on the Standing Committees of the Soviet of the Union and Soviet of Nationalities of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, the Law on Universal Military Service and the Fundamentals of Legislation in the USSR and the Union republics on marriage and the family and public health, land law and correctional labour law. The Eighth Supreme Soviet of the USSR has also enacted such important laws as the Fundamentals of Legislation of the USSR and the Union republics on labour, public education, water law, and the Law on the Status of Deputies to the Soviets of Working People's Deputies and the Law on the State Notarial Service. The Ninth Supreme Soviet adopted the Fundamentals of Legislation on Mineral Resources.

Before being put to the vote, a draft law has to travel a path which is far from simple. All draft laws, long before they come before a session of the Supreme Soviet, are carefully examined and discussed by the chambers' standing committees with the broadest possible participation of the public. All the proposals made by deputies of the Supreme Soviet are carefully examined, different scientific opinions and proposals by public and government organisations are compared, and citizens' letters and suggestions are analysed.

The supervisory functions of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR constitute an essential part of its work. These functions are performed by the Supreme Soviet itself or may

be carried out at the Soviet's instructions by its agencies. The Supreme Soviet supervises at the highest level the observance of the Constitution of the USSR and the acts issued on its basis. The Soviet government, all ministries and departments, the Supreme Court, the Procurator-General and other state bodies are accountable to the Supreme Soviet. Its supervision over the work of the ministries and departments, over the state of affairs in the main sectors of economic and cultural development has lately been intensified. Developing its supervisory functions consistently, the Eighth Supreme Soviet, for example, considered at its fourth session measures to be taken to promote environmental conservation and the intelligent use of natural resources. The decision contained an analysis of the state of environmental protection and the causes of the shortcomings found. Furthermore, it determined the main lines of activity to be pursued by state agencies and public organisations for the protection and rational use of natural resources.

The Supreme Soviet of the USSR exercises its supervisory functions mainly through the Soviet of the Union's and the Soviet of Nationalities' standing committees. Such committees have been set up to cover all branches of the economy and areas of social and cultural development. Discussion in standing committees is always preceded by extensive preliminary work in which broad sections of public opinion, scientists and other experts take part.

The Supreme Soviet of the USSR has a permanent body—the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR—which is elected at a joint sitting of the two chambers and which is accountable to the Supreme Soviet.

The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet is a collective body which considers and decides on all questions collectively. The Constitution does not specify how it should proceed but practice has shown that regular meetings attended by all Presidium members, held at least once a month, are the basic form of its work. The Presidium invites to its meetings the Supreme Soviet deputies concerned, chairmen of the Supreme Soviet chambers, and

heads of other state bodies. The Presidium issues ordinances on major economic, political, social and cultural questions.

The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet convenes the sessions, both regular and extraordinary, of the Supreme Soviet, drafts the agenda and notifies the deputies of the forthcoming session. It initiates laws, publishes the laws adopted by the Supreme Soviet, and, if necessary, interprets the laws in operation. When the term of a Supreme Soviet is over, its Presidium orders new elections.

In the intervals between sessions of the Supreme Soviet, the Council of Ministers of the USSR, ministries and other central government bodies are accountable to the Presidium. The latter may annul decisions and orders of the USSR Council of Ministers if they do not conform to law. The Presidium appoints or removes ministers of the USSR on the recommendation of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, subject to subsequent confirmation by the Supreme Soviet.

The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet supervises the observance of the Soviet Constitution as well as the laws and other decisions adopted by the Supreme Soviet.

The Supreme Soviet of the USSR and its bodies pay a great deal of attention to foreign policy problems. The documents adopted by it facilitate the implementation of the Peace Programme mapped out by the 24th CPSU Congress.

The Supreme Soviet of the USSR and its bodies maintain contact with other countries' parliaments. Much is done in this respect by the deputies of the Supreme Soviet who belong to the Soviet Parliamentary Group. This is a public organisation led by a committee elected at a general meeting of the Group. The Parliamentary Group actively participates in the work of the Inter-Parliamentary Union and develops contacts with parliamentary groups and MPs in other countries on a bilateral basis.

The implementation of the tasks and functions of the socialist state largely depends on the state apparatus and on the further improvement of its performance.

The socialist state of the whole people has a well-organised apparatus combining centralised management of the economic, social and cultural processes with ample rights and independence in economic management for the producers.

Industrial and production amalgamations play an important part in the improvement of the system of state regulation as they make it possible to realise more fully the potentialities of the economic reform and to speed progress in science and technology.

Greater promptness, co-ordination and efficiency in the work of the state apparatus and all government bodies will enable the best possible organisation of society's work to accelerate economic and social development, ensure the fullest use of the available resources, and unite still more closely hundreds of thousands of bodies of workers and millions of working people to carry out the CPSU's policy.

The greater scope of economic development and essential changes in the economy, better training and skill of personnel, higher educational standards of the masses, and rapid progress of the science of management and computer techniques will substantially raise the level of the management of socialist society.

Consequently, the improvement of the system of management is a requirement put forward by practice. It is not something to be done once only but a dynamic process of tackling the practical problems of the building of socialism.

Of course, the representative bodies of state power in the Soviet Union, owing to the specific features of their organisation, do not concern themselves with practical superintendence in the economic, social and cultural development as much as the administrative apparatus does. This is what this apparatus is for—to manage different sectors of social life. Besides, scientific and technological progress requires a continuous improvement of the pattern and system of relations between different managerial bodies and of their methods. In the area of the state management of diverse fields of human activity problems have to be

solved continually concerning the most expedient distribution of authority both between different levels of government and representative bodies of power which deal mostly with questions of management policy and the apparatus for this.

While it reflects objective tendencies, the management apparatus in turn effectively influences progress in science and technology. This is promoted first of all by the increasing share of such functions as scientific forecasting, technical-economic rating and the direction of research and development. Many management bodies increasingly become similar to economic and technological research centres in the nature and methods of their work.

The 25th CPSU Congress mapped out the guidelines for the improvement of the apparatus in the present conditions of the building of communism and showed the need for higher demands being made of state managerial personnel.

This naturally has nothing to do with what is alleged in bourgeois propaganda to be a mounting "technocratic" influence which is restricting democracy.

Management in the Soviet Union has always been of a political nature. Apparatus activities are subordinated to the policy of the Communist Party and the people's will. There neither is, nor can there be in the Soviet Union a situation (so typical of the capitalist countries) where all major problems are decided by the executive, not by parliament. The administrative bodies in the USSR are formed and controlled by the Soviets. Recent Party resolutions have clearly set the task—the principle of accountability of executive bodies to representative organs should be observed consistently.

All parts of the Soviet government apparatus are formed from representatives of the workers, peasants and members of the working intelligentsia. Government officials keep in touch with the people to whom they are accountable, and report to them on their work.

The 25th Party Congress has set the Soviet Union enormous social and cultural tasks. One feature of these tasks is not only that they ensue from the level to which the com-

munist understanding of the masses, public education, science and culture have been developed in Soviet society, but also that they are tied in with the prospects of the further upsurge of the economy and growth of the people's living standards. Such a systems approach to the problem as a whole makes possible a balanced development of all of parts and ensures the supply of the material means needed to carry out the proposed measures.

The CPSU Central Committee adopts decisions which play an important part in raising the level of economic management and fostering the working people's creativity. The economic education of the working people has been based on the study of the Party's economic policy, the objective laws governing economic development, and the Leninist principles and methods of economic management and organisation of production.

The line for higher living standards for the people determined both the main objectives of the Ninth and Tenth five-year economic plans and the general orientation of the country's economic development for a longer term. Accordingly, the Soviet Union is faced with the highly important task of satisfying the rising effective demand for consumer goods. This must be done while state retail prices remain stable, some articles being sold at cheaper prices as their output increases and sufficient reserves are accumulated. In this connection a duty devolves both on the authorities and mass organisations, the trade unions above all, to ensure still better conditions of work, leisure and sports for the working people, introduce more amenities in towns and on factory estates, and step up conservation measures and measures for the sensible use of natural resources.

The development of Soviet science is one of the chief factors in successfully tackling the tasks of building communism. While conducting research on a broad front, Soviet scientists concentrate their efforts on enhancing the ties between science and the practical building of communism and speeding the introduction of its results into the national economy.

The progress of science and technology is the decisive condition for making social production more efficient. For this reason the attention of the state is centred on broader fundamental and applied research and the fullest possible use of the advances of science and technology.

The state is faced with the paramount task of improving the system of education sufficiently to meet the needs of economic and cultural development and the scientific and technological revolution. In the ninth five-year period, the switch over to universal ten-year secondary education was, in the main, completed. More school buildings and facilities were provided and the standards of teaching raised. The attention of the higher and technical secondary schools has been directed to training experts in the new lines of science and technology. The idea is to equip young experts with up-to-date knowledge and an ability to apply it in practice and make them skilled in organisational, social and political work.

This shows that the Soviet state works as a great cultural force promoting the development of mankind's spiritual values.

It would be hard to overestimate the significance of the Soviet Union's activity on the international scene as well. It has made strides in organising socialist economic integration or co-operation between the countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) in the economic field, planning, finance and research. Evidence of this is the Comprehensive Programme for the Further Extension and Improvement of Co-operation and the Development of Socialist Economic Integration by the CMEA Member-Countries adopted by the 25th CMEA Session.

Principled and consistent, Soviet foreign policy meets the fundamental interests of the Soviet Union, world socialism and national liberation. It actively promotes the peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems and helps to thwart imperialism's aggressive policies.

Thanks to the vigorous efforts of the CPSU Central Committee, the Political Bureau and General Secretary of the CC CPSU, Leonid Brezhnev, the Party's foreign policy pro-

gramme is being successfully carried out. The Soviet people give their unanimous approval and support to the work being done by the CPSU Central Committee and its Political Bureau to ensure stable world peace and security. Leonid Brezhnev's visits to West Germany, the United States and France were of great effect. At the summit meetings, highly important problems were discussed and constructive decisions made for the further consolidation of peace, the security of nations and the peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems. These decisions were welcomed by most people.

The Peace Programme put forward by the 24th CPSU Congress and consistently implemented by the Soviet Union together with the fraternal socialist countries is a concentrated expression of the objective needs of social development and of the main goals of the socialist countries' peace policy at the present stage.

The decision "On the International Situation and Foreign Policy of the Soviet Union", passed on April 16, 1975 by the CPSU Central Committee at its plenary meeting, says that the struggle waged by the CPSU and the Soviet Union in common with other socialist countries and all democratic peace forces has helped to normalise the international situation. The imperialist cold war policy has sustained a defeat. The firm establishment of the principles of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems opposes the policy of aggression and diktat, promoting the cohesion of the peace forces and winning support for détente among realistic-minded circles in bourgeois countries.

The Soviet state is an instrument used by the people to build a communist society. It is therefore of paramount importance to strengthen and democratise it, these being the main lines of its development.

The development of the Soviet state and socialist democracy is a powerful means towards the main goal of building a communist society.

Soviet statehood develops dialectically. The gradual expansion of the state's social support follows naturally from the nature of the new social system. With the triumph of

socialism and the whole people firmly adopting a socialist stand, there has emerged an indissoluble ideological and political unity of Soviet society. The Soviet state, the first form of which was the dictatorship of the proletariat, has become a state of the whole people, a political organisation of the whole people led by the working class and its vanguard, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

However, a state of the whole people, too, must of course be viewed in development. The CPSU Programme says that the development of socialist statehood will gradually result in its transformation into communist public self-government.

As the Soviet state developed, its form changed. The form of the Soviet state, like any form, depends on its nature and content. The form of the state developed as its nature changed, the dictatorship of the proletariat growing into a socialist state of the whole people while its content also changed (by the content of a state we mean its objectives and functions in different phases of development).

In analysing the form of a state, its internal and external aspects should be distinguished. The internal aspect of every socialist state is socialist democracy,<sup>1</sup> and the external aspect is each country's specific government pattern.

The development of the nature and change in the content of a socialist state cause both the internal and external aspects of its form to change and develop. Thus, as the nature of the Soviet state developed, its internal aspect changed: proletarian socialist democracy, democracy for the majority of the people, turned into a people's socialist democracy, democracy for the whole people. As the content of the Soviet state developed and its objectives and functions changed from one major phase to another, its external aspect, too, changed and improved. The Soviets of Workers', Peasants' and Red Army Deputies were transformed into Soviets of Working People's Deputies, the mass support of the Soviets expanded so that increasing numbers of

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<sup>1</sup> Lenin wrote in *The State and Revolution*: "Democracy is a form of the state, one of its varieties." (*Collected Works*, Vol. 25, p. 472.)

Soviet working people could be drawn into the management of society.

The above-mentioned distinction between the nature and content of the state, between its internal and external forms should not suggest any simplistic interpretation of these categories. One cannot fail to see, for instance, that the difference is one of convention and merely serves to make it easier to examine in detail the diverse features and elements of a whole. In reality, these categories are closely related as they are dialectically interdependent. The state of a definite class or of the whole people (the nature of the state) becomes visible and tangible, i.e., materialises, in its goals and functions (the content of the state). At the same time the nature and content of a state are based on the definite principles of its political structure (the internal aspect of the form of state) and are projected in specific forms of organisation, methods and means of activity (the external aspects).

The strengthening of the socialist state does not imply any swelling of its apparatus or expansion of the administrative-legal regulation of social relations. It is, above all, a qualitative process. It is ensured by the growing role of the Communist Party in the society's political organisation, the citizens' higher political awareness, growth in Soviet democracy, still better scientific substantiation of the state's decisions and moves, the constant improvement of the structure of Soviet state bodies and of the forms and methods of their work, and strict observance of legality, law and order, and discipline.

The Soviet state is the highest form of socialist democracy.

The broad involvement of the masses in government and in social and political life is the high road along which the Communist Party is moving towards the improvement and expansion of Soviet society's socialist democracy. Simultaneously, it is the main line towards building up the Soviet state system because, as socialist society becomes stronger, the more working people consciously take part in government.

## THE INCREASING ROLE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

The Communist Party holds a particular place among all other organisations in Soviet society. It is the vanguard of the Soviet people and the political leader of the working people's organisations.

The CPSU has made a notable contribution to Marxist-Leninist theory and its further creative development by its doctrine of the Communist Party and of its role and place in the political system of socialist society. Having thoroughly analysed the experience in building socialism and communism in the Soviet Union and in the development of the socialist world system, the CPSU has concluded that with society's advance towards communism the leading role of Communist Party must increase. This statement is of fundamental significance to a proper understanding of the nature and the main lines of development of the socialist political system. It is based on Lenin's statement that the Communist Party should lead the working class and all working people and be at the head of society until full-scale communism has been built.

The enhancement of the Party's role under mature socialism finds expression above all in the CPSU's many-sided efforts to create the material and technological basis of communism, to perfect social relations, mould the new man, and promote the socialist way of life.

The main point of the Communist Party's activities is to evolve the general prospect of the development of society, to elaborate correct policy, and to organise the working people to carry it out. According to Marxism-Leninism, the Party's guidance of society is essentially to ensure the ideological and political unity of the whole of society and provide for a purposeful, balanced development of every part of the social organism. The Party has always believed that to carry out so responsible a set of functions it must creatively develop Marxism-Leninism, equipping Communists and all Soviet people with it, and defend the purity of Marxist-Leninist theory since no society has a greater need of scientific theory than does socialist society.

Each document and decision of the Party is characterised by a truly Marxist-Leninist approach in analysing the life of society; they are scientific, marked by adherence to Party principles, dialectical and comprehensive.

We Soviet Communists justly call the CPSU a Leninist party. Its formation, growth and education was Lenin's greatest contribution. The great energy of his thought lives on in the Communists' minds and directs their actions. The CPSU's line was, is, and will always be a Leninist line and its attitude to the world has always been and will continue to be revolutionary and creative. Lenin called it a Party of the Future, a party of pioneers. The CPSU sees its most important task as that of finding solutions to urgent problems in the building of communism on the basis of Lenin's thoughts and methods.

As M. A. Suslov noted in his report at the jubilee meeting in honour of the seventieth anniversary of the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. the question of the Communist Party's place and role in the revolutionary movement and the building of the new society has become in these times the most acute and urgent question in the struggle waged by Marxists-Leninists against the exponents of bourgeois ideology as well as revisionists of all hues and Right and "Left" opportunists. That is, of course, not accidental. The future of the working-class movement, the future of socialism, is inseparably linked with the existence of militant Marxist-Leninist parties of the working class. Only such parties can withstand all petty-bourgeois vacillation and relapses into opportunism, anarcho-syndicalism, sectarianism and extremism. Only such parties, steeled in the struggle and united by the common ideological, political and organisational principles, are capable of successfully leading the great struggle for communism. This has been proved not in theory alone, but also in the long practice of revolutionary struggle. The principled line taken by our Party on that question has earned the recognition of the international communist movement and promoted the correct orientation of fighters for the working-class cause.

The Party, itself a social organisation, simultaneously guides all other social organisations as well as the government bodies, joining them by the force of its political leadership into an integral political system of Soviet society.

Membership in the CPSU enables foremost representatives of the masses to carry on their guiding activities in the economic, politico-organisational and theoretical fields, as well as in working out the main lines of Soviet foreign policy, in developing co-operation with Marxist-Leninist parties in other countries, and in building up the unity and cohesion of the world communist movement.

Membership in the CPSU implies these Communists' active participation in the whole of the politico-organisational activities of the Party.

In recent years the ways of building the material and technological basis of communism were made more concrete in many respects and modern methods of planning and management and of improving the moral and material incentive system have been evolved as a result of the theoretical work and under the guidance of the CPSU.

The documents of the 25th CPSU Congress, which marked the beginning of another important stage in building a communist society, have been a major step in the development of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine. On the basis of in-depth analysis of the results of the Ninth Five-Year Plan, the 25th CPSU Congress, drawing general conclusions from the experience gained and taking into account the specific features of the current stage in the development of Soviet society, has worked out the Party's economic strategy for the tenth five-year period and for a longer term.

In putting forward new plans for building communism, the CPSU sees the reality of their implementation in the immense possibilities of developed socialism and in the growing creativity of the masses. All Soviet people unanimously approve and support the course charted by the Party which they see as their own immediate concern.

The CPSU, together with other ruling Communist and Workers' Parties, continues to work on the fundamental questions of the development of the socialist world system.

Much attention is paid to the elaboration of principles of socialist economic integration.

The analysis of new phenomena in the development of modern capitalism and of the ways and forms in which world socialism exerts its influence on the non-socialist part of the world holds a prominent place in the Party's theoretical work.

