

**CPSU** The Communist Party of the Soviet Union  
Experience of Party Work

VILYIN

# THE FOUNDATION OF THE PARTY

Political Education

The Guiding Force of Society

Supervision and Assistance

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PRIMARY PARTY  
ORGANIZATIONS—  
THE FOUNDATION  
OF THE PARTY

Political Education  
The Guiding Force of Society  
Supervision and Assistance

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WE SEE IN OUR PARTY  
THE INTELLIGENCE, HONOUR  
AND CONSCIENCE OF OUR TIMES

(V. I. Lenin)

В. Ильин

ОСНОВА ПАРТИИ

на английском языке

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## FROM THE PUBLISHERS

The revolutionary ideas of Marxism-Leninism are winning ever more supporters all over the world. The authority of the Communist and Workers' parties is growing, and so is their beneficial influence on world development.

In response to numerous requests from readers in capitalist and developing countries, the Novosti Press Agency Publishing House is launching a series of booklets under the heading "CPSU: The Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Experience of Party Work" describing the aims and tasks of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the main propositions of its Programme and Rules, and the standards and principles of Party life.

Each booklet in the series is an independent study devoted to a particular aspect of the CPSU's activity.

In this booklet, which deals with primary Party organizations, you will find answers to some of your questions.

## IN LIEU OF AN INTRODUCTION

On the night of October 25 (November 7 according to the New Calendar), 1917, a bourgeois government was deposed in Russia as a result of an armed uprising of revolutionary workers, soldiers and sailors headed by the Leninist Party. The Soviets (councils) of workers', soldiers' and peasants' deputies took power in this vast country which stretches across Europe and Asia from the Baltic to the Pacific. A government of the working people was formed—the Council of People's Commissars, with Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, the founder of the Communist Party, as its Chairman.

Thus there came into being the world's first socialist state of workers and peasants, which proclaimed, "Peace to the peoples, land to the peasants!" Private ownership of the means of production was abolished and with it, the economic basis for the exploitation of man by man. A new epoch began: that of transition from capitalism to socialism.

For six decades the Soviet people led by their vanguard, the Communist Party, have been advancing along the difficult but glorious path of building a communist society in which the principle "From

each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs" will be implemented.

During this period the CPSU has developed from a few clandestine Marxist discussion and study circles into a monolithic party, the leading and guiding force of Soviet society.

We shall not digress by explaining how a one party system came to prevail in the Soviet Union. You can read about this in other Novosti Press Agency publications (for example, I. Tsitserov's booklet "The Power of Ideas" coming out in 1978). Here we shall note that under the leadership of the Communist Party the working people fought hard to break the resistance of the enemies of the revolution and restored, through selfless labour, the ravaged national economy. In the grim years of Nazi Germany's invasion (1941-45), when the very existence of the USSR was at stake, the Communist Party rallied the people to the defence of the Fatherland. The peoples of Europe and, indeed, of the whole world were saved from enslavement by the fascist barbarians.

Today the efforts of the CPSU, with its over 16 million members, are aimed at securing a steady improvement in the material and cultural standards of the people and preserving world peace.

Using as their guide the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, the Communist Party outlines the general prospects for the future development of society, charts the domestic and foreign policy course, and directs the creative activity of the people.

This short historical sketch is by way of introduction to our account of primary organizations of the CPSU, their place and role in the Party. This booklet may be of use to those who want to know how the Party directs, through its primary organiza-

tions, the economic, cultural and political life of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, which is inhabited by about 260 million people and contributes one-fifth of world industrial output.



## I. PRIMARY PARTY ORGANIZATIONS

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union unites the more advanced and politically more mature part of the working class, peasantry and intelligentsia.

The people of different ages and occupations who join the Party do so not in the hope of advancing their careers but in order to be in the front ranks of those who fight for the happiness of the people.

Speaking at the 25th Party Congress, held in February-March 1976, Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, 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 assured!" The congress delegates, who work in primary Party organizations, and each of whom contributes what he or she can to the laying of the material and technical foundations of communism, warmly approved these words.

### **How Primary Organizations Are Formed**

The Party's economic policy is based on the principle that the supreme aim of social production

under socialism is the fullest possible satisfaction of the growing material and cultural requirements of people. The Party not only determines the aims of the development of society, but indicates scientifically-founded ways and means of attaining them, and directs the efforts of Communists first and foremost towards raising the efficiency of production, accelerating scientific and technical progress for the good of the people.

It may be confidently said that there is practically no enterprise or institution in the Soviet Union, no more or less important sector where Communists belonging to primary organizations do not work. That is why the primary organization, which operates in direct and close contact with the masses and constitutes the political core of any work collective in town and country, is regarded as *the backbone* of the Party. These organizations serve to carry the Party's policy and decisions to the masses.

In the primary organization Communists are educated as ideologically and politically mature members of the Party. Through it new members are admitted. Those wishing to join the Party hand in their applications to a primary organization. Here is an example:

*To the Primary Party Organization  
from Vladimir Maksimovich Mikhailov*

### *Application*

*I request admission to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. I am familiar with the Party Rules and Programme, and I fully agree with them. I pledge to bear with honour the lofty name of Communist.*

*Date*

*Signature*

It must be said that not every one wishing to join the Party is actually admitted, only the worthiest of applicants, who display a conscientious attitude to their work and are devoted to the communist cause. And who are better judges of these qualities than one's workmates?

But we must put aside for a time V. Mikhailov's application and go back to our main theme—the primary Party organizations, through which the Party exercises practical guidance of the broad masses of working people.

The primary organizations pay much attention to creating in every collective an atmosphere characterized by well-coordinated work, a friendly spirit and constructive approach. They concern themselves with the ideological and labour education of people and the improvement of their working and living conditions.