The aim of the Party's scientifically based economic policy is to improve the living standards of the Soviet people. This aim can be achieved only by using intensive methods in the economy and raising on this basis the efficiency of production. The point is that "economic growth should be achieved increasingly by raising labour productivity and accelerating scientific and technological progress, by the fuller utilisation of operating production capacities, by increasing the return on every rouble invested in the economy, and by a more rational use of every ton of metal, fuel, cement or fertiliser."<sup>1</sup>

The Party's economic policy and its planning and economic activity are built on objective estimates, precise information and the correct utilisation of the economic laws of socialism and of the results of modern science.

Of fundamental significance to the evolution of a scientifically-based Party policy in the economic field is the approach to the Soviet economy as an integrated single national economic complex including the economies of all the Union and Autonomous republics and the orientation towards improving industrial management, improving and enhancing the economic stimulation of production, and accelerating scientific and technological progress.

The Party has formulated the historic task facing the Soviet people in the following words: "*organically to fuse the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution with the advantages of the socialist economic system, to unfold more broadly our own, intrinsically socialist, forms of fusing science with production.*"<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> L. I. Brezhnev, *Following Lenin's Course*, Moscow, 1975, p. 104.

<sup>2</sup> *24th Congress of the CPSU*, p. 69.

The Party's line in the economic field is invariably towards fulfilling the tasks in the socio-political field, in the field of foreign policy, and in the field of Party development. This is an expression of the Marxist-Leninist conception of society as a single organism requiring a comprehensive, integral approach to the problems of its development.

Thus, implementing in the socio-political area a line for further enhancing the unity of Soviet society, bringing together classes and social groups and all peoples, large and small, of which Soviet society is comprised, steadily promoting socialist democracy, drawing ever broader sections into government and social regulation, raising the communist awareness of all working people and pursuing all-round progress of science and technology, the Party proceeds from the fact that "the solution of socio-political problems depends on economic achievements. And conversely, economic development is largely determined by the extent to which socio-political problems are resolved."<sup>1</sup>

History shows that the most faultlessly elaborated and scientifically justified policy will not implement itself but has to be implemented. The Party, which is the political leader, organiser and educator of the masses, does enormous work to implement the plans for the building of communism. It constantly builds up its ranks, improves the forms and methods of its work and raises the responsibility of each Communist for the implementation of the Party's policy.

The Party's greater leading role means its greater responsibility for the present and future of the country. For this reason the Party sees to its own development, keeping its ranks vigorous and ideologically united. As it performs its leading role in society, the Party continually acquires experience in organisational, political and ideological work with the masses.

To implement the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress, all Communists must use more fully the advantages of the

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<sup>1</sup> L. I. Brezhnev, *Following Lenin's Course*, Moscow, 1972, p. 36.

democratic organisation of Party life and the opportunities it affords for raising the leading role of the Party in every sphere of the life of Soviet society. The dynamic development of Soviet society, the growing scale of communist construction, and our activities in the international arena, said Leonid Brezhnev at the Congress, insistently require a steady raising of the level of Party guidance of economic and cultural development, the education of men and women, and improvement of organisational and political work among the masses. Of particular significance in this connection is the unflinching application of the Leninist rules of Party life and the principles of Party leadership.

In the past few years the CPSU has built up all state and social organisations and economic management bodies by sending competent and well-trained people, dedicated to the cause of communism, to work there.

The CPSU membership on the whole reflects the social structure of Soviet society. The Party believes that both now and in future the leading place in the Party's social composition must be held by the working class. The proportion of workers among those admitted to the Party after the 23rd and 24th CPSU congresses keeps rising steadily. This is clear from the table below which classifies newly admitted candidate members by occupation:

	1962- 1965	1966- 1970	1971- 1975
Total admitted as candidate members, including:	100.0	100.0	100.0
workers	44.7	52.0	57.6
collective farmers, engineers, technicians, livestock experts, researchers, teachers, doctors and others	15.0	13.4	11.3
those in the administrative-managerial apparatus	28.2	26.4	24.5
students	11.1	7.5	5.2
	1.0	0.7	1.4

Since the 24th Congress, nearly 2.6 million men and women have been admitted into the CPSU. At present the

Party has 15,694,000 members. Of these 41.6 per cent are workers, 13.9 per cent collective farmers, nearly 20 per cent white-collar workers, and over 24 per cent workers in science, literature, the arts, education, public health, management and the military spheres.

In characterising the growth of the Party and the work to improve its qualitative composition, Leonid Brezhnev stressed that under developed socialism, when the Communist Party has become a party of the whole people, it has in no sense lost its class character. The CPSU was and remains a party of the working class. Workers make up now 58 per cent of those joining its ranks which correctly reflects the leading role of the working class in the life of society.

In the period between the 24th and 25th Party congresses more than 11 per cent of those joining the Party were collective farmers. The steady admission of collective farmers into the ranks of the Party is in line with the interests of further consolidating the alliance of the working class and the peasants.

Of those who are accepted as candidates for Party membership, roughly nine per cent are foremen, shift engineers, section chiefs, agronomists, livestock experts and others directly involved in production. Thus, altogether almost 80 per cent of those joining the CPSU are men and women engaged in material production, the decisive sphere of social life.

The percentage of Party members among specialists in the national economy, teachers, doctors and workers in science, literature and the arts has grown substantially. Today roughly one in four or five specialists is a Communist.

The overwhelming majority, or more than two-thirds, of new Party members come from the Komsomol. The latter accounted for 65.1 per cent of those who joined the Party in 1971-1975.

The membership of the CPSU has nearly trebled in the past thirty years. It was pointed out at the 25th Congress that the CPSU does not press for numerical growth. It

admits only those who have proved in practice that they are joining the Party not for the sake of obtaining some advantages but to work selflessly for the benefit of communism.

By its ideology, policy, composition and structure, the CPSU is a party of Leninist internationalists. Today it unites in its ranks representatives of over 100 large and small peoples. Its total membership includes 9,481,536 Russians, 2,505,378 Ukrainians, 563,408 Byelorussians, 321,458 Uzbeks, 282,471 Kazakhs, 259,520 Georgians, 232,223 Azerbaijanians, 106,967 Lithuanians, 67,707 Moldavians, 65,116 Latvians, 49,542 Kirghiz, 63,611 Tajiks, 234,253 Armenians, 48,021 Turkmenians, and 49,739 Estonians.

Party organisations in the Union and Autonomous republics, Autonomous regions and National areas contain an increasing percentage of members belonging to the native population. Simultaneously they are growing more international in composition.

Represented in the Party are all generations of Soviet people: Bolsheviks who took part in the Great October Revolution and the Civil War, men and women who were engaged in carrying out the early five-year plans, who fought for the freedom and independence of their socialist Motherland in the Great Patriotic War of 1941-1945, and the younger generation of Communists.

We know that primary branches are the basis of a party. The CPSU has primary branches at practically all enterprises and collective and state farms. There are at present more than 390,000 primary Party branches including 150,000 at industrial enterprises, building projects, transport and communication enterprises, on collective and state farms and at other enterprises.

Fourteen Central Committees of the Communist Parties of the union republics and 154 territorial and regional, 10 area and 4,243 city, town and district Party committees are at present leading all Party organisations on their territory and being responsible for the implementation of Party policy and the directives of the Party and government.

The Party considers a major factor in increasing its role

and prestige to be to replenish local leading bodies with trained personnel and make them more efficient.

The Party attaches great importance to streamlining its own internal affairs. It believes that the successful fulfilment of its responsible role both inside the country and on the world scene depends directly on its loyalty to the Leninist principles of Party development and rules of Party life. Its line with respect to Party development consists of improving the methods of the leadership of society by the Party, the unfailing application of Leninist rules of Party life, the further rallying of the Party's ranks, and the greatest possible strengthening of the ties between the Party and the working class and the whole Soviet people.

A renewal of Party cards was carried out not so long ago. The main result of this renewal was that the Party gained fresh experience in organisational and political work, built up its ranks, and enhanced its contact with the masses.

The renewal of Party cards amounted to a review of the Party's forces in the course of which every Party branch and every Communist had to show how well they carried out the Party's decisions. It helped to make Party organisations more efficient and notably promoted the labour and political activities of Communists. The Central Committee pointed out that the experience gained from the renewal was essential to the Party's further growth. The renewal gave an impetus to many favourable processes in the Party organisations. The principle of democratic centralism came to be exercised more fully and democracy within the Party extended. Communists became more demanding of each other. Much attention is paid to checking the execution, stepping up criticism and self-criticism as a tested method of correcting shortcomings and increasing one's sense of responsibility.

The February 1975 resolution of the CPSU Central Committee on the state of criticism and self-criticism in the Tambov Regional Party organisation is a concrete instance of this approach. The resolution raises a number of points of importance to the whole Party. It draws attention above

all to the substance of the method of criticism and self-criticism, which is that the performance of this or that organisation or this or that individual should be given an objective evaluation, that defects should be examined in order to eliminate them, and that there should be no liberalism towards shortcomings or those who allow them.

Combining trust and respect with a demanding attitude should be a law of Party work. The value of criticism, the decision underlined, lies in its authenticity and in the social importance of the questions raised. And the value of self-criticism lies in its sincerity and a readiness instantly to begin correcting mistakes and shortcomings.

Being guided by the Marxist-Leninist precept that the people is the maker of history and that a communist society is built by the people's hands, energy, will and reason, the CPSU regards it as its major duty continually to enhance its contact with the masses, to find and employ new forms of cohesion with the working people, and to consult them unfailingly on vital problems of home and foreign policy. In everything it does, the Party invariably turns to the people, always consulting the working people on fundamental points of economic, social and political development.

The Party considers letters from the working people to be an important link between it and the masses. Their steadily rising number is evidence of the Soviet people's growing social involvement. They express support for the Party's policy and voice opinions on many basic questions concerning the life of the Party and the state.

The resolution adopted by the Central Committee on the further improvement of work with letters from the working people in the light of the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress sums up the extensive and fruitful activity in that field conducted by Party and Soviet bodies, the trade unions and the Komsomol. The CPSU believes that as socialist democracy develops and there is closer contact between the Party and the masses, work with letters should be improved further and its forms and methods should be perfected as much as possible.

Recently, the resolution says, the contents and character of letters from working people which are received by central and local organisations have undergone considerable change. There are more letters which raise questions of importance to the whole Party and the whole nation, responding in a bright and lively manner to Party decisions and measures in home and foreign policy, and containing concrete proposals and suggestions aimed at increasing the efficiency of social production, improving quality and eliminating defects. Many of the proposals were used in preparing for the 25th CPSU Congress and were reflected in its documents. The more important suggestions and opinions were considered by the CPSU Central Committee and are taken into account in working out and checking the fulfilment of resolutions. They are also taken into account by leading bodies in their practical work.

The CPSU Central Committee believes that the experience of work with letters from working people during the preparation and holding of the 25th CPSU Congress, and the experience of the nationwide discussions on draft Guidelines for the Development of the National Economy of the USSR for 1976-1980 should be spread wider.

The decision of the CPSU Central Committee on work with letters from working people shows the Party's desire to rely on Soviet people's collective experience and to treat their advice, proposals, criticisms and complaints with attention since this strengthens in them the noble feelings of being masters of their country and of the personal involvement of each in the great cause of building communism.

The Party sees the Leninist style of work, i.e., a creative and scientific approach to all social processes, one which eschews subjectivism, as an important condition for success in the Party's leadership. The Leninist style "implies a high degree of exactingness with respect to oneself and to others, rules out any self-complacency, and is opposed to any manifestations of red tape and formalism".<sup>1</sup>

The Party believes that one cannot build communism

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<sup>1</sup> *Documents and Resolutions. XXVth Congress of the CPSU*, p. 82

without drawing the working people on an ever larger scale into practical affairs associated with government and economic and social regulation. For this reason it pays much attention to the activities of the Soviets, trade unions, the Komsomol, co-operatives and other mass organisations of the people.

The growth in the role of the Party in the socialist countries is far from implying any diminution of the rights of other mass organisations. Moreover, the distinguishing feature of the Communist Party as a ruling party is precisely that it draws into the management of the state and society all working people, encouraging and supporting their organisations and directing their initiative and efforts into the single channel of communist construction. As concerns the special "rights" and "privileges" Communists allegedly enjoy in socialist society, if we are to believe the slanderers of socialist democracy, Leonid Brezhnev described them very well when he said: "Communists have no privileges except the privilege to devote more efforts to the common cause and to fight and work for its triumph better than the others. Communists have no special rights except the right always to be in the forefront where difficulties are the greatest."<sup>1</sup>

The Party invariably links the objective process of growth in the Party's leading and guiding role with a growth in its responsibility to the working class and all working people in its country and to the working people in all countries for every step it takes and for the results of its leadership. The Party's prestige is the powerful instrument that helps to rally the masses to tackle the tasks the country faces. Leonid Brezhnev recalled at the 25th CPSU Congress how this prestige was won. He said: "The Soviet people are aware that wherever there are difficulties the Communists are always there, in the forefront. The Soviet people are aware that whatever happens, the Communists will not let them down. The Soviet people are aware that where the Party acts, success and victory are

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<sup>1</sup> L. I. Brezhnev, *Following Lenin's Course*, Moscow, 1972, p. 68.

assured! The people trust in the Party. The people wholeheartedly support the Party's domestic and foreign policy. This augments the Party's strength and serves as an inexhaustible source of energy."<sup>1</sup>

One of the Party's most important tasks is to cultivate communist views and the ideas of Marxism-Leninism in the minds of the working people.

In its ideological work, the Communist Party places the utmost importance on instilling a new communist attitude to work, as well as on the achievement of a high level of culture, education, social consciousness and internal maturity of citizens. This explains the great attention which the Party pays to public education and the higher schools, to science and culture, literature and art, and to the upbringing of youth.

The home policy pursued by the Party and Soviet government is inseparably linked with their foreign policy.

As Leonid Brezhnev told the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, humanism is an integral part of Soviet foreign policy, a Leninist policy of peace and peoples' friendship.

At its 24th Congress, the CPSU advanced a Peace Programme the main purpose of which was to achieve a turn in international relations with reliance on the might, unity and dynamism of world socialism, on its closer alliance with all progressive and peace-loving forces—a turn from cold war to peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, a turn from explosive tensions to détente and normal, mutually beneficial co-operation. The Party followed Lenin's behest calling for the greatest possible number of decisions and measures "that would certainly lead to peace, if not to the complete elimination of the war danger".<sup>2</sup>

The Party does everything possible to assure peaceful construction in the Soviet Union and the fraternal socialist countries, to assure peace and security for all peoples.

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<sup>1</sup> *Documents and Resolutions. XXVth Congress of the CPSU*, p. 106.

<sup>2</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 386.

"And we shall continue this policy with redoubled energy, working to bridle the forces of war and aggression, to consolidate world peace and assure the people's right to freedom, independence and social progress," Leonid Brezhnev said at the 25th CPSU Congress.<sup>1</sup>

In the present conditions the Party's activity on the international scene is exceptionally broad and varied.

The Party naturally devotes attention first and foremost to relations with the socialist states which are advancing confidently to developed socialist society, to communism. The ties between socialist states are becoming ever closer with the flowering of each socialist nation and the strengthening of their sovereignty, and elements of community are increasing in their policy, economy and social life while there is a gradual levelling up of their development.

Thanks to their unity, solidarity and mutual support, socialist countries have succeeded in fulfilling major tasks in the international arena in the past five years. Imperialism's biggest post-war bid to destroy the socialist Democratic Republic of Vietnam by armed force and crush a national liberation revolution in South-East Asia failed. In Europe, the worldwide recognition of the sovereignty of the German Democratic Republic, its admission to the United Nations, and the international confirmation of the inviolability of the western frontiers of the countries of the socialist community has made it possible to formalise the most important results of the peoples' liberation struggle during and after the Second World War; the conditions have been created for stable peace and good-neighbourly co-operation in Europe and outside it. Socialism has taken deep root in Cuban soil. Cuba's international situation has improved and its prestige has grown.

In its relations with the socialist countries, the CPSU firmly follows the trusted rule of conducting affairs in the spirit of true equality and interest in each other's successes, of working out decisions that meet international, as well as national, interests.

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<sup>1</sup> *Documents and Resolutions. XXVth Congress of the CPSU*, p. 6.

The political content of the Soviet Union's ties with countries that have liberated themselves from colonial dependence has become richer. A definition of the unshakable principles on which these ties rest was given at the 25th CPSU Congress. These principles are non-interference in other countries' and peoples' internal affairs and respect for the right of every people and country to choose its path of development independently. "In the developing countries, as everywhere else," Leonid Brezhnev said, "we are on the side of the forces of progress, democracy and national independence, and regard them as friends and comrades in struggle. Our Party supports and will continue to support peoples fighting for their freedom. In so doing, the Soviet Union does not look for advantages, does not hunt for concessions, does not seek political domination, and is not after military bases. We act as we are bid by our revolutionary conscience, our communist convictions."<sup>1</sup>

Struggle to consolidate the principles of peaceful co-existence, to assure lasting peace, to reduce, and in the longer term to eliminate the danger of another world war has been, and remains, the main element of the policy of the Soviet Union towards the capitalist states.

A large part in getting people—especially those responsible for the policy of states—accustomed to the thought that not brinkmanship but negotiation of disputed questions, not confrontation but peaceful co-operation, is the natural state of affairs was played by the fact that the CPSU succeeded in accurately defining the main practical tasks of consolidating international security, and presenting them at its 24th Congress in the Peace Programme. The facts have borne out the Programme's timeliness and realism.

"And though world peace is by no means guaranteed as yet, we have every reason to declare that the improvement of the international climate is convincing evidence that lasting peace is not merely a good intention, but an entirely realistic objective," Leonid Brezhnev pointed out at the

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<sup>1</sup> *Documents and Resolutions. XXVth Congress of the CPSU*, p. 16.

25th CPSU Congress. "And we can and must continue to work tirelessly in the name of achieving it!"<sup>1</sup>

As a result of the Helsinki Conference, favourable conditions have been created for safeguarding and consolidating peace in Europe.

The turn for the better in Soviet relations with the United States, the largest power in the capitalist world, has been decisive in reducing the danger of another world war and has contributed to the improvement of the international climate in general. Efforts to end the arms race and promote disarmament have been and remain one of the main trends in the foreign policy pursued by the CPSU and the Soviet government. The CPSU calls on all countries to unite their efforts and put an end to the arms race bearing in mind the ultimate goal of general and complete disarmament. The proposal to conclude a world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations, voiced in the Report of the CC CPSU to the 25th Congress, is of immense significance. The parties to the treaty, including the nuclear powers, would undertake to refrain from using all types of weapons, including nuclear weapons, in settling disputes that may arise between them.

Assessing the international situation of the Soviet Union and world conditions, the CPSU considers that further struggle for peace and the freedom and independence of the peoples now requires first of all the fulfilment of the following vital tasks:

-While steadily strengthening their unity and expanding their all-round co-operation in building the new society, the fraternal socialist states must augment their joint active contribution to the consolidation of peace;

- Work for the termination of the growing arms race, which is endangering peace, and for the transition to reducing arms stockpiles.

For this purpose the Party will do everything to complete the preparation of a new Soviet-US agreement on limiting and reducing strategic armaments and conclude

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<sup>1</sup> *Documents and Resolutions. XXVth Congress of the CPSU*, p. 21.

international treaties on the universal and complete termination of nuclear weapons tests, on banning and destroying chemical weapons, on banning the development of new types and systems of mass annihilation weapons, and also on banning modifications of the natural environment for military and other hostile purposes; to launch new efforts to activate negotiations on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe; to take all measures to ensure the earliest possible convocation of a world disarmament conference. The CPSU considers the signing of a world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations a major task.

The Party considers crucial the international task of completely eliminating all vestiges of the system of colonial oppression, all infringements of the equality and independence of peoples, and all seats of colonialism and racialism, eliminating discrimination and all artificial barriers in international trade, and all manifestations of inequality, diktat and exploitation in international economic relations.

The main outcome of the CPSU's international policy is the stable international position of the Soviet Union, and over 30 years of peace and détente.

The international activity of the CPSU involves the whole people. It rests on the economic and defensive might of the USSR, on its spiritual potential, and on the achievements of the Soviet people. Behind its successes are the experience and knowledge, the spiritual energy and strenuous work of many representatives of the Party and the state.

The facts show that the Leninist home and foreign policy of the CPSU expresses the fundamental interests of the Soviet people and fully accords with the objective needs and progressive trends in the development of society and the world revolutionary process. Leonid Brezhnev assessed the activity of the Communist Party as the leading and guiding force of society in the following way: "Tested and confirmed by the experience of the CPSU, Lenin's teaching that the Party is the leader of the revolutionary masses and the leading force of the new society and Lenin's princi-

ples of Party construction are the property not only of the CPSU but also of the fraternal Communist Parties. Facts show that Communists triumph where the Party consistently implements its role as vanguard of the working class and other working people, where the Leninist norms of Party life are strictly observed and where the Party safeguards and tirelessly strengthens its political, organisational and ideological unity. Conversely, any diminution of the Party's role and any departure from the Leninist principles of Party development lead to serious setbacks and may create a threat to the socialist gains of the people."<sup>1</sup>

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is following the Leninist line. It has lived up to its role of political leader of the working class, of all the working people, of the whole people. During the last five-year plan, the Party once again demonstrated the power of its scientific prevision and the realism of its policy, its capacity to direct the energy of the masses towards the fulfilment of the tasks of communist construction.

#### **THE TRADE UNIONS, THE KOMSOMOL, THE PEOPLE'S CONTROL, THE CO-OPERATIVES**

The enhancement of the Party's role far from diminishes the role or the rights of government and social organisations. On the contrary, it contributes to the development of the activity and responsibilities of these organisations, giving them a greater part in the management of society and in rallying the working people to the fulfilment of the country's economic and social development plans.

The main line of the Party guidance of the Soviets, trade unions, the Komsomol and other social organisations under mature socialism, the 25th CPSU Congress stressed, is to go on increasing their role in the building of communism. Much has been done towards that end in the past five

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<sup>1</sup> *Lenin's Cause Lives on and Triumphs*, Moscow, 1970, pp. 51-52.

years. Having approved this effort, the 25th Congress posed the task of encouraging all government bodies and social organisations to display initiative and develop their own activity.

The farther Soviet society advances along the road to communism, the more the role and significance of the trade unions increase, and the more they are drawn into making decisions on questions of state, economic and cultural development.

The Soviet trade unions have had their rights considerably extended by major decisions adopted by the Party and government in recent years. Still greater possibilities have been created for the involvement of working people through the trade unions in the management of production, organisation of labour and improvement of the workers' living conditions. The unions take part in drafting production plans, hear managers' reports on the fulfilment of the plans and collective labour agreements. They are entitled to ask for and receive assistance from state and economic bodies in implementing decisions on problems to which the unions' jurisdiction extends. Some problems which are within the competence of the management are considered jointly, with the consent or participation of the union committee.

The importance of the trade unions' administrative function was stressed by Leonid Brezhnev in his speech at the 15th Congress of the Soviet Trade Unions.

Speaking on March 21, 1977, at the 16th Congress of the trade unions, Leonid Brezhnev dwelt in detail on the role played by the trade unions in the developed socialist society. He has pointed out that in present-day conditions the union's role as a school of administration and economic management, a school of communism, is all the greater. Besides, they are a mass school at which tens of millions learn the art of running production, the state, society, and the economy at large. "In this school, they are learning to live and work in a communist way. In this school, the new spiritual character of the working man is moulded. In this school, workers are educated as internationalists

committed to the unfading slogan, 'Workers of all countries, unite!' <sup>1</sup>

The management may neither fire workers nor fix rates or output quotas without the union's consent. The trade union committee may, if need be, demand that managers who fail to comply with the terms of the collective agreement or otherwise violate Soviet labour laws, be punished or altogether removed. Union participation is obligatory in all matters concerning working and living conditions, distribution of new housing, etc.

Trade union organisations carry on immense cultural and educational work. They have for this purpose a wide network of Palaces of Culture, clubs, libraries, sports facilities, Young Pioneer summer camps, tourist hostels and recreation camps. The trade unions run sanatoria, holiday homes and hotels, clinics at spas, polyclinics, etc., in all the Soviet republics. They participate in organising educational and skill-improving programmes for factory and office workers and in carrying out measures for strengthening socialist labour discipline and disseminating social, political, economic, scientific and technological information. They help to promote mass-scale invention and innovation activities among workers, guide the activities of scientific and technical societies, convene conferences of workers, engineers and technicians for sharing experience. They have their own press, promote amateur art and assist the family and school in the communist education of youth.

Under the current revolution in science and technology, the trade unions play a greater role than ever in the scientific management of production and labour relations and in the scientific organisation of labour in every section and department of the enterprise. The trade unions and their scientific and technical societies, numerous technological design, economic analysis, standardisation and organisation of labour and technical information bureaux, which do all their work as a social service, have to deal with

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<sup>1</sup> "The Soviet Trade Unions. A Mighty Force in Our Society". Speech by L. I. Brezhnev at the 16th Congress of the Soviet Trade Unions (*Kommunist*, 1977, No. 5, pp. 4-5).

numerous intricate practical problems. The point is that under socialism the current technological revolution causes a rapid development of the productive forces of society and results in the continuous progress of science and technology in all branches of the national economy. This has a great impact on the nature of education, vocational training and work itself.

When he spoke of the trade unions' role in the Soviet state, Lenin often said that they were to draw the working people into the management of the affairs of society. The trade unions do carry out this role, drawing the mass of blue- and white-collar workers into the management of production and the activities of social and state organisations. In teaching workers how to run industry, the trade unions seek above all to arouse in them a lively interest in the affairs of their team, shop, and factory.

Diverse ways in which the trade unions can be drawn into economic management have emerged in the course of building communist society. One of the more important of them is the production conference.

As they take part in standing production conferences, working people acquire the habits and skills of industrial management.

A production conference functions under the leadership of the trade union committee and in accordance with an approved plan. The conference convenes as the need arises, but it must meet at least once a quarter. Decisions are passed by a simple majority vote of the conference members. At least two-thirds of the members must be present at each sitting.

The purpose of the production conference is to ensure the successful operation of the enterprise or building project, the fulfilment of the production plan, the fullest possible utilisation of internal production reserves, the promotion of the socialist emulation movement, the greatest possible efficiency, the propagation of the experience of innovators and leading workers, good working conditions and adequate management.

Members of a production conference take an active part in explaining its decisions to the work force and in organising the fulfilment of these decisions.

In order that the questions the conference wishes to discuss may be examined in depth and comprehensively, the management is obliged to assist in preparing such questions for discussion. It must familiarise conference members with the real state of affairs at the factory or building project and make all the necessary reference material available to them. The management organises the execution of the conference's decisions and proposals and informs the next conference sitting of this.

The production conference informs the general meeting or conference of the workers and other employees of the enterprise, organisation or workshop. The body of workers that has elected production conference may recall and replace its individual members.

The activities and rights of the conferences and the rules under which they proceed show that they are an effective form of mass involvement of working people in the management of production, one of the main forms of socialist democracy.

Workers' meetings are another widely used method of teaching working people to run production and developing their independent initiative. The trade unions tackle all major problems of production, work and education through meetings, production conferences, and similar forms of mass involvement of the working people.

At some enterprises it has become customary to pay workers their yearly bonus (a "thirteenth month's" wages) on the shopfloor after the results of the year have been summed up. Besides the bonus, the pay packets contain a message from the management congratulating the leading workers and wishing them fresh success in the emulation movement.

Trade union committees rely in their day-to-day work on permanent commissions, public inspectors' groups and other forms of stimulating the activity of the union members.

We have said already that participation in the socialist emulation movement and the movement for a communist attitude to work is a school of industrial management. Members of the emulation movement learn to manage production and to work in a communist way as they fulfil their undertakings. The work of the trade unions directly furthers the exercise of democracy in production, the basic sphere in which man's creative efforts are applied.

The trade unions have the task above all of protecting the rights and interests of the working people and actively dealing with everyday, social questions. But they would be unable to do much in this sphere if production did not develop and if labour discipline and labour productivity did not rise. It is precisely because the Soviet trade unions are dedicated to the working man's interests that their duty is to show concern for boosting production.

The activities of the *Komsomol* at the current stage consist of upholding the interests of the whole people, which coincide with the vital interests of Soviet youth, and satisfying young people's specific needs that go with their age. The *Komsomol* is actively working at its main task which is to bring up young men and women in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism and the heroic traditions of the revolutionary struggle, using as examples the feats of arms of Soviet people and the dedicated efforts of workers, collective farmers and intellectuals, to develop and strengthen in the young generation a class approach to the facts of social life, and to train staunch, high-minded, well-educated, industrious builders of communism.

The *Komsomol* takes an active part in the country's social and political life and state development. It makes wide use of its right to submit questions concerning youth employment and education to Party, government, trade union and other bodies. Over half a million young men and women have been elected to Soviet government bodies. Almost 18 per cent of the deputies of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR are under thirty.

*Komsomol* representatives sit on the boards of the Soviet Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialised

Education, Ministry of Public Education, Ministry of Culture, the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, the People's Control Committee, the State Television and Radio Committee of the USSR Council of Ministers, and so on.

A whole range of major decisions that have been passed on youth employment and education, on everyday life and recreation, on privileges for young workers attending evening schools or studying by correspondence, on the construction of cultural and sports centres at high-priority building projects, and so on, were proposed by the Komsomol.

Voluntary assistance to high-priority Komsomol construction projects is a traditional form of Komsomol activity supported by the Party. Komsomol teams helped to build the Kama Motor Works, Novolipetsk Iron and Steel Works, Lebedin and Mikhailovka ore-dressing plants and other major projects. There were 670 such projects during the Ninth Five-Year Plan, involving more than half a million young men and women. The Komsomol has taken charge of 1,200 land-improvement and rural construction projects in the Non-Black Soil Zone of the Russian Federation. In the Ninth Five-Year Plan, student building teams did work worth roughly 5,000 million roubles. Komsomol members are enthusiastic builders of the Baikal-Amur Railway. Thousands of Komsomol and youth teams take part in mechanising livestock farms and building up the base of animal husbandry.

The ninth five-year plan period has been a school of communist education for Komsomol members and young people in general. More than 25 million young workers fulfilled the five-year plan ahead of schedule. Almost 100,000 received high government awards.

Life keeps setting before the Komsomol growing demands as it is in the Komsomol that young people are actively and consciously involved in communist construction. To foster this consciousness, Leonid Brezhnev told the 25th CPSU Congress, one must consider the fact that "one has to deal with young people whose character has

yet to mature. They are prepared to respond sincerely and whole-heartedly to any good initiative. . . . We want our young people to retain their enthusiasm, their mental alertness and their youthful energy for the rest of their lives. This should be promoted by the YCL, this should be its important concern."<sup>1</sup>

Participation in *people's control* is an important form of socialist democracy. Through bodies of people's control the working people exercise the right of control in the fields of the economy and economic and cultural development and take part in the management of the state. The bodies of people's control combine government supervision with social inspection by working people at enterprises, collective farms, institutions and organisations. Their force consists mainly of workers, collective farmers and professional and office workers checking the execution of CPSU and government directives and helping to implement them.

The main purpose of people's control is to help Party and government bodies to check systematically the execution of Party and government directives by Soviet, economic and other bodies, help them to improve the guidance of communist construction, build up the economy and strengthen national discipline and socialist legality.

The main tasks of people's control are formulated in the People's Control Statute, approved by the resolution of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers of December 19, 1968, as follows:

"People's control bodies a) carry on systematic supervision of the progress of national plans and government assignments; b) exert every effort to help discover and utilise the reserves of the national economy, make social production more efficient, save labour, materials and money, introduce into production all that is new and progressive; c) fight violations of state discipline, parochialism, bureaucratism, mismanagement and wastefulness, attempts to deceive the state and encroachments on so-

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<sup>1</sup> *Documents and Resolutions, XXVth Congress of the CPSU*, p. 102.

cialist property; d) deal firmly with red tape and take steps to improve the performance and reduce the cost of the government apparatus, as well as promote by its efforts the introduction of the scientific organisation of labour and management, and efficient and regular departmental control."<sup>1</sup>

People's control bodies base their work on publicity communicating the results of their inquiries and the measures taken to the enterprises, collective farms, institutions and organisations concerned. Those found at fault are criticised or they may be prosecuted by people's control.

Practical questions are tackled by people's control bodies in close co-operation with Party, Soviet, economic, co-operative, Komsomol and other organisations, strictly adhering to the principle of collectivity.

In accordance with the results of the inquiries, the USSR People's Control Committee submits to the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers proposals of national interest and reports on the state of things in various branches of the economy, ministries and departments.

An important role in the Soviet political system as it is now is played by *the co-operatives*, such as collective farms, consumer, building and other co-operatives.

The collective-farm system is an immense achievement of socialism. Collective farms are simultaneously agricultural enterprises and socio-political farmers' organisations. One of the main functions of the collective farms as part of the Soviet political system is their economic function.

The political aspect of the collective farms as co-operatives consists in bringing the peasants into state and social management. Collective farmers manage their farms through their general meetings and take part in social self-administration.

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<sup>1</sup> *People's Control Statute in the USSR*, Moscow, 1969, pp. 5-6 (in Russian).

The educational function of the collective farms is mentioned in Article 2 of Model Rules of a Collective Farm, which says that one of the key tasks of a collective farm is "to work under the guidance of the Party organisation to inculcate communist ideas and habits in the collective farmers, draw them into social life, promote socialist emulation. . . ."<sup>1</sup>

Work has been launched on a broad front in Soviet industry to achieve greater concentration and co-operation by setting up large amalgamations and integrated groups of factories which in a long term must become the main cost-accounting units of social production. This process extends to Soviet agriculture too. Collective and state farms are increasingly industrialised, switching over to up-to-date mechanised and automated production processes. There appear inter-farm, collective-and-state farm enterprises and amalgamations and state-owned factory farms, and agro-industrial complexes, and farm specialisation grows. These new developments in the countryside are of immense economic and social significance, being a new stage in the development of the collective-farm system. Unlike the period of collectivisation, for instance, when small individual farms were joining together, what is happening at present is large highly mechanised socialist agricultural enterprises joining together.

These changes being effected by the Party under developed socialism on the basis of creative development of Lenin's doctrine on co-operation ensue from the very nature of the collective-farm system.

In Soviet society today, the people's socio-political activity finds embodiment also in diverse forms of pure democracy, above all, in nationwide discussions on major draft laws as well as decisions of both local and national significance. Much experience has been accumulated in the Soviet Union with respect to such discussions which have given a wider meaning to the notion of such a democratic institute as a referendum.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf., *Triumph of Lenin's Co-operative Plan*, p. 88 (in Russian).

Broad discussion of draft documents of major importance makes it possible to identify, sum up and give legal expression to the will of the people in a way most appropriate in a state of the whole people. The immense significance of this form of the masses' participation in government is underlined in the CPSU Programme which states that discussion of draft laws and other decisions both of national and local significance should become a system while the more important of draft laws should be submitted to a popular vote (referendum).

Direct forms of democracy supplement and augment Soviet representative democracy, and both are integrally combined. Lenin saw it as one of the greatest merits of the Soviet system which "makes it possible to combine the advantages of the parliamentary system with those of immediate and direct democracy, i.e., to vest in the people's elected representatives both legislative *and executive* functions. Compared with the bourgeois parliamentary system, this is an advance in democracy's development which is of worldwide, historic significance."<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 26, pp. 103-04.

**REGULATION OF SOCIAL PROCESSES  
UNDER THE SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL  
REVOLUTION. SCIENCE, POLITICS, IDEOLOGY**

Everything for the sake of man, for the benefit of man. Expressed in this watchword is the lofty humanism of the CPSU, of the ideology, strategy and tactics, of its entire activity. The growth of the country's material and financial resources creates new possibilities for the solution of the basic socio-economic problems set in the Party Programme and by the latest congresses. This concerns a further rise of the Soviet people's well-being, an improvement of the conditions of their work and everyday life, and considerable progress in public health, education and culture, in fact everything that helps to mould the new man, the harmoniously developed individual, and improve the socialist way of life.

The socialisation of labour is the main prerequisite of socialism. The means of production were, of course, socialised in the Soviet Union decades ago. This, however, does not mean that the socialisation process has been completed in every respect. At present the law governing the socialisation of labour has some features which were analysed in Party documents, including those of the 25th CPSU Congress.

The technical, technological and organisational socialisation of production is continuing and the forms of its specialisation and co-operation are changing and becoming better as new kinds of associations of enterprises, being different forms of socialist property, spring up. The facts show that the level of socialisation of the economy in developed socialist society is steadily rising.

The socialisation of labour is the underlying material process on which rests the formation of communist production relations. In this connection the 25th CPSU Congress underlined the importance of concentration processes throughout the national economy. The Party's course for building production and industrial associations will be continued during the Tenth Five-Year Plan. At the start of 1976 there were 2,300 production associations and scientific-industrial associations which accounted for 24 per cent of the industrial output. "These associations are a qualitatively new phenomenon in the management of industrial production," the 25th Party Congress pointed out. "They are not a mechanical agglomeration of enterprises, but a coherent production-economic complex in which science and production form an integral whole and specialisation and co-operation are extensively developed."<sup>1</sup>

During the Tenth Five-Year Plan large specialised construction and assembly associations will be set up in capital construction; inter-farm co-operation and agro-industrial integration will also be broadly developed in agriculture and large specialised enterprises and amalgamations will be set up on this basis.

Substantial changes will take place as a result of the further socialisation of labour in the agrarian co-operative sector of the socialist economy for whose development it becomes necessary to use the national economic potential as a whole on an ever broader scale. The future of agriculture depends on the specialisation of agriculture and the introduction of industrial methods in it. Inter-collective-farm, inter-state-farm and collective- and state-farm associations will promote the maturity of socialist property relations.

The 25th CPSU Congress set the task of improving the economic and production co-operation of agriculture with those industries that are directly linked with it and of

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<sup>1</sup> *Documents and Resolutions. XXVth Congress of the CPSU*, p. 138.

ensuring an integrated, state approach to the promotion of the entire agro-industrial complex.

The resolution of this task will in the long term result in major social changes and will be a direct embodiment of the ideal of the "carrying on of agriculture and industrial production by the same people, instead of by two different classes. . ."<sup>1</sup>.

Marx and Engels, who produced a materialist social doctrine, also singled out a complex dynamic system in which regulation is inherent, viz., the socio-economic formation. They showed at the same time that there was no such thing as a socio-economic formation in general, a formation being a concrete historical stage in the development of society. The conclusion to be drawn from this is that the attributes of regulation are of a concrete historical nature. In a class society, regulation is of a class political character, as it is exercised in the interest of the ruling class.

The greatest advantage the communist socio-economic formation has is that it brings with it social organisation of the kind that allows man to master his own social relations, consciously regulating them and controlling the exchange between society and nature. This means, Engels wrote, that "the whole sphere of the conditions of life which environ man, and which have hitherto ruled man, now comes under the dominion and control of man, who for the first time becomes the real, conscious lord of nature, because he has now become master of his own social organisation. The laws of his own social action, hitherto standing face to face with man as laws of nature foreign to, and dominating him, will then be used with full understanding, and so mastered by him. Man's own social organisation, hitherto confronting him as a necessity imposed by nature and history, now becomes the result of his own free action. The extraneous objective forces that have hitherto governed history pass under the

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<sup>1</sup> Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 6, pp. 353-54.

control of man himself. Only from that time will man himself, with full consciousness, make his own history—only from that time will the social causes set in movement by him have, in the main and in a constantly growing measure, the results intended by him.”<sup>1</sup>

The real socialism that has been established in the Soviet Union is a dynamically developing social system giving embodiment to the communist ideals of freedom from exploitation and oppression, the sovereign power of the working people, the progress of socialist democracy, the blossoming of culture and growth in the people's living standards, and the equality and unity of all peoples, large and small.

“Soon, in another eighteen months,” said L. I. Brezhnev, finishing the Report to the 25th CPSU Congress, “we shall be marking the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. Six decades is less than man's average lifespan. But in that period our country has travelled a way equalling centuries.”<sup>2</sup>

Approaching all that has been done on a larger historical scale, the Report formulates three key results.

*First.* A new society has been created in the Soviet Union, the likes of which mankind has never known before. It is a society with a crisis-free, steadily growing economy, mature socialist relations and genuine freedom. It is a society governed by the scientific materialist world-outlook, a society of firm confidence in the future, of radiant communist prospects. Before it lie boundless vistas of further all-round progress.

The *second* result is the Soviet way of life. The atmosphere of genuine collectivism and comradeship, cohesion and the friendship of all large and small nations in the country, and the moral health which makes us strong and steadfast are characteristic features of the Soviet way of life.

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<sup>1</sup> Frederick Engels, *Anti-Dühring*, Moscow, 1975, pp. 324-25.

<sup>2</sup> *Documents and Resolutions. XXVth Congress of the CPSU*, p. 105.

The *third* result of the past sixty years is Soviet man. A man who, having won his freedom, has been able to defend it in the most testing battles. A man who has been building the future unsparing of his energy and making every sacrifice. A man who, having gone through all trials, has himself changed beyond recognition, combining ideological conviction and tremendous vital energy, culture, knowledge, and the ability to use them. This is a man who, while an ardent patriot, is and will always remain a consistent internationalist.

In guiding the revolutionary transformation of society, the CPSU proceeds from the important premise of historical materialism that to engender communist consciousness and attain communist goals requires a sweeping change in men such as can only be brought about in the course of a practical movement, a revolution,<sup>1</sup> and that as their history-making activity extends, the proportion of people aware of their role as makers of history must increase, too.<sup>2</sup>

For this reason the Party carries on its political guidance of the development of socialist production and socialist relations from the standpoint of the history-making activity of the masses and on the basis of Marxist-Leninist principles.

The striving to extend as much as possible the limits of conscious scientific management of all spheres of social life—production, socio-political and spiritual—has always been typical of the Communist Party. This aspect of its activities manifests itself especially under present-day conditions. The main goal of social regulation, the one at which the Party's social policy is directed, is to eliminate social distinctions, attaining social homogeneity. To reach this goal, it is necessary to raise the people's living standard, improve the conditions of work and everyday life, raise the educational and skill standards and cultural and technical standards of the working people, make living

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<sup>1</sup> See Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 5, p. 53.

<sup>2</sup> See V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 2, pp. 523-24.

conditions in town and the countryside more alike, and to bring the different peoples still closer together and ensure their further progress. The combination of the results of the scientific and technological revolution and the advantages of the socialist economic system implies social changes which involve a shift in professional skills and moreover a change in people's social consciousness and personality, i.e., changes which substantially increase the role played by the social, creative definitions of work.

Production problems are directly solved in the conditions of building of communism on the basis of general social problems, in close unity with them.

The Party regards the regulation of social processes as political activity and rejects any narrow economic or technocratic approaches. Thus, to apply the yardsticks intrinsic to any branch of industry, the choice of the optimal way to use capital investment, distribute the productive forces, modernise facilities and technology, specialise and integrate production is dictated by considerations of direct economic effect. But as it proceeds from the principle of socialism, the Party also bears in mind such social yardsticks as improving working and living conditions and drawing closer together the two forms of ownership, brainwork and physical work, town and the countryside, and so on. The moulding of the socialist personality is incidentally regarded as an intrinsic part of all social problems, be they the speeding up scientific and technological progress, achieving higher living standards for the people, better economic management or problems of sociopolitical development. In a word, this problem is both the objective and key condition of the general programme for improving social relations under developed socialism.

This brings to the fore the problems of social regulation, i.e., of ensuring the best possible combination of the general historical, general social aims of socialist society with the current tasks of social production.

The general theoretical and methodological basis of the scientific regulation of social processes in socialist society is Marxism-Leninism. From the standpoint of Marxist-Le-

ninist philosophy, regulation or management under socialism consists, in the final analysis, in bringing the subjective activity of men into line with the demands imposed by the objective laws and progressive tendencies of society's development.

The study of the objective laws governing social development and the organisation of the regulation of social processes are closely linked and interrelated. Nevertheless, when speaking of the science of management as an independent subject, we mean its own specific content, namely, the social aspect of the management of the development of society, not management in general.

Lenin pointed out that it was necessary to create a science of management able to deal with the requirements of the development of society as a whole as well as each of its separate spheres. He called for the solution of problems in the scientific organisation of labour in general and in administrative labour in particular, including problems in state administration and the management of the economy, science, culture and education, also drawing attention to the elaboration of methods of administration, and so on.

These ideas advanced by Lenin are of special relevance today as social and government functions have extended and the mechanism of social regulation has become more complex in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

As the communist formation takes root, the sphere of action of the objective law of proportional, plan-regulated development increasingly expands, spreading to other areas of the life of society besides production. The operation of this law depends in two ways on the main law of socialism. On the one hand, its content depends on the purpose of the main law, i.e., the increasingly fuller satisfaction of man's constantly growing material and spiritual needs, while, on the other, this purpose is implemented consistently, systematically, following a plan. Hence, the optimal utilisation of the objective laws of socialism requires that on the basis of, and strictly in accordance

with, the planning of national economic development, society should also plan social processes such as the all-round, harmonious development of the working collective and the individual, higher living standards, better education, higher culture, man's physical training, and so on.

The purpose of social planning was defined by Lenin. Our plans, he said, are plans of economic and social development. In his proposal to the 12th Congress of the Party, "How We Should Reorganise the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection", Lenin wrote: "... We now have an opportunity which rarely occurs in history of ascertaining the period necessary for bringing about radical social changes; we now see clearly *what* can be done in five years, and what requires much more time."<sup>1</sup>

At the basis of social planning lies an economically substantiated plan for the development of the national economy. In its turn, the efficient implementation of the national economic plan depends in many respects on the social measures effected under a plan. This interrelation is due to the fact that production is the source which provides the material basis for all social institutions and serves to expand it. The level of production, however, depends on the level to which these institutions are developed as the latter largely determine in what condition man, that basic factor in production, its main productive force, appears in it.

Directing the development of Soviet society in that field, the Party acts in the belief that the solution of socio-political tasks depends on economic achievements. Economic development, in its turn, is determined in many respects by how successfully socio-political problems are tackled.

At present, the national economic plan, while setting the targets of economic development, at the same time rigidly defines the main lines of social change to be effected in the plan period. Subjected to planning are, besides production, such law-governed social processes as the obliteration of the socio-economic differences between town

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<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 483.

and country and between brain workers and manual workers.

The close co-ordination of economic and social development and the in-depth and all-round working out of measures introduced into long-term plans of social development of industrial enterprises are of immense socio-economic as well as socio-political significance. First of all, concrete technical-economic assignments for the development of the national economy are carried out with the most success where the incentives are equally concrete social benefits. Secondly, social development measures envisaged in the national plan are effectively implemented if, like in the case of the technical-economic assignments, they are brought to the notice of the actual performers and are embodied in the latter's plans of social development.

The large-scale introduction of social planning opens new channels for the latest scientific advances to be applied in production and is, at the same time, yet another way of drawing the working people into the active regulation of social processes and the advancement of socialist democracy.

In the matter of socio-political development, the Party at once launched on abolishing the sources of social inequality, the private ownership of the means of production and the exploitation of man by man which sprang from it. Society's material and spiritual wealth was redistributed so as to provide for the speedy upsurge of the backward areas and population groups and to create conditions favourable to the levelling of the social position of all working people.

In developed, mature socialist society, the levelling of the social status of citizens proceeds by means of levelling their relations to the means of production. This takes place as state and collective-farm (co-operative) socialist common property draw closer together, as conditions of work and the content and character of labour activity become similar, as educational and cultural standards are brought closer together and a high initial grounding is assured to

all, as incomes draw closer together, as an attitude of creative initiative and active interest becomes dominant in production and social and political activities with the character of labour activity and the quality of education and cultural grounding drawing closer together, as conditions are provided for all working people to take an active part in the management of production and public affairs, and as the content and methods of personality development, highmindedness and leisure activities become similar with all working people.

In recent decades the Soviet Union has made a large stride towards a classless, socially homogeneous society. The Soviet Union is a society of working people from which the exploiting classes and exploitation of man by man have long been absent. Workers, members of the intelligentsia and professional and office workers account for more than three-quarters of the population of the USSR. The proportion of workers in the total population increased by 1975 to 60.6 per cent and of the intelligentsia and salaried workers to 22 per cent while the proportion of collective farmers dropped to 17.1 per cent owing to the industrialisation of agriculture and the resultant excess of manpower in the countryside. The rapid growth of the working class and the intelligentsia and the considerable rise in the percentage of the highly-skilled among the workers and farmers with the development and introduction of complex machinery and production processes, the gradual drawing together of the towns and villages in the economic and cultural respects and the general rise in the people's cultural standard attest to the further obliteration of the distinctions between classes and social groups in Soviet socialist society. The truth of Lenin's assertion about the working class being the basic guarantor of the building of a classless society has been borne out once again in the course of building communism in the country.

In the present conditions, too, the working class is still society's main socio-political and productive force and plays a leading and determining role in the building of communism. The communist world outlook has emerged

and is developing as the world outlook of the working class which, by its very position in society and its social nature, is the exponent and "physical and intellectual performer" of the great historic mission of building a communist society and abolishing all of society's division into classes. The emergence and consolidation of the social, political, ideological and moral unity of society is not connected merely with the abolition of the exploiting classes in the Soviet Union but with the fact that all working classes and social groups have adopted a working-class ideology, siding with the working class ideologically and politically.

Under developed socialism, as the scientific and technological revolution progresses and the material and technical basis of communism is being built, the two socialist forms of property, state property (belonging to the whole people) and co-operative property, draw closer together and a communist attitude to work and public property takes shape while the collective farmers, the people's intelligentsia and all sections of the working people assimilate the best socio-political and ethical characteristics of the working class. The Party's efforts, it was stressed at the 24th CPSU Congress, are invariably aimed at making the influence of the working class grow and strengthen in every sphere of the life of Soviet society. There simultaneously occur substantial quantitative and qualitative changes in the composition of the working class. It has become the most numerous in Soviet society. Its knowledge, skill and political activity keep increasing.

Today the working class is not merely a leading social force but an active fighter for scientific and technological progress, the subject of mass creative work in science and technology, and the carrier of society's intellectual potential. For this reason the alliance between the working class and the peasantry now actually constitutes the close alliance "of the scientists, the proletariat and the technologists" of which Lenin spoke.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 30, p. 402.

Speaking at the 15th Congress of the Soviet Trade Unions (1972), L. I. Brezhnev said that at the current stage of the building of communism of still greater importance was the alliance of the working class, the collective farmers and the working intelligentsia, the working class remaining its cementing force.

What the emergence of a new historical entity, the Soviet people, means to the sphere of socio-political relations is that the alliance between the working class and the peasantry, which has always been the basis of the socialist system, has developed to include an indissoluble political and ideological unity between these classes and the intelligentsia, who has long and firmly adopted the socialist views. Today one can speak of a stable alliance of all working people, manual workers and brain workers, the alliance of the working class, the collective-farm peasantry and the people's intelligentsia as of a real fact.

The collective-farm peasantry is a loyal ally of the working class in building communism. Whatever area of social life we may take, be it scientific and technological progress and development of the productive forces, the further perfection of socialist democracy, the spiritual sphere, or the moulding of the new man, the collective farmers take a most immediate and active part in it everywhere.

There are almost 16 million collective farmers in the Soviet Union. Big changes are taking place in the number and type of farm jobs. New farm jobs which close the gap between the work of a farmer and that of an industrial worker keep appearing. With enhanced mechanisation, farmers have to do ever less arduous physical work.

Such are the prerequisites of the important theoretical deduction made by the 25th CPSU Congress: "We have always started from the premise that we now have a fully shaped new historical community, the Soviet people, which is based on the solid alliance of the working class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia, with the working class

playing the leading role, and on the friendship of all the big and small nations of our country."<sup>1</sup>

At the same time, in the development of the social structure of Soviet society some new points have been revealed which must be considered, theoretically examined and understood. These new points are related above all to the progress of the scientific and technological revolution, that science is turning into a direct productive force.

The rapid growth of applied research and technical design, the penetration of science into production, the greater significance of the organisation and management of production, the growing social need for the development of diverse non-productive areas all occurring under the impact of the scientific and technological revolution, are bringing about a rapid growth of the intelligentsia, which accounts for a growing percentage of the population.

The rapid rate at which the numbers of the Soviet intelligentsia are increasing may be seen from the following figures. In 1974, the number of graduate engineers engaged in the national economy increased almost ninefold from the year 1950 (from 400,000 to 3,370,000). The number of scientists grew at an equally rapid rate, increasing from 98,300 in 1940 to 927,700 in 1970, i.e., almost tenfold. In the past five years the number of scientists increased from 927,700 to 1,213,000 in 1975 or a quarter of the world total. The number of higher school and university graduates increased from 126,100 in 1940 to 713,700 in 1975 or more than fivefold. At the start of 1976 the number of citizens with higher and secondary education (completed or otherwise) reached 121 million (compared to 15.9 million in 1939 and 95 million in 1970).

In 1926, the country had less than 3 million citizens occupied mostly in brainwork while in 1975 their number exceeded 35 million.

It must also be noted that the functions of the intelli-

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<sup>1</sup> *Documents and Resolutions. XXVth Congress of the CPSU*, p. 98

gentsia have undergone a change. Science having become a direct productive force, the work of the most numerous section of the intelligentsia, the engineers, technicians and scientists, is coming to be ever more closely integrated into the production of national wealth while its individual members become part of what Marx described as the "aggregate worker".

Scientific centres today—numerous physics, chemistry and other institutes—are mammoth enterprises with intricate plant and hundreds of scientists, engineers, technicians and workers. A scientist in this age is no longer alone but is a part of a large body with a complex division of labour and co-operation system. This is also to be seen in the fact that scientists and technologists are drawing closer together with the working class and that changes in their mental attitude are taking place. As the scientific and technological revolution goes on, it becomes increasingly obvious that the intelligentsia is directly or indirectly involved—and ever more actively so—in the production of material goods. The accelerated progress of science and technology, the intensification of social production and the general growth in the productivity of labour now depend to an ever larger extent on the efforts of scientists, engineers, inventors, and on workers' efficiency.

The intelligentsia engaged in the non-productive sphere are also acquiring an ever-larger role in socialist society. These are mostly teachers and doctors whose work is of ever greater significance to social progress, those working in the field of culture, information, and so on. There is now not a single area of social life in which the intelligentsia fails to make a prominent contribution.

Considering the growing numbers of the intelligentsia, the diversity and social significance of its functions and its growing role in society, we must acknowledge that the earlier notion of the intelligentsia as a "stratum" has become obsolete, and a new, more precise description of its position and social role is necessary. In antagonistic class societies the notion of a stratum with reference to the intelligentsia characterises its position which lies between

that of the exploiters and that of the exploited and the fact that it for the most part serves the needs of the exploiting classes and depends on them financially. During the period of transition to socialism this description emphasised the intelligentsia's certain degree of isolation from the bulk of the working people as a socio-political group.

Under socialism, when a new, socialist intelligentsia, mostly of working-class or peasant origins, appeared, the notion of a "stratum" was reinterpreted. The qualitative change in the social nature of the Soviet intelligentsia was underlined. At the same time, this notion described the intelligentsia's specific occupations, level of education and relative smallness compared with the main working classes. The Soviet, people's intelligentsia is a large and quickly growing social section engaged in socially necessary brainwork in diverse spheres of society's life. Only the sum of the efforts of the workers, the peasants and the intelligentsia can ensure Soviet society's advance to communism.

The growth of the intelligentsia under socialism does not imply that it is isolated from the people. Quite the contrary, this process is evidence of the continuous intellectual advance of the whole Soviet people. In creating its own intelligentsia, the working class successfully solved its historic tasks. As it became a ruling class, it had to send to the government apparatus politically mature workers. It was impossible to launch socialist production without a sufficient number of trained technicians, agronomists and economists from among the workers and peasants. A constant inflow of fresh forces to the intelligentsia from the ranks of the workers and peasants is still needed for the further development of socialist society.

Parallel to the growth in the numbers of the intelligentsia, the industrial and farm jobs are intellectualised to the extent that whole sections not much different from the intelligentsia in education and occupation are being formed within the working class and the peasantry. In present-day conditions the borderlines between the work-

ing class, the collective farmers and the intelligentsia are becoming more and more blurred as brainwork in production increasingly becomes part of a worker's job and is no longer a prerogative of the intelligentsia. But as these borderlines have not yet disappeared, the intelligentsia continues to be a distinctive social group differing from the workers and the peasants. The intelligentsia differs from them not in its relation to the means of production, but in the character of its work, level of culture and education. Such differences, as we know from history and from Marxist theory, do not cause a division into classes.

Not only is the notion of the intelligentsia as a separate class theoretically unsound but it also is extremely harmful politically as it counterposes the socialist intelligentsia to the working class and the peasantry. It is not counterposition but the growing and strengthening alliance between the working class and the peasantry and their own, people's, intelligentsia, with the working class in the leading role, that is the social basis and mighty motive force of socialist society's development. The Soviet socialist intelligentsia sees its supreme mission in working for the common cause of building a communist society.

Unlike capitalist society, socialist society develops by surmounting social differences gradually and not by exacerbating them. Wage differentials remain under socialism, being not only historically unavoidable because of the difference in the complexity and strenuousness of different jobs and differences in workers' skills, but also necessary under these conditions as an incentive to good, efficient work. Nevertheless, the steady national growth of per capita income makes it possible to combine in practice still more consistently distribution according to work done with the principles of social equality, which implies a more even distribution of social benefits between all sections and groups of the country's population. The Party is taking steps to make the still existing social differences gradually disappear. This is facilitated by economic growth, the rise in culture, the measures taken by the

Party to make education—secondary as well as higher—equally accessible to all sections of the people, and by the development of socialist democracy.

Speaking of the Party's policy aimed at drawing all classes and groups of the working people closer together, one must note first of all the measures which are progressively bringing state property and collective-farm-co-operative property, closer together.

The measures taken by the CPSU to further develop industry and agriculture, make them more efficient, raise the level of their socialisation and improve the system of economic and moral incentives, result in substantial changes in both the state and co-operative forms of ownership: they are drawing together and developing into communist ownership by the whole people.

The material content of the ownership of the whole people is undergoing change and growing more mature in character. The working people are displaying more initiative and activity in putting national property to good use and their role in managing production is expanding.

As the productive forces of agriculture are enhanced, as the Comprehensive Programme for the Development of Agriculture worked out by the Communist Party is being put into effect, and as the material and technical facilities available to the collective farms improve, collective-farm production is becoming further socialised. Relations on the collective farms are being perfected, payment for work is growing more similar in forms and size to that in state-owned enterprises, relations between different collective farms and between collective farms and industry are becoming closer. The Party sees the further socialisation, specialisation and concentration of production and a systematic division and co-operation of social labour as a major condition of the successful drawing together of the two forms of property.

Inter-collective-farm property, as the property of a group of farms in a district, region or republic, has essentially new features compared with collective-farm-co-operative property, in that it spells the emergence of joint

collective-farm-co-operative property bringing it closer together with the property of the whole people. Inter-collective-farm property attains a still higher degree of socialisation when, besides collective farms, the co-operative is joined by state farms and produce-processing mills. We are now present at the birth of enterprises and organisations of a new type based on state-collective-farm property. It is a real process whereby two forms of property are gradually fusing into one form of property of the whole people. Under mature socialism this process assumes new forms. Along with the further development of collective-farm property in the shape of enterprises involving collective farms, state farms and collective farms or state-owned enterprises and collective farms, agro-industrial amalgamations which include state-owned industrial enterprises as well as collective and state farms are appearing.

In socialist society, production is developed in order to fully satisfy the people's material and cultural needs. The Report of the CC CPSU to the 24th CPSU Congress says: "...Our aims, the greater economic potential and the requirements of economic development make it possible and necessary to steer the economy more fully to resolving the highly diverse tasks relating to the improvement of the people's standard of living."<sup>1</sup>

Being guided by the fact that higher personal consumption of material goods and services and the provision of more houses, schools and hospitals constitute the material basis of man's development, the Party directs its efforts so as to ensure that the goods created by the labours of the workers, collective farmers and the intelligentsia should be distributed in the interests of society as a whole.

This is convincingly attested to by the results of the Ninth Five-Year Plan during which a broad programme of social measures was carried out. Four-fifths of the national income was used directly to increase the well-being of the people, including allocations for the construction of hous-

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<sup>1</sup> 24th Congress of the CPSU, p. 51.

es and cultural and service establishments. State expenses on new undertakings for raising living standards were 70 per cent higher in the ninth five-year plan period than during the previous one.

The material and cultural requirements of the Soviet people were met more fully and their living conditions further improved. Real per capita income increased by 24 per cent.

Payment for work done—the main source of income of the population—has been raised considerably. On the average monthly wages and salaries have gone up by 20 per cent, amounting to 146 rubles and with payments and benefits from social consumption funds to 198 rubles. Payment for work for collective farmers has been increased by 25 per cent. Minimum wages have been raised as well as the basic wage rates and salaries of medium-bracket workers and employees engaged in material production throughout the country. Salaries have been increased for doctors, school teachers and teachers at pre-school establishments. Income taxes have been abolished or lowered for some categories of workers.

Zonal wage differentials for workers and employees in certain areas and regions for whom they had not been fixed earlier, have been introduced in Western Siberia and in some parts of the Turkmen SSR, as well as at industrial, construction, transportation and communications enterprises and organisations in the Urals. Seniority bonuses have been set for people working in the European North. Night-work bonuses for industrial workers have been increased.

As a result of the above-mentioned measures, the pay of more than 75 million people has increased.

Payments and benefits to the population from social consumption funds increased by 40 per cent during the ninth-five-year plan period.

Minimum old-age pensions for factory and office workers and collective farmers have been raised. Pensions have been increased for invalids and families which have lost their breadwinners. Additional benefits have been

introduced for invalids of the Great Patriotic War and the families of army servicemen killed in action. The paid leave of absence to attend a sick child has been lengthened. The daily allowances for meals at hospitals, Young Pioneer camps, urban vocational schools, and homes for the aged and invalids have been raised. Allowances for children of low-income families have been introduced. Allowances for students at higher schools and at specialised secondary schools have been increased.

The income of about 40 million people has been increased through higher pensions, allowances and scholarship grants.

The repayment of state loans, floated earlier, started in 1974.

While payment for work and benefits from social consumption funds have been increased, state retail prices have remained steady.

Real per capita income doubles approximately every 15 years in the Soviet Union, so that within the lifespan of one generation socialist society several times goes over to a qualitatively new stage of consumption.

The volume of trade during the Ninth Five-Year Plan went up by 36 per cent and the scope of communal services increased 60 per cent. The pattern of public consumption improved.

The Ninth Five-Year Plan was the fourth consecutive five-year period of intensive and mass housing construction. From 1971 to 1975, more than 11 million flats and individual houses, totalling 544 million square metres of housing space, were built. This helped to improve the housing conditions of 56 million people, and to advance, in the main, to distribution of new housing according to the one flat-one family principle. Over the past four five-year periods a total of over 2,000 million square metres of housing were built, a scale of construction unprecedented in history.

The programme for the working out of new standardised housing for the next stage of mass housing construction envisages further increases in the average per

capita floor space. Rooms, kitchens, halls, etc., will be larger.

Rents in the Soviet Union have not changed since 1928. They cover less than a third of the actual costs. The same goes for the rates paid for the public utilities. The state annually allocates about 5,000 million rubles for the maintenance of housing and public utilities. This policy will be followed in future too.

The change over to universal secondary education of youth has been, in the main, completed. The network of vocational schools, where young people receive a general education as well as technical training, has been expanded.

This has provided the necessary conditions for the solution of new, major tasks under the Communist Party's long-term socio-economic policy. A vast programme of social development has been mapped out by the 25th CPSU Congress.

The principal objective of the Tenth Five-Year Plan, the "Guidelines for the Development of the National Economy of the USSR for 1976-1980" emphasise, is the consistent application of the Communist Party's line of raising the standard of living of the people both materially and culturally through a dynamic and well-balanced development of social production and increased efficiency, faster scientific and technological progress, higher labour productivity and better quality of work throughout the national economy.

On the basis of economic growth and greater efficiency of social production, it is envisaged to ensure that the people's growing material and cultural needs will be met more fully, that the socialist way of life will be consistently developed, and that Soviet society's social structure will be further improved.

To attain these aims it is necessary to provide for improvements in the socio-economic and industrial conditions of labour, making labour more creative, and for a maximal reduction in manual semi-skilled and arduous physical labour.

"To create more favourable conditions for highly productive labour and a broad use of the working people's creative abilities," A. N. Kosygin told the 25th CPSU Congress, "we shall continue the course of furthering the mechanisation and automation of production processes and gradually eliminating hard and unattractive manual labour."<sup>1</sup>

The solution of these tasks will result in greater personal incomes, a higher level and better pattern of consumption, and a fuller satisfaction of the demand for consumer goods.

The Party's incomes and consumption policy proceeds, as before, from the assumption that growing payment for work, which accounts for 75 per cent of the total increment of income, is the chief means of raising personal incomes. This policy aims not only to systematically boost consumption but also to enhance the incentive role of wages and remuneration for collective farmers' work by making them more dependent on the final results of production and its increased efficiency.

It is planned during the Tenth Five-Year Plan to carry out housing construction on a large scale and to improve the quality of housing as one of the more important trends in further improving living standards.

During this period, 545-550 million square metres of floor space will be commissioned. The houses will be of better quality, with more conveniences and better laid out.

Altogether about 100,000 million rubles will be invested in the construction of houses and public utilities. As before, the greater part of the houses will be built at state expense. Building co-operatives will as well be encouraged as will also the building of private houses in small towns and in villages.

The range and extent of services making housework easier and providing better facilities for rest and recreation will be expanded.

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<sup>1</sup> *Documents and Resolutions. XXVth Congress of the CPSU* p. 129.

The working people's educational, cultural and technical levels will also be raised. Medical services will be improved, better environmental protection provided, and better conditions created for mother and child care, for bringing up children and for increasing life expectancy and the period of active life.

Also envisaged under the Tenth Five-Year Plan are:

a further approximation of the living standards, cultural levels, and working and living conditions of different social groups in Soviet society, for the urban and rural population;

a further development of socialist democracy and an increase in the working people's social activities, initiative, and their participation in the management of production; the all-round development of socialist emulation and of a communist attitude to labour, and the spreading of advanced experience;

better employment of both material and moral incentives for attaining greater production efficiency and labour productivity, improving the quality of products and thrifty use of material resources.

Furthermore, the average wages of industrial and office workers will increase by 16-18 per cent, so that by the end of the five years it will be at least 170 rubles a month. The incomes of collective farmers from the collective farm's socialised economy will increase by an average of 24-27 per cent on the basis of rising production and labour productivity.

Grants and benefits to the people from the social consumption funds will be increased by 28-30 per cent.

It is also envisaged:

to complete the introduction of measures raising the minimum wages while simultaneously increasing wage-rates and salaries for medium-paid workers employed in the national economy's non-production sectors;

to begin a new stage in raising the minimum wages, wage-rates and salaries for industrial and office workers;

to introduce length-of-service bonuses for industrial and office workers in the Far East;

to continue the introduction of zonal wage differentials for industrial and office workers for whom such differentials have not yet been established in the Urals area and in some regions of Kazakhstan;

to raise pay-rates for night-shift work in several industries.

Concerning the wages of industrial and office workers, it has been decided to consistently ensure the following:

to enhance their stimulating role in raising labour productivity, in accelerating scientific and technological progress, and raising output quality and lowering production costs;

to further improve the wage-rate system as the basis of state wage regulation, raising its role as an incentive for workers to improve their qualifications and labour achievements;

to apply progressive forms of material incentive for production increases with fewer workers more widely; to pay on a team basis for final work results in industry and other economic sectors; to pay on a piece-work basis, especially in construction work and agriculture;

to further improve the system of awarding bonuses to industrial and office workers, increasing the dependence of such bonuses on work results, quality of output, and fulfilment of work assignments and technically based output quotas;

to improve the correlation of wages of industrial and office workers according to sectors of the national economy; to increase wage benefits for workers in regions where natural and climatic conditions are difficult and for those in jobs with difficult and unfavourable working conditions;

to increase the role of remuneration for work in order to strengthen labour discipline and reduce personnel fluidity at enterprises.

The Tenth Five-Year Plan also envisages improvement in the system of payments to collective farmers on the basis of consistently reducing the gap between wage levels on collective farms and at state agricultural enterprises

as their productivity and working conditions grow more similar.

The implementation of measures to improve working and living conditions for working women will continue during the Tenth Five-Year Plan.

The network of pre-school child-care establishments, extended-day schools and groups will be expanded. It is planned to build nurseries and kindergartens for 2.5-2.8 million children. There will be more Young Pioneer camps, sports and health-building work camps for adolescents and young people. Special attention will be given to improving the work of children's institutions.

Conditions will be created for cutting down time spent on housework through developing community services, public catering, and increasing production and sales of ready-to-cook and ready-to-serve products.

To improve the social security system, it is envisaged, among other things, to raise minimum old-age pensions for factory and office workers, and collective farmers, to establish pensions for former collective-farm members; to raise pension benefits for mothers of large families.

Stable state retail prices on basic foodstuffs and other goods will be maintained and the prices on goods will be reduced as necessary conditions are provided and commodity resources accumulated.

The turnover of state and co-operative retail trade is to be increased by 27-29 per cent.

During the tenth five-year plan period the Soviet people will be ensured a better diet and a greater supply of light-industry goods as well as of recreation and household goods.

The humanism of the Soviet system, of socialist society, is always, even in hard times, strikingly manifested by the concern it shows about the working conditions, health, and educational and cultural standards of Soviet people.

In the domain of health protection one of the main tasks of the current five-year plan is to raise the quality of the medical services and improve the organisation of the work of doctors and middle-echelon medical personnel. These

measures, coupled with an extension of the network of hospitals and polyclinics, health-building and sports centres, rest homes and holiday hotels will help to meet more fully the needs of the population in skilled medical assistance and to improve vacation facilities and disease prevention work.

A further development of the general school is envisaged by the Tenth Five-Year Plan. An ever larger number of young workers will be trained in technical schools, where vocational instruction is combined with a complete secondary education. More specialists will be trained for the national economy, especially in new fields of science and technology. The material resources and the academic process will be improved in the educational establishments of all categories, giving the rising generation increasingly thorough and lasting knowledge and an education in the spirit of communist consciousness and morality.

Much will be done during the Tenth Five-Year Plan to satisfy the Soviet people's diverse spiritual requirements. More books and other printed matter will be published, television will reach new areas, art and literature will be further developed and the material base of cultural establishments will be consolidated.

The formation and development of the socialist way of life are not confined to providing conditions for the satisfaction of man's material needs alone. The formation of the citizen of a communist society results in the fact that the need for interesting, creative, efficient work becomes pre-eminent among man's material and spiritual needs. The steady growth of the socialist economy, the rise in living standards, the immense changes that have occurred in the people's educational and cultural levels are all contributing to a systematic alteration of the nature and conditions of work as decisive factors in the all-round development of the individual.

Society's advance to complete social homogeneity is a long socio-historical process. The elimination of the difference between brainwork and physical work is an essential part of this process.

Changes in the technological basis of production are resulting in greater creative activity in the sphere of labour. Under the impact of the scientific and technological revolution, the worker's labour functions have become more complicated, while labour is better equipped technologically and more operations require mental exertion.

Much has already been done in the Soviet Union in order to alter the nature, content and conditions of work. Many obsolete jobs have been abolished. In the power engineering, chemical, petrochemical, machine-building and other industries, highly automated processes have been introduced, leaving the operators merely the function of control over the automatic machines and plant. New jobs have emerged, characterised by an essentially different relation between brainwork and physical work.

Under mature socialism, the formation of the new type of worker who controls a system of machines and closely combines within himself the functions of both mental and manual work proceeds faster. The complete transformation of farm work into a kind of industrial work is essential to the elimination of substantial differences between town and country, between the working class and the collective-farm peasantry. The similarities in the conditions of work and everyday life of workers, collective farmers and intelligentsia are indicative of the gradual disappearance of substantial differences between intellectual and physical work, of socialist labour gradually turning into communist labour.

Under the impact of the rapid growth of production and of the working people's cultural and technical level as well as under the impact of the industrial character of economic development notable changes are taking place in the Soviet Union as to the distribution of manpower by sector of industry, age, sex, job and skill.

Speeding technological progress was a basic task of the Ninth Five-Year Plan. This can be seen from the development of automated control systems (ACS).

There were 414 such systems in the Soviet Union in 1966-1970 and 2,328 in 1971-1975. Altogether 2,742 auto-

mated control systems were built in 1966-1975, including 972 controlling factories, 587 controlling technological processes, 786 controlling territorial organisations, 178 controlling ministries and departments, and 117 automated information handling systems.

As the technological level of production rises, certain industrial jobs become integrated on an increasing scale and the proportion of fitters and versatile operators grows. Dividing lines between jobs gradually rub off and the job mobility of personnel increases.

Considerable structural shifts are also occurring in farm labour. The technical retooling of production is accompanied there by a growth in the number of those directly concerned with running machinery of all sorts. Collective farmers and state-farm workers are becoming better informed in field management and generally more cultured. Farm work is gradually turning into a variety of industrial work.

Collective- and state-farm production is becoming increasingly industrialised and adopting up-to-date mechanised and automated production processes. Just as in industry, specialisation and concentration of production go on continually and large amalgamations and joint enterprises are springing up in agriculture too. Enterprises and amalgamations are being set up jointly by several collective farms, by state and collective farms or by state farms and factories, agro-industrial complexes are being formed and inter-farm specialisation is developing.

Inter-farm specialisation on the basis of the concentration of production and co-operation of farms is an important means of combining the results of the scientific and technological revolution with the advantages of the socialist system in the countryside. This process, associated as it is with the growth of skills on a farm, brings about a growth in the living standards and better amenities which, in the long run, must erase essential differences between town and country.

The concentration of production in agriculture under developed socialism is characterised by some new features,

such as, for instance, the transition to a new type of form pattern based on the concentration of production and co-operation of farms.

The advantages of inter-farm specialisation based on co-operation are many. First of all, the production process goes faster, produce losses are cut down, farms become more profitable, investments are recovered sooner, and manpower is used to better advantage. The character of work also changes. There is a further division and specialisation of labour, gaps between production processes and farm jobs are eliminated, and so on. In a word, all that only a short time ago typified industrial production alone is now becoming characteristic of farm production.

Large specialised inter-farm enterprises and amalgamations, involving collective farms, state farms, and collective and state farms together, are helping to introduce modern methods of management and the scientific organisation of labour into production.

The proportion of those engaged in agriculture and forestry in the Soviet Union has recently diminished. At the same time the number of those engaged in industry, construction, trade and especially in social, cultural and everyday services is growing. Another tendency worth noting in the changed occupational pattern is the growth in the number of industrial, and office workers and the growing proportion of women among them.

An appraisal of the social effects of the intensification of farm production in present-day conditions, of its active influence on working conditions and on the cultural and technical level of rural working people was given by L. I. Brezhnev in his speech "Fifty Years of Great Achievements of Socialism".

Relying on the tenet of Marxism-Leninism that leisure tends to become the gauge of public wealth as a result of its absolute and relative growth and intelligent utilisation, the Party is taking steps to promote this tendency as a condition of society's socio-political development, greater freedom and more perfect democracy. "Free time both in the form of leisure and of time spent in higher

types of activity naturally alters the person who disposes of this free time and it is as this altered person that he then enters into the direct process of production."<sup>1</sup>

The Soviet government took measures to promote production and socialist democracy very early in its existence. The decree "On the Eight-Hour Working Day" was issued during the very first days after the October Socialist Revolution.

As the productivity of labour increased and socialist social production expanded, so did the sources of leisure.

In 1960, factory and office workers were put on a seven- or six-hour working day, those on seven hours having a 41-hour week.

The Party and government are taking measures to carry out the tasks outlined in the CPSU Programme for the further reduction of the working day. With the introduction of a five-day week, the number of days off and holidays reached 112 a year, instead of 60 under the six-day week. Under the five-day week conditions have become better for recreation and higher productivity, the sick rate has dropped, and additional reserves of labour productivity have been tapped.

The average working week in industry is at present 40.7 hours, 18 hours less than in 1913.

Thanks to the extensive mechanisation of farm work and to the introduction of two shifts on many jobs, the working day on a collective farm is seven hours averaged over a year. Before the revolution, it used to be about 11 hours.

Today the principal kinds of field work, such as ploughing, sowing grain, planting cotton and sugar-beet and harvesting of grain and green fodder crops, are completely mechanised. The mechanisation of potato-planting, inter-row cultivation of beet, maize and cotton, grain cleaning, etc., is about to be completed.

Much has been done recently to extend leisure hours by

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<sup>1</sup> Karl Marx, *Grundrisse der Kritik der politischen Ökonomie*, Moscau, 1939, S. 599.

facilitating housework so that it should occupy less time. The 24th CPSU Congress posed the task of extending further this reserve of free time: "To implement an extensive system of measures to help the population save time and ease household work. To improve every form of trading services. To extend the network of public catering establishments, especially at enterprises. To improve social, cultural and communal services for the population. To increase the supply of household appliances."<sup>1</sup>

The Soviet service industry is at present a highly mechanised sector of the national economy. There were 263,000 service establishments in the Soviet Union in 1975. Particular high growth rates have been achieved by services associated with house repairs, furniture repairs and furniture made to order, radio and television set, household appliances and motor vehicle repairs, metalware repaired and made, and so on.

Another source of free time is the introduction of amenities: gas kitchens, electricity, water supply, etc., on an ever larger scale. For instance, the number of gas kitchens in the Soviet Union increased from 3,332,000 in 1960 to 41,926,000 in 1975.

On the Party's initiative, villages are improved and the rural population gradually concentrated in urban-type settlements. In 1960-1970, for instance, the number of villages decreased by 236,000—from 705,000 to 469,000—while the average number of inhabitants in rural population centres increased by nearly 50 per cent—from 152 to 225. Much work will be done in this direction under the decision of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers "On Measures for the Further Development of Agriculture in the Non-Black Soil Area of the RSFSR."

Under Soviet rule the ratio between the urban and the rural population has changed enormously. Whereas the urban population accounted for 18, and the rural for 82,

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<sup>1</sup> 24th Congress of the CPSU, p. 248.

per cent of the total in 1913, the ratio was 33:67 in 1940, 53:47 in 1966, 57:43 in 1971 and 60:40 in 1975.

As a result of urban growth, the rural population decreased by 8.6 million and the urban population increased by 53.1 million or 50 per cent between 1955 and 1974. Altogether more than 16 million people migrated from the villages to the towns between 1959 and 1970.

Thanks to the Party's social policy, different categories of urban and rural residents are also brought closer together in terms of housing and service. Under the Tenth Five-Year Plan service will be increased altogether by 50 per cent but in the countryside the increase will be 70 per cent.

Lenin considered the resolution of cultural problems to be a condition of drawing the working people into conscious history-making. It was not for nothing that he wrote that immediately after the political revolution the Party was faced with cultural problems.<sup>1</sup>

The whole process of cultural development under socialism is from the start linked with the development of socialist democracy. This idea was emphasised already in the decree "On Eliminating Illiteracy Among the Population in the RSFSR" (1919) which declared that teaching all citizens to read and write was necessary "for the purpose of affording the whole population of the Republic the opportunity of consciously participating in the political life of the country. . . ."

Pointing out that raising the cultural level of the masses as a whole was vital to the existence of the socialist state, Lenin told the Eighth Congress of the Party: ". . . So far we have not reached the stage at which the working people could participate in government. Apart from the law, there is still the level of culture, which you cannot subject to any law. The result of this low cultural level is that the Soviets, which by virtue of their programme are organs of government *by the working people*, are in fact organs of government *for the working people* by the

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<sup>1</sup> See V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, pp. 73-74.

advanced section of the proletariat, but not by the working people as a whole."<sup>1</sup>

The dialectics of the relationship between socialist democracy and socialist culture is such that the awakening of the masses as makers of history through the development of socialist democracy stimulates their cultural growth while the latter becomes a major condition of the further development and improvement of socialist democracy.

Any sphere of the expansion and perfection of democracy is simultaneously a sphere in which cultural progress is made.

Communism is real humanism. In a society building communism, the main question is that of the human individual as the basis and aim of social progress because under communism free development for each is the condition of free development for all. Every person becoming a conscious subject of history, i.e. the comprehensive, integral development of the individual, makes up the substance and objective of communism and is simultaneously the principal feature of the progress of culture on a world-historic plane. The 24th CPSU Congress outlined a broad programme of raising the people's general educational level and the quality of personnel training and of developing the network of cultural institutions and improving cultural facilities.

During the Ninth Five-Year Plan the number of scientists in the Soviet Union increased from 1,169,700 to 1,223,200. Almost 5,000,000 students are at present attending Soviet higher schools. More than 50 per cent of the Soviet citizens engaged in the economy have a higher or secondary education (completed or otherwise).

In keeping with the decision of the 24th CPSU Congress in June 1972 the CC CPSU and the Council of Ministers of the USSR adopted resolutions "On the Completion of the Transition to Universal Secondary Education of Young People and the Further Development of the General Educational School" and "On the Further Improvement of the

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<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, p. 183.

Vocational Education System". These set out concrete measures for completing the transition to universal secondary education in the Soviet Union.

The tasks of training graduate experts under the scientific and technological revolution are formulated in the resolution of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers "On Measures for the Further Improvement of Higher Education" (1972).

Measures to raise the level of working people's general education and technical and vocational training are carried out on a vast scale. All education and training are usually free of charge. A considerable proportion of higher school and specialised secondary school students receive monthly government grants.

Today most workers aged under thirty have a higher and secondary education or are in the process of getting one.

In 1975, about 96 per cent of eight-year school leavers went on to ten-year secondary school and other schools issuing general education certificates. The number of experts holding specialised secondary and higher school diplomas is increasing. In 1975, the economy received 1,157,000 workers with a specialised secondary education and 692,300 experts with a higher education. The respective figures for 1914 were 7,400 and 12,200. Altogether 33 million experts had been trained in the country between 1918 and 1975.

To provide enough skilled workers for the economy, there are in the Soviet Union numerous vocational schools which were attended by 2.8 million students in 1974/75 school year. Training is carried out on a large scale directly in production too. One in three Soviet citizens studies.

The overall rise in the standard of education is being accompanied by a rapid levelling of the urban and rural population in that respect. (See Table 2.)

The levelling of the educational standards between the sexes is still more evident. In 1975, of 1,000 persons of each sex employed in the economy 767 men and 769 women had a higher and secondary education (completed

Table 2

Education Standard of the Gainfully Employed Population  
(per 1,000; at the start of year)

	1939	1959	1975
Those having a higher or secondary education (completed or otherwise)			
workers . . . . .	84	396	715
collective farmers . . . . .	18	226	537
graduate experts and other salaried workers	542	907	970

or otherwise). This enables Soviet women to take an ever more active part in production and brings the benefits of culture within their reach.

The growth of cultural facilities is evident, for example, from the following figures. In 1973 there were published in the Soviet Union 1,567 million copies of 80,000 books, 6,789 magazines and other periodicals, with an annual circulation of 3,038 million copies, and 7,973 newspapers with a total daily circulation of 157 million copies.

During the transition to communism creative work in all spheres of culture must become accessible to every member of society. As it implements this task set in the CPSU Programme, the Party pays unremitting attention to the advancement of literature, art and culture and to the aesthetic education of all working people.

In 1973, there were 1,227 museums and 561 professional theatres in the Soviet Union. Apart from them, there are hundreds of amateur theatres and 400,400 amateur groups at clubs sponsored by the USSR Ministry of Culture. Altogether more than 14 million people took part in amateur artistic activities that year. At the start of 1971 the country's 360,000 libraries with a total stock of 3,300 million books had more than 180 million subscribers.

This shows that the Party believes in using increased public wealth for man's spiritual enrichment, for his better education and cultural growth, for making labour more

intellectual in character and leisure more meaningful, rather than in using society's wealth in a senseless pursuit after possessions or in the extravagant and artificial modernisation of consumer goods.

The comprehensive planning of the social development of the labour collective is one of the ways in which the programme of building communism, mapped out by the Party, is being implemented.

A labour collective, an offspring of socialism, emerges as a mass form of organisation of the working people. The formation of a labour collective and regulation of the social processes occurring in it are directly related to democracy. In developed socialist society, in which democratic freedoms have full play, the forms and methods of drawing working people into government are continually improved.

It is worth noting in this connection that under developed socialism the new economic, social and political prerequisites needed for the further improvement of the democratic principles on which a labour collective is based make their appearance.

The primary Party cells, which form the core of a labour collective, have become still more active. They guarantee a steady advance of democratic principles in the labour collectives, enhancing their social activity.

Underlying the growing significance of the ideological and educational work among the working people, the 24th CPSU Congress pointed out that it must have a labour collective at its centre. This idea was amplified in the Central Committee's decisions "On the Work of the Altai Territory Committee of the CPSU for Enhancing the Role of Experts in the Development of Production on Collective and State Farms", "On the Participation of the Managerial Staff, Engineers and Technicians of the Cherepovets Iron and Steel Works in the Ideological and Political Education of the Collective", and "On the Work Done by the Party Organisation of the Minsk Tractor Works to Raise the Production and Socio-Political Activity of the Labour Collective".

The careful study of objective laws in the domain of social planning presupposes the discovery of scientifically-founded criteria, parameters and levels of social development in the given conditions of place and time.

Bearing this in mind, the Leningrad Party organisation has suggested that alongside the long-term planning of production, the social development of working people's collectives should also be planned at the industrial enterprises concerned. Carrying out this proposal, many industrial establishments in Leningrad (the Svetlana Electronic Instruments Amalgamation, the Kirov Factory, the Electroapparatus Factory, among others) have, jointly with scientists, drawn up and are carrying out long-term plans of social development.

The implementation of these plans is helping to prepare collectives of working people and their individual members in good time to tackle both current and long-term production problems. It is also helping to create conditions for raising the productivity of labour and making production more effective on the basis of higher technical and efficiency standards and the introduction of the scientific organisation of labour. Personnel selection, placement and training have improved, making for a greater stability of the work force and cutting down losses of working time. Labour discipline has improved. There is an atmosphere of friendliness, mutual confidence and respect, and everyone strives, and expects others, to do their level best. Working people are taking an ever more active part in the management of production and in the country's social and political life.

The planning of the social development of the enterprise's collective is spreading wide. A vivid example of the comprehensive approach to this problem is provided by the past and present of the collective of the Likhachev Motor Works which was awarded the Order of the October Revolution in April 1976.

This mammoth enterprise has been carrying high the banner of technological progress for over fifty years. It is called a works merely from habit: it is in fact a large

industrial amalgamation and the diverse problems of social development are tackled there comprehensively. The conscientious and skilled work of its collective, which increases every year the output of lorries greatly needed by the country, earns it steadily growing allocations for the provision of social and cultural amenities, service and housing for its members. During the Ninth Five-Year Plan these allocations amounted to 66 million rubles. Better housing was provided for 38,000 workers and their families. More than 20,000 of its workers annually spend their leave at the Motor Works' sanatoria and holiday homes at greatly reduced rates. The works' crèches, nursery schools and Young Pioneer camps take care of 17,000 children. The works has a higher school of its own, technical secondary schools, a vocational school and other educational and training establishments which annually serve 25,000 young workers.

The most active creative part of the life of the members of a labour collective takes place during the working day. Hence they construct beautiful shops and buildings at the Likhachev Motor Works, full of light and fitted out with every amenity.

Measures to eliminate manual and arduous physical work are being pursued on a broad front. Today transportation, storage and other ancillary operations at it are more than 90 per cent mechanised.

The results achieved by the collective would have been impossible without the great organising and political efforts of the more than 10,000 Communists with the Likhachev Works. The works' collective has initiated socialist emulation for speeding the introduction in industry of the results of science and technology and increasing accordingly capacity for producing high-quality output.

The 20,000-strong Komsomol organisation at the Likhachev Works has been awarded the Order of the Red Banner of Labour. Almost 5,000 young workers there have fulfilled their individual five-year assignments ahead of time and 160 young workers have been awarded orders and medals of the Soviet Union.

Social development plans have been drafted and launched not only by individual enterprises but whole industries and territorial complex units. This makes it necessary to solve major theoretical problems in social planning.

Drafting plans of the social development of collective of industrial establishments also has more remote social implications which are none the less important for that. The scientific and technological revolution causes substantial changes in the relation between man and machine. In socialist society it results, apart from this, in a higher level of the organisation, regulation and guidance of social processes and the improvement of production and other relations. Consequently, it influences the formation of the new make-up of the working man who is proficient, well-educated, politically active and has firm ideological convictions.

The new planning and economic incentive system has given industrial establishments a much greater role not only economically but socially as well.

It is in the production collective and by its means that a working man or woman joins the general system of economic, political and ideological relations, becoming an active and conscious participant in, and architect of, social progress. It is also obvious that society's socio-psychological set-up is perceived by the individual largely from the standpoint of the social environment in which his socially useful activities take place. Sociological and socio-psychological studies indicate that not infrequently individual workers form their judgement of actual relations under the influence not only of the overall pattern of social relations but of the specific ways in which the latter are exercised in the labour collective. This is why it is essential to draw up plans of social development in a way that will have to improve those forms of work, intercourse and learning in which the general finds its expression in the specific and the particular.

While class and social differences still persist under socialism, the regulation of social processes is of a political

nature and is exercised by the socialist state and the Communist Party with the ever greater active participation of the masses.

The Party views the problems of the social development of Soviet society in close conjunction with the task of speeding scientific and technological progress. The relationship between this process and the changing social relations was formulated at the 24th and 25th CPSU congresses. Speaking at the 25th CPSU Congress, L. I. Brezhnev said: "We Communists proceed from the belief that the scientific and technical revolution acquires a true orientation consistent with the interests of man and society only under socialism. In turn, the end objectives of the social revolution, the building of a communist society, can only be attained on the basis of accelerated scientific and technical progress."<sup>1</sup>

The scientific and technological revolution and the social revolution are not parallel processes of this age. Uniting the results of scientific and technological progress with the advantages of the socialist economic system makes it possible to give wide scope to the realisation of the demands of the scientific and technological revolution, and purposefully use its results for the benefit of man.

The process of conscious history-making starts in the course of the socialist revolution and the building of socialism. In this respect new vistas open before mankind in the age of the scientific and technological revolution with its unusually rapid progress of science and far-reaching changes in production and the life of society. As it produces a fundamentally new material basis for social progress by boosting enormously the efficiency of social labour and providing new possibilities for the development of the individual, the scientific and technological revolution makes a profound impact on the struggle between the two opposing social systems of socialism and capitalism. Under capitalism, it exacerbates all the con-

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<sup>1</sup> *Documents and Resolutions. XXVth Congress of the CPSU*, pp. 56-57.

traditions inherent in that social system, spotlighting the need for radical social reforms. In socialist society, it is the main lever in building the material and technical basis of communism, proceeding as it does under the domination of public ownership, with socialist production, just as social relations in their entirety, being regulated by the subjective factor, namely, man's plan-regulated, conscious activity and a system of government and social institutions and organisations led by the Communist Party.

The scientific and technological revolution is a powerful force pushing forward mankind's productive forces. It creates possibilities for universal affluence, the perfection of social organisation, the all-round development of the individual, and so on. Current progress in science and technology goes far beyond industrial, purely economic limits. It makes its impact on all major aspects of the life of society and the individual, influencing social development, ideology, culture, life styles and human psychology. Nevertheless, the scientific and technological revolution does not by itself mechanically turn these possibilities into realities. Moreover, developing spontaneously, it is capable of causing serious imbalances and contradictions in society's development. The main point about it is that it requires conscious, purposeful and methodical regulation of all economic and social processes. To this are due the fundamentally different forms in which it expresses itself and the social effects it has under the diametrically different socio-economic systems.

The scientific and technological revolution lays bare the actual social aims pursued by different social systems. Socialism has indisputable advantages over capitalism as far as the purposeful and rapid development of science and technology is concerned. The progress of science and technology goes hand in hand with social progress only under socialism as it alone makes it possible to purposefully apply the results of science and technology and purposefully improve social relations in the name of social equality and the harmonious, all-round development of the individual.

Under socialism, the scientific and technological revolution presupposes a further democratisation of social regulation. In its turn, the improvement of the system of social regulation facilitates the maximal rational and effective use in the interest of society and the individual of the wealth, values and goods that the scientific and technological revolution is making available to man.

Therefore, the current progress of science and democracy and social regulation are closely linked, interrelated and dialectically interdependent.

The problems of the scientific and technological revolution have been analysed in depth in the materials of the 24th CPSU Congress both from the economic and the socio-political standpoint.

The acceleration of scientific and technological progress is a major task of the development of socialist society. Its solution requires productive forces of a high level and mature socialist social relations. Under developed socialism there is all that is needed to resolve the problems put forward by the revolution in science and technology and make the most of its results in building the material and technological basis of communism.

To use increasingly the possibilities afforded by the progress of science and technology to accelerate the development of the national economy and satisfy the needs of all citizens is an economic and political task of paramount importance.

By making production more efficient and new products available, the progress in science and technology helps to raise the people's living standards in socialist society. Labour becomes more intellectual, producers develop new traits; they become proficient and generally cultured and well-informed.

Mechanisation and automation require that production be co-ordinated more than ever before. This gives added significance to the principle of team work. Socialism makes it possible to combine the now indispensable team work in technology and science with the genuine deployment of the individual's creative potentialities. The plan-

regulated development of technology, the fact that industrial enterprises and organisations have an economic stake in technical innovation are strong motives inciting every worker to take an active part in the progress of science and technology.

Under socialism all producers, insofar as they are aware of their common vital interests, strive to raise the technical standard of production as this ensures the growth of their material well-being while carrying no threat of unemployment or loss of skill or any other of the social calamities typical of capitalism.

Socialism provides for the combination of scientific and technological progress with the further development of democracy. Under socialism, the revolution in science and technology becomes a matter of the creative initiative of millions of working people, its results are used under a plan, on a national scale, for the benefit of the whole people. Socialist democracy promotes the scientific and technological revolution, makes it easier for society to tackle any new intricate problems it comes up against. In turn, the revolution in science and technology promotes the development of socialist democracy, as it impacts different aspects of the life of society. These features of scientific and technological and socio-political progress under socialism highlight the fundamental difference between the socialist social system and the capitalist one, in which the revolution in science and technology strengthens the monopolies, promoting their fusion with the state apparatus and augmenting bureaucratic centralism.

The progress of science and technology creates ever more favourable conditions for enhancing the role of representative institutions in the system of socialist government. The cultural and technological level of the bulk of the working people having become higher, people of the most diverse occupations, specialists in different lines, can be elected to representative government bodies. This helps to improve the performance of these representative bodies as it enables to supervise and guide more efficiently the bodies of state administration.

Under the present conditions of the development of science and technology, the tasks of further improving the plan-regulated administration and the work of the whole planning apparatus are of special prominence. The Party considers it necessary to give a greater role to the ministries in managing the economic sectors concerned. What the ministries have to do is to master scientific methods of management and be more active in developing and raising the efficiency of social production.

This new approach to economic management is connected with the Soviet economic reform which is stimulating the further increase in working people's creative activity and their role in managing production. The reform has given more rights to working people, enabling them to take a greater part in managing their enterprises. Amongst other things, they discuss at their meetings questions relating to production, production plans and problems concerning the introduction of new machinery and processes and the economic and social aspects of the progress of science and technology at their enterprise.

The socialist emulation movement among the working people is a form of socialist democracy and prominently contributes to the progress of science and technology. An expression of labour enthusiasm and creative initiative, emulation helps to enhance the productive forces and improve the relations of production. It also helps to educate the working people and draw them into the management of production.

Undertakings made in the course of the socialist emulation movement increasingly reflect the requirements of the progress of science and technology. Such undertakings as well as enterprises' social development plans include measures to raise the workers' skill, extend their knowledge, increase their general education and train workers in new jobs. Managements and trade unions now pay more attention to the training and retraining of workers and to inculcating a creative attitude to work in them.

Bourgeois ideologists who allege that democracy and scientific and technological progress are incompatible

argue that government under the scientific and technological revolution which requires a lot of special knowledge, expertise, and so on, renders elective bodies ineffective. What they are implying, of course, is that the masses cannot govern. Besides, they try to disguise the anti-popular nature of bourgeois democracy, now in deep crisis as a result of state-monopoly development. This theory represents the government of big business as a government of experts who have come into office presumably by the democratic process, solely thanks to their learning and abilities, and is designed to conceal above all the class character of monopoly domination, to disguise the monopolisation and bureaucratisation of the political power of big business and the further narrowing down of its social basis, and to gloss over the mounting antagonism between the monopolies and the people.

In the conditions of the building of socialism and communism, the progress of science and technology creates the additional prerequisites needed for enlisting the participation of millions in the competent administration of public affairs. It rids man of arduous work devoid of intellectual content, releasing man's creative powers, elevating him, helping his gifts and talents to blossom forth and promoting the growth of public initiative.

The political guidance of social processes develops on the basis of working-class leadership, which remains and is enhanced, the growing unity and alliance of the working class with the peasants and the intelligentsia, and the flowering and drawing closer together of all socialist nations.

It was stressed at the 24th Party Congress that the increasing proximity of all classes and social groups, the inculcation of moral and political qualities in the Soviet people and the consolidation of its social unity take place in the Soviet Union on the basis of Marxist-Leninist ideology expressing the socialist interests and communist ideals of the working class.

Marxism-Leninism teaches that for the ideology of a class to be a correct reflection of the real world, it is essen-

tial that the interests of this class and the needs of society's development should coincide. The working class is a class whose fundamental interests and objectives coincide with the interests of mankind's progress. Marxism-Leninism is the scientific expression of its ideology.

The most salient feature of communist ideology is that it intimately combines a scientific nature with a consistent proletarian Party spirit. This is precisely what determines its role and place in the working-class revolutionary struggle and the building of communism.

This also accounts for the inseverable link between communism and science. Marx and Engels turned socialism from an utopia, a dream of a happier future, into a science which has merged with the movement for the emancipation of the working class and all working people. Lenin made a great contribution to the development of Marxism as a scientific doctrine and it began to be applied under his guidance, for the first time in history, in order to carry out the revolutionary transformation of society and build socialism.

Socialism does more to encourage the development of science than any other social system. The building of communism requires an unprecedented volume of scientific knowledge for the development of the productive forces and the reorganisation of social life at large.

In the modern world, science and technology have turned into a major arena of the competition between the two opposing socio-economic systems. The introduction of science in different areas of social life, and the increasing use of scientific and technological progress to speed economic development and satisfy the needs of all members of society is a major economic and political task.

One hardly needs to say that the future of the theory of relativity, quantum mechanics, nuclear physics, the polymer chemistry, cybernetics, molecular biology and other disciplines in the natural sciences today largely depends on the social conditions in which they are applied.

Under socialism, the greatest achievement of man's genius serve the people since they are the people's prop-

erty. This, above all, is the essence of the democratisation of science.

Marx and Engels attentively studied the historical process of the interpenetration of science and industry. They showed that historical progress and the progress of scientific knowledge were one.

If mankind's existence, activity and development depend on the objective natural and social laws, to know these laws is not only essential to their existence, activity and development, but also essential to the attainment of freedom by them. They are free insofar as they know the objective laws governing the development of the material world and as their actions agree with reality.

At the same time, cognising the nature, tendencies and conditions of the development of the objective realities of the world that surrounds us and discovering the prerequisites and possibilities for the progressive transformation of reality, man is still not absolutely free for freedom is not only the human condition cognised, but also a practical change of this condition. Engels wrote that mere knowledge, even if it went further and deeper than bourgeois political economy, was not enough to subjugate the social forces to society. What it needs first and foremost is social action.<sup>1</sup>

A knowledge of the objective laws governing the development of reality is an indispensable condition for dominating this reality and a necessary stage along the road to mankind's freedom. But in each particular stage of the transition from theoretical knowledge to practical reorganisation, the decisive role belongs to the subjective factor.

Unlike idealism, Marxist-Leninist materialist philosophy holds that having cognised reality, man can change it in his interest, in the interest of his freedom. Noting that important point in the understanding of freedom, Lenin wrote that the "world does not satisfy man and man decides to change it by his activity".<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, it is a

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<sup>1</sup> See Frederick Engels, *Anti-Dühring*, pp. 362-63.

<sup>2</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 38, p. 213.

victorious socialist revolution that not only makes it possible to use consciously and scientifically the objective laws governing the development of society but also makes this knowledge an indispensable condition of social progress.

Studying the material prerequisites of socialism created by the development of the productive forces in the womb of capitalism, Marx and Engels showed that one such prerequisite was that the mass of national wealth produced by large-scale industry depended not so much on the amount of labour that had gone into it as on the level to which science had been developed and introduced into production. Marx wrote that as large-scale industry developed, the production of direct wealth became less dependent on the working time and the amount of work expended than on the potency of the agents that were set into motion during the working time and which did not themselves correspond in any way to the direct working time needed to produce them but depended rather on the general level of science and the progress of technology or on the application of that science to industry.<sup>1</sup>

Describing this tendency, Marx pointed out that the communist remaking of society would ultimately end the hostile, mutually exclusive opposition between working time and free time which, becoming the time of a citizen's individual development, would in turn, react as the greatest productive force on the productive force of labour. And production, freed from the domination of capital, which enslaves, oppresses and distorts its essence, would then become a field for the practical application of experimental science, a materially creative and object-embodied science.<sup>2</sup>

The whole of modern industrial production emerges, in Marx's phrase, as a real objectified force of knowledge, i.e., an object-embodied science.

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<sup>1</sup> Karl Marx, *Grundrisse der Kritik der politischen Ökonomie*, S. 592.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, S. 599-600.

Today mankind is in the period of a scientific and technological revolution bound up with the conquest of nuclear energy, space exploration, the development of chemistry, automation and other major achievements of science and engineering.

Science thoroughly refashions and perfects such traditional forms of social production as metallurgy, agriculture, metal-working, and so on. This, however, is far from all. Scientific discoveries have led to the emergence of new industries which were impossible in the past as they could not be launched merely on empirical knowledge. Electronics, synthetic chemistry, atomic power engineering and other industries on whose development technological progress and industrial growth largely depend, were launched from scientific laboratories.

This greatly enhances the role of scientific research centres and researchers. It becomes evident that material values, that the national wealth, are created by industrial workers together with scientists who discover how to apply different scientific laws, with designers of new machines and installations, with engineers and technicians who find more efficient way of using the means of production. However, the closer connection between science and industry certainly does not mean that applied research alone is pursued, for fundamental research is of immense and decisive significance as much to the successful progress of science as to the progress of technology.

L. I. Brezhnev told the 25th CPSU Congress that people were right when they said that there was nothing more practical than a good theory. And, he added, "We are perfectly aware that the high-tide torrent of scientific and technical progress will exhaust itself if it is not constantly nourished by fundamental research."<sup>1</sup>

Although science has become a direct productive force, it has not stopped being a form of social consciousness and a form of society's intellectual life. Ever since it

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<sup>1</sup> *Documents and Resolutions. XXVth Congress of the CPSU*, p. 57.

emerged, science has constituted production's cerebral potential. The development of production on the one hand, and the progress of scientific knowledge, inseparable from this development, on the other, have made it possible for science to become a direct productive force. But this, of course, does not abolish the differences between science as a system of notions, as theoretical thinking about, and the rational reflection of, the objective world, and production as a material process carried out consciously and expediently by men in possession of scientific knowledge.

Science covers all areas of society's life. It is, under socialism, an immense force both in production and in the fashioning of new social relations, in education, training, aesthetic development, in the struggle for health, in intellectual life.

Science is a form of social consciousness whose task it is to pursue the systematic cognition of the objective laws governing nature and society and discover how they can be applied in practice. Having sprung from society's need to remake nature and social relations, science, in its turn, serves practice. Its strength lies above all in this.

The premise that science develops into a direct productive force does not refer to natural science and technology alone. It also refers to the science of society. The more intensively and broadly the results of the natural and technical sciences are introduced into industry, the clearer it makes the objective need for having a scientific definition of the social conditions and effects of such introductions. Indeed, an analysis of the social nature of the development of science into a direct productive force shows that it is a product and expression of the development of the social possibilities of modern production rather than the result of the self-development characteristic of science.

It is becoming more and more evident that the further development of the natural sciences is now impossible without using the results achieved by the social sciences. It is natural therefore that the elaboration of major problems in what seems at first sight to be pure natural sci-

ence should require the participation of economists, sociologists, philosophers, lawyers, psychologists and historians.

It is also evident that the latest discoveries made in the natural sciences have a palpable effect on the development of the social sciences. Such discoveries require answers to many questions posed by society's development and require penetrations into the underlying processes of the current social changes.

That is why there is a continuous exchange of information through direct and feedback channels between the natural and social sciences.

A creative alliance of the science of nature and the science of society has been effected for the first time in the Soviet Union. This alliance rests on the Marxist-Leninist world outlook common to all Soviet scientists.

The 25th CPSU Congress stressed that at the current stage of the building of communism the need for further creative developments of theory does not diminish but, on the contrary, becomes all the greater.

The principal task for Soviet scientists, the Congress pointed out, was to further expand and deepen their research into the laws of nature and society, to make a greater contribution to solving urgent problems in building up the material and technical foundations of communism, speeding up scientific and technological progress and the effectiveness of production, to improve the people's living and cultural standards, and to develop the communist outlook of the working people.

The Party insists on the need to ensure the further development of fundamental and applied research in the social, natural and technical sciences.

The attention of scientists is called to crucial problems connected with scientific, technological and social progress, on the solution of which the successful development of the economy, culture and science itself largely depends and to the further development of research which will open up essentially new ways and possibilities for transforming the country's productive forces, for develop-

ing the machinery and technology of the future. Their attention also is called to the need to raise the quality and effectiveness of research, to further improve the links between science and production and to speed up the application of scientific innovations in the national economy.

Special emphasis is placed on strengthening the ties between the social, natural and technical sciences. The Congress pointed out the major areas of research and development. In the *social sciences* it is necessary to examine the theoretical problems of developed socialism, the law-governed trends of its development into communism, and the mechanism of their action and usage;

to continue to develop the theory of building up the material and technical foundations of communism, improving social relations, moulding the new man and developing the socialist way of life;

to promote all-round research on questions pertaining to the scientific and technological revolution, on raising the effectiveness and intensification of social production, on improving management and economic planning, and also on forecasting social and economic processes.

The Congress stressed that the tasks facing the social sciences in the Soviet Union could be solved only given their closest connection with practice. Only connection with practice could make science more effective and that was one of the central problems of the day.

Marxism-Leninism is the sole reliable basis for the elaboration of the correct strategy and tactics. Addressing the 25th Congress, L. I. Brezhnev said: "It gives us an understanding of the historical perspective, helps us to determine the lines of our socio-economic and political development for years ahead, and correctly to find our orientation in international developments. Marxism-Leninism derives its power from its constant and creative development. That is what Marx taught. That is what Lenin taught. Our Party will always be loyal to their precepts!"<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Documents and Resolutions. XXVth Congress of the CPSU*, p. 87.

In the fields of the *natural and technical sciences* it is planned to do more extensive pure and applied mathematical research and research on the development of more advanced computers and their effective use in the national economy;

to develop theoretical and experimental research on nuclear and plasma physics, solid-state physics, cryogenics, radio physics and electronics, quantum electronics, mechanics, optics, astronomy, with a view to accelerating scientific and technological progress; much attention will also be paid to the development of atomic power engineering and evolving scientific and technical principles of thermonuclear power engineering;

to improve the present and develop new methods of energy conversion, to develop and widely introduce fundamentally new machinery, new structural, magnetic, semiconductor, superconductor and other materials and technically useful crystals;

to extend research in the field of the synthesis of chemical compounds for obtaining new substances and materials that have new properties. To develop new chemical processes with highly efficient catalytic systems that greatly speed up chemical reactions, and to develop scientific principles for technologies utilising mainly closed cycles;

to do more research on molecular biology and the physiological, biochemical and immunological principles governing the activity of the human organism with a view to finding a speedier solution to such cardinal medical and biological problems as combating cancer, cardio-vascular, endocrinological, viral and occupational diseases as well as diseases of the nervous system; to do further research on improving working conditions and industrial hygiene and also on balanced diets;

to carry on the work of developing genetic theory and techniques for the creation of new valuable strains of plants, animals and micro-organisms as well as methods of making physiologically active substances for medicine, agriculture and certain industries;

to further develop scientific principles for the rational use and conservation of soils, of mineral wealth, the flora and fauna, air and water reservoirs; to carry out wider integrated studies of the World Ocean; to continue work on weather forecasting and the prediction of natural disasters;

to make a fuller study of the Earth's crust and upper mantle for the purpose of research into the formation processes and into the laws governing the formation and location of minerals;

to carry on space research and utilisation; to extend research on the applications of space means in studying the Earth's natural resources, in meteorology, oceanology, navigation, communications and other economic uses.

The building of the material and technical base of communism, the development and improvement of the socialist relations of production, the rise in the people's living and cultural standards, the cultivation of communist consciousness, the strengthening of the country's defences and the struggle for the preservation of peace, are all to become scientifically organised, controlled and developing processes.

Marxists-Leninists believe that society can and should be built according to a scientific plan. That this is indeed so has been proved in practice by the socialist countries.

Specific programmes have been drawn up for the first time in the Soviet Union for the Tenth Five-Year Plan. These deal with the more important scientific and technological problems and identify all the tasks that will have to be tackled, including the industrial development of new plant. The necessary resources must be provided for the tasks envisaged in the programmes and these must be tied in with the production and capital construction plans and the material and technical supply.

Modern bourgeois philosophers of the neo-positivist school spare no efforts to belittle and, indeed, deny philosophy's role in the progress of the natural and social sciences. The facts, however, show that whereas idealist philosophy leads science into a deadlock, dialectical material-

ism, which draws general conclusions from a whole range of sciences, supplies a general picture of the world and equips scientists with an effective method for cognising it, thus serving as a compass to the development of science.

The modern natural sciences pose major methodological questions on the relationship between sciences as a reflection of the relationship between phenomena in the world itself. It is a problem of the unity of the world and the qualitative distinctiveness of its different areas. From this springs the methodological question of the common basis of scientific knowledge and the specific features of the object and method of individual sciences, of the forms of the motion of matter, and of the differentiation and integration of the various branches of scientific knowledge.

The objective basis of the relationship between dialectical materialism and the natural sciences is to be found in the unity of the universal and specific laws of the material world. The universal laws of dialectics are inseparable from the specific laws of individual sciences. They have no existence outside these specific laws, finding expression through them. Furthermore, the specific laws of individual sciences are connected, in one way or another, with the general dialectical laws governing the development of nature.

Science does not boil down, as the positivists claim, to a description and accumulation of facts. The object of genuine science is to establish the necessary relationship between phenomena, see how they emerge, and discover the laws to which they are subject.

Marxist philosophy supplies scientists in different fields with a common method or approach to the phenomena they study. It points out the general way to scientific knowledge of any natural object from the atom to outer space and from the crystal to the living organism. It provides the method for penetrating into the essence of phenomena and helps to avoid one-sided or extreme judgements and conclusions.

Materialist dialectics is the scientifically supreme and most perfect theory and system of thought by which scientific knowledge can be gained. Without a correct idea of the role and place of the individual sciences in the general system of contemporary knowledge, without a clear idea of the principles on the basis of which different sciences become united with one another and are related to other areas of knowledge, one cannot avoid many serious obstacles.

As Engels wrote: "... It is precisely dialectics that constitutes the most important form of thinking for present-day natural science, for it alone offers the analogue for, and thereby the method of explaining, the evolutionary processes occurring in nature, interconnections in general, and transitions from one field of investigation to another."<sup>1</sup>

To underestimate the general laws of nature or to isolate sciences excessively merely prevents the results obtained in some sectors being used to further advance in some other sectors of scientific knowledge. And ignoring the qualitative distinctions of sciences is often the cause of wasted time and effort.

Western scientists usually contrast the social with the natural sciences, alleging that they have essentially different methods and are therefore separated by an impassable gulf.

Dialectical materialism rejects in principle any opposition between the natural and the social sciences since both reflect the objective world in concepts and categories. Even though each has specific categories expressing the principal features of what it is concerned with, there are also categories, notions and principles common to all sciences, viz., laws, relationships, necessity, causality, motion, change, development, and so on.

The accelerated development of socialist society at the current stage, more dynamic foreign relations, the development of the scientific and technological revolution, and the unprecedented progress of scientific knowledge

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<sup>1</sup> Frederick Engels, *Dialectics of Nature*, Moscow, 1974, p. 43.

demand the development and application of Marxist-Leninist dialectics more than ever before. The Party has accordingly formulated the tasks for developing philosophy in connection with the analysis of present events, and, above all, with the study of the world revolutionary process and the scientific and technological revolution. One of the main lines along which Marxist philosophers are carrying on their work is the study of the objective laws governing the cardinal social changes going on in the world and the qualitative changes in the productive forces at large and in individual countries and regions.

Of especial relevance to the solution of many practical problems of contemporary social development is the analysis of the dynamics of social contradictions, in particular those being engendered by the current scientific and technological revolution.

Industrial and urban development poses the problem of the relation between nature and society in socialist countries, too. Unlike bourgeois society, socialist society is capable of forecasting and amending the paths of its development. In this connection Marxist-Leninist philosophers have to analyse the emerging contradictions, making it easier to foresee their consequences and to discover how they can best be removed or resolved.

The problem of the relation between the quantitative and qualitative aspects of the life of society, of the extensive and intensive factors in social production, the relation between the qualitative and quantitative appraisals of its effectiveness, the dialectics of the qualitative and quantitative aspects of the way of life, and so on is now of great importance.

The advantages of the dialectical approach to social factors can be seen against the bourgeois theories of social development founded on the metaphysical view of development merely as quantitative change. They represent population growth, the growth of production, the mounting pollution of the environment, the depletion of the natural resources, and so on, as exponential and, accord-

ingly, draw horrifying pictures of the utter depletion of the major kinds of natural resources within the next few decades, of world-wide famine resulting from overpopulation, and so on. On this basis, "growth limit" theories are next put forward, and so forth.

The scientific and technological revolution and social progress bring about qualitative changes in the role of the "human factor" in social production and management. At the present stage, much greater demands are made on people's awareness, intellect and social activity. This faces science with problems transcending any purely technological limits and bearing on fundamental philosophical questions.

Only from the standpoint of Marxist-Leninist philosophy can one uncover the nature of relations in the "man-science-technology-industry" system. From the standpoint of Marxist-Leninist philosophy it is erroneous to view these questions outside the concrete historical conditions obtaining under different social systems.

To apply the Marxist-Leninist dialectical method is to exercise a comprehensive approach to social development problems without separating the socio-political and economic aspects from the natural-historical, technological, psychological and other aspects of the investigation.

The change in the nature of social labour today, the increased shifting of emphasis in labour processes to the mental-psychological area, the thorough renewal of the machinery and organisation of production, and the greater complexity of human activity put the problem of man in one of the central places in philosophy.

Man's mental and psychic development becomes a most important reserve of boosting social labour productivity. Consideration of the "human factor" is a task of national significance. Soviet science is faced with the task of raising labour productivity together with ensuring man's all-round development, improving his general education and cultural standards, developing the individual's faculties and abilities, and cultivating a communist attitude to work.

In this connection an approach to the analysis of the "man-machine" system which reserves for man the decisive role in the production process and the place of society's supreme possession while the machine is a piece of equipment which releases man from performing routine and cumbersome operations and helps to satisfy his needs, including the need for creative self-expression, is being worked out in Soviet scholarly literature.

The role of socio-psychological factors considerably increases in developed socialist society. The rapid growth of education, culture and political knowledge among the people combined with the living standards achieved have brought about an essentially different situation of social and individual relations and have increased the impact of social and cultural factors on the efficiency of production and management. This has generated new psychological and socio-psychological problems associated with the education and upbringing of the rising generation, with shaping people's intellectual needs, with their perception of art and ideology, and with stimulating social activity and intolerance of anti-social behaviour. Thus, social and individual relations have themselves become much more complex, diverse and refined. Organising and educating people has accordingly become a more complex matter.

For this reason, the Party gives prominence to questions of ideological education and the moulding of the new man, the noble builder of communism.

After the 24th Congress, a number of decisions were passed by the CPSU Central Committee summing up the experience gained in ideological work and defining the main lines for its improvement. Thus, a resolution on the work of the Tashkent City Party Organisation considered various aspects of the Marxist-Leninist education of Communists. The question of a coherent system of work with ideological cadres was broadly dealt with in the resolutions "On the Selection and Education of Ideological Cadres in Byelorussia's Party Organisation" and "On Measures for Improving the Training and Retraining of Journalist Cadres".

Present-day conditions bring forth new tasks for the Party's ideological activity. The summing up of the experience and practice of the Party organisations suggested the conclusion that the path to follow in order to make ideological activity more effective was one which involved a "complex approach to the whole matter of education, that is, ensuring a well-integrated ideological, political, labour and moral education, taking account of the specific features of various groups of working people."<sup>1</sup>

In the sphere of ideological education, political enlightenment is of great importance. Here a great deal has been done. Studying within the Party education system alone are nearly 20 million people, including over seven million non-Party members. Young people—schoolchildren and students—are learning the fundamentals of political knowledge. The mass-scale study of Marxism-Leninism is a most important feature of the development of social consciousness at the present stage. The Party displays special concern for the content of Party education and the enhancement of its theoretical level.

One of the Party's most important tasks is the cultivation in the minds of the working people, the young generation in the first place, of the ideas of Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism, of pride in the Land of Soviets and readiness to stand up in defence of the gains of socialism.

Under the scientific and technological revolution, it is especially important to keep improving the system of public education and vocational training. The whole of the general education system needs to be further seriously improved, the secondary schools in the first place.

On the basis of decisions passed by the 25th CPSU Congress an extensive economic education system was set up in the Soviet Union. Forty-two million people have already passed through it while another thirty-six million are receiving instruction at present.

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<sup>1</sup> *Documents and Resolutions. XXVth Congress of the CPSU*, p. 90.

The Party regards it as a most important task of moral education to give every individual a constructive attitude to life and a conscientious approach to his duty to society.

Much attention in the Party's educational work is paid to questions pertaining to the raising of the ideological level, co-ordination and efficiency of the mass media and to exerting more influence on the development of the economy, science and culture, on the whole life of society.

During the past few years Soviet newspapers and the number of publications have increased their editions sizes. More than 400 new newspapers and 113 journals and magazines have recently been launched. According to the subscription figures, every family now gets an average of more than four periodicals.

Marxist-Leninist philosophy is a mighty force providing for the integral unity of all fields of scientific knowledge and for their interaction. This is of equal benefit to both the natural sciences and to sociology.

The social sciences play an increasing role in the mapping out of government policy and the evolving of methods for regulating society's economic and cultural development and in the stimulation and organisation of the masses' creativity and initiative in building the material and technical foundations of communism. The building of communism necessarily implies the systematic study of social facts, the theoretical summing up of the lessons of history and the investigation of the prospects for society's development.

The CPSU Central Committee took some important steps to further develop Marxist-Leninist theory. Prominent among them is the CC CPSU decision "On the Measures for the Further Development of the Social Sciences and for Raising Their Role in the Building of Communism". This decision sums up the results of the development of the social sciences under Soviet rule and determines their tasks at the current stage of the building of communism.

Social studies and the dissemination of social and political knowledge proceed against a background of struggle

against bourgeois ideology. The irreconcilable struggle between scientific socialist ideology and the unscientific ideology of the modern bourgeoisie reflects the principal antagonistic contradiction of the age, that between the two socio-economic systems.

It was not so long ago that most bourgeois ideologists pronounced the communist watchword, "from each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs", as quite unfeasible, arguing that no progress in production could ever satisfy the growing needs of the earth's increasing population. Some of them still hold with Malthusian ideas. But quite a few bourgeois ideologists have now switched to a different key, claiming that the second industrial revolution will meet all the aspirations of the masses within the framework of capitalist society. They are trying to instil the hope that, thanks to the scientific and technological revolution, capitalism will obtain a new lease on life, climbing out of the crisis and turning into a "welfare state", "consumer society", and so on.

The advocates of capitalism have always sought to prove that the transition from private to socialist ownership of the means of production is not an objective historical necessity and that an unlimited progress of productive forces is possible also within the framework of capitalist relations of production. Comparing the current scientific and technological revolution with the first industrial revolution, they maintain that the current industrial revolution will be not only of a scientific and technological, but also of a social character. They say that it will change the existing bourgeois social relations peacefully without any political revolution or class struggle. Clearly enough, this "theory", too, is purely apologetic. Its sole purpose is to prove that capitalist relations should not be abolished as they presumably are still capable of "organic" development, progressive change and improvement.

It is common knowledge that the 18th-century industrial revolution was a result of capitalist production relations, and capitalism being at that time a progressive social system, the revolution helped it to strike root and advance.

As for the social effects of the first industrial revolution, they were indubitably the social effects of capitalist development itself. The mass pauperisation of the working people caused by the introduction of machines certainly followed from the nature and essence of capitalist industrialisation.

The current scientific and technological revolution, too, is undoubtedly exacerbating the contradictions of capitalism, confronting the bourgeoisie with obstacles it cannot, in fact, negotiate.

This is evident from the bourgeois sociologists' feverish search for more and more theories to oppose to Marxism and provide plausible ideological support for the bourgeois way of life. While ten years ago structural-functional analysis was the mainstay of bourgeois sociology, it lost ground at the start of the 1970s and was replaced by Daniel Bell's "post-industrial society". In recent years the consolidation of world socialism and capitalism's aggravated general crisis made many Western sociologists doubt the theory of "technological determinism" which promised a crisis-free harmonious development of "Western society" and the passage to a cybernetic "post-industrial" paradise.

So far, however, these sociologists have failed to propose anything to replace functionalism or technological determinism. A sort of ideological vacuum has formed, judging from the 1974 Eighth World Congress of Sociology, although the above-mentioned theories are not yet defunct and are still in evidence. Talcott Parsons and his supporters, on the one hand, and technological determinists, on the other, are trying hard not only to defend their positions, but also to bolster them with fresh arguments. Both functionalism and technological determinism are now part of the stock-in-trade of bourgeois sociology and as such are used in one way or another in all contemporary bourgeois sociological theories and conceptions.

It is worth noting that the hardships and contradictions mentioned by bourgeois scholars give their theories a perceptible Malthusian ring. For instance, they see high birth

rates as the chief cause of the poor economic situation in the developing countries and advocate birth control as the sole means of avoiding mass starvation.

Far from rejuvenating capitalism, the current revolution in science and technology, which is a necessary form of the development of the productive forces, merely pushes it towards its imminent death. This explains why so many bourgeois ideologists today openly express their dread of the scientific and technological revolution and its social effects. They write about man's enslavement by cybernetic machines which presumably may seize power in society and turn man into their passive tool, about automation invading not only industry, but private and social life as well, about the degeneration of the human race, and so on.

Some of them claim that the progress of science leads to totalitarianism. Others maintain that the achievements of science put mankind's very existence in jeopardy. The latter refer to weapons of mass destruction which they depict not as the product it is of the imperialist-engendered arms race but as a harmful consequence of the "excessive" development of the human mind, science and technology. For instance, Georg Siebers, a West German sociologist, writes that it is a paradox that man's power at its highest—atomic power—destroys itself. Siebers denies any progress in the field of political ideas, too. The classical ideas of the division of power, of freedom, equality, social justice, national unity, and so on, he believes, have quite exhausted themselves and "humanism is dead".<sup>1</sup>

Marxists regard these problems in a different light.

The International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties held in June 1969 in Moscow pointed out:

"The scientific and technological revolution offers mankind unprecedented possibilities to remake Nature, to produce immense material wealth and to multiply man's creative capabilities. These possibilities should serve the general welfare, but capitalism is using the scientific and

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<sup>1</sup> G. Siebers, *Das Ende des technischen Zeitalters*, München, 1963, S. 150, 157.

technological revolution to increase its profits and intensify the exploitation of the working people.

"The scientific and technological revolution accelerates the socialisation of the economy; under monopoly domination this leads to reproduction of social antagonisms on a growing scale and in a sharper form. Not only have the long-standing contradictions of capitalism been aggravated, but new ones have arisen as well. This applies, in particular, to the contradiction between the unlimited possibilities opened up by the scientific and technological revolution and the roadblocks raised by capitalism to their utilisation for the benefit of society as a whole. Capitalism squanders national wealth, allocating for war purposes a great proportion of scientific discoveries and immense material resources. This is the contradiction between the social character of present-day production and the state-monopoly nature of its regulation. This is not only the growth of the contradiction between capital and labour, but also the deepening of the antagonism between the interests of the overwhelming majority of the nation and those of the financial oligarchy."<sup>1</sup>

History attests to the fact that capitalism's productive forces have long been in conflict with the bourgeois relations of ownership. Overproduction when there is mass underconsumption, recurrent crises, enterprises usually working under capacity, mass unemployment, acute currency and financial crises, and the production of weapons of destruction in place of everyday necessities all indicate that the bourgeoisie cannot use to the full the productive forces available to it. But this shows precisely that capitalist relations of production are too narrow for the scientific and technological revolution.

Here are only a few facts. Currently the number of jobs in the industrialised capitalist countries amounts to 15 million, with more than a million in Japan, about a million in Britain, and 1.2 million in West Germany. At

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<sup>1</sup> *International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, Moscow 1969, Prague, 1969, p. 19.*

the beginning of 1975 the United States had about 7.5 million jobless. Average annual unemployment figures do not, however, reveal the entire picture of the huge under-employment of the labour force in America today.

Besides, official unemployment figures do not include the many who have stopped looking for work (because of health, age, the impossibility of retraining, etc.) and no longer register at a labour Exchange.

According to the *United States News and World Report*, there were 8.2 million jobless in the country in June 1975, or 8.3 per cent of the labour force.

The social boundaries of unemployment have expanded to include, besides blue-collar workers, increasing numbers of white-collar workers. In 1974, unemployment among the latter increased by 340,000.

The Black population of the United States is the hardest hit. At the start of 1975, unemployment among Blacks ran at 12.8 per cent (against 5.8 per cent among white workers).

Joblessness among teen-agers is tending to rise. At the start of 1975, there were more than 1.5 million jobless, or 18.3 per cent of the labour force in the 16-19 age group. The rate of unemployment among Black youth runs as high as 34.5 per cent.

The American unemployment insurance system does not cover all those out of work. There are a number of restrictions and qualifications, owing to which unemployment benefits were paid to merely 34 per cent of the jobless in June 1974, for example. The size of the dole is by no means equivalent even to a subsistence wage.

Under socialism, the scientific and technological revolution is a potent force contributing to the building of the higher phase of communism. Socialism alone produces an adequate social form for the modern scientific and technological revolution, fettered and held back by private-property capitalist relations.

Socialist society is an essentially new phase in the development of mankind. A study of this society may naturally be expected to produce new generalisations and prac-

tical conclusions. The development and functions of the social sciences are linked with the solution of practical tasks. They increasingly become a part of social regulation at all levels. Hence, it is a matter not only of solving major strategic problems but also of working out the questions of planning and management with reference to different areas of the economic and cultural activity and to individual enterprises and bodies of workers.

Experience has shown how much waste results for society when organisational and economic changes are introduced without a detailed scientific substantiation, preliminary examination and preparation.

The people in socialist society are the architects of their own life; they govern their country and regulate their relations themselves. By this they gain ever greater control over their existence, achieving an ever greater degree of freedom in every field. This is greatly facilitated by political as well as economic conditions.

Objective laws can thus be used for the advanced development of society only by the collective efforts of its members. Accordingly, the Communist Party and the Soviet government work out the most expedient ways and means of knowing and utilising objective laws under concrete circumstances of time and place, introducing unity and purpose to the nation-wide effort to build a communist society. The Communist Party and the state and public organisations led by it daily carry on immense organising and educational work among the masses, waging a systematic struggle to raise the political understanding and cultural standards of Soviet citizens.

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In summing up what has been said here, we may conclude that the development and all-round improvement of the socialist political system constitute an objective law. The consistently democratic character of the Soviet political system lies in the fact that it furnishes real economic, political and organisational guarantees for the majority

and then for all the citizens taking a decisive part in political life. Thus the Soviet political system guarantees genuine democracy, genuine government by the people.

The continuous growth in the people's economic and cultural standards, the coupling of the scientific and technological revolution with the advantages of the socialist economic system, the enhancement of the Communist Party's leading role in organising and leading the processes of social development, the enhancement of the creative activity of the masses, of state and public organisations, all open up new possibilities for the further improvement of the political system of mature socialism and the further development of socialist democracy for the purpose of building a communist society.

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