How are primary organizations formed? It is stated in the Rules that primary organizations can be established wherever Communists are employed—in factories, state and co-operative agricultural enterprises, army units, offices, educational establishments, etc., wherever there are not less than three Party members.

The CPSU is built on *the territorial-and-production* principle. This is due to the fact that it is primarily a party of the working class, the most advanced, politically conscious and organized force in society. Lenin wrote that "there is much history to show that the workers cannot organize otherwise than by industries."<sup>1</sup>

The principle of forming primary organizations according to industry answers both the interests of individual members and those of the Party as a

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<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, Coll. Works, Vol. 32, p. 64

whole. For it is precisely on *the factory floor and in the field*, by the workers' and farmers' hands, that material values essential to people's vital requirements are created.

The reader has probably heard that revisionists and opportunists oppose the formation of Party organizations according to this principle which they insist should be modelled on bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties. The lower bodies of such parties are established, for the most part, according to the territorial principle, and their socio-political role is insignificant, amounting, in the main, to electoral campaigning, to struggle for seats in central and local organs of power.

In fact, the opportunists' aim is to dismantle primary organizations at enterprises, deprive Communist and Workers' parties of their bases of support among the masses and especially among the working class.

Communists working at one industrial or agricultural enterprise, in a scientific institution or an office unite in their primary organization. The Rules provide for the possibility of forming a primary organization within the framework of several enterprises if they belong to one production association or firm and are located in one city.

Primary organizations may also be established *at places of residence* of Communists. Such organizations include, along with the Communists working at housing maintenance jobs (mechanics, plumbers, electricians, etc.), also pensioners living in houses nearby. The communist members of these organizations concentrate on ensuring that such essential services as electricity, gas, water, and garbage removal work without a hitch. They see to community improvement (which includes the construction and maintenance of children's playgrounds and sports facilities, care for grounds and planting, etc.), the maintenance of public order, and deal with other questions affecting the residents' life and leisure.

All primary organizations belong to district, city, area, regional and territorial Party organizations, and those in a Union republic, to the Communist Party of this republic.

The formation of a new primary Party organization is sanctioned by the appropriate district or city Party committee, and in the Soviet Army, by the Political Department.

The structure of primary organizations, their subdivision into smaller, lower, units is not the same everywhere. It has been evolving in the course of time and events being defined and shaped at Party congresses and by Central Committee decisions.

In our time, when an intensive process of concentration and specialization of production is taking place, primary organizations are formed on the basis of the specific features of a given production unit and of the size of the organization. For instance, within a primary Party organization of a large enterprise, so-called shop Party organizations can be set up which, in turn, can be divided into Party groups of separate production sectors.

Let us take a look at these grass-roots Party organizations.

## **Shop Party Organizations and Party Groups**

Just as industrial and agricultural enterprises are divided into specialized shops (farms), teams, etc., so the primary Party organizations of the Communists working in these enterprises are divided into *shop organizations* and these, in turn, into *Party groups*. For example, at enterprises and institutions which have more than 50 Communists among their employees shop (farm, sectoral) Party organizations can be established which, when necessary, can be

divided into Party groups including Communists of separate production teams. Party groups can be set up not only in shop but also in primary Party organizations if they have less than 50 Communists.

The Communists who belong to *shop organizations* conduct Party work directly in their production units, office departments, etc., i.e. at their work place. That is where the positive and negative traits of every Communist, his attitude to his work are most vividly displayed. Here Communists can influence through their own example the raising of the labour and political activity of each worker and the work collective as a whole.

Proceeding from the overall tasks of the primary organization and taking into account the situation in their shop or in their agricultural production unit, the Communists determine the concrete tasks of the organization and draw up detailed plans of Party work.

The Secretary and the members of the Bureau of shop Party organization are in daily contact with their comrades, perform their production duties together with them, and are therefore able to see the results of their work and come to their aid in word and in deed when necessary, to cheer up those lagging behind, criticize the negligent and teach the unskilful.

Another subdivision in primary Party organizations is *Party groups*, which function directly where material values are produced, the cultural wealth of society is built up, and the various services are rendered to the population. Groups are founded within primary or shop organizations when there are at least three Communists in a team, office department, etc.

In setting up Party groups the concrete conditions and the objectives facing the entire Party organiza-

tion are taken into account. Therefore they are established only where they are really necessary.

The Communists in Party groups have an intimate knowledge of the attitudes, needs and demands of their work colleagues and can promptly bring their influence to bear upon the state of things in their collective. Countless examples of this could be cited (there being, all in all, nearly 548,000 Party groups in the CPSU), but we shall limit ourselves to one, that of the team of a working face in the Maiskaya Mine in the Donets Coalfields headed by Mikhail Chikh. It consists of four units each of which has a Party group. Working under the motto, "Not a single lagging worker by your side!", the Communists have succeeded in getting the team to treble the output of coal within four years, establishing several world records in mining anthracite in one face during 25 working days.

Enrolment of new Party members also begins in lower units. The above-quoted application of Vladimir Mikhailov was discussed at a Party meeting of the assembly shop, where he heads a team of adjusters.

*Temporary Party groups* are sometimes set up for the period required to fulfil a definite assignment such as assembling a large machine, building a project, carrying out seasonal work on farms, etc. The formation of such groups enables the Party to have its say in all vitally important sectors of work, to actively influence every Communist, every worker.

The Party organizer, and if necessary his deputy, are elected at the founding or report-and-election meeting of the Party group. They direct the work of the group in the interval between meetings. (The general meeting is the top body of any Party or-

ganization). Meetings will be dealt with at a later point. Here we shall note that Communists elect their leaders at meetings by a show of hands or by secret ballot. In the latter instance it is obligatory to record the minutes.

As you can see, the CPSU consists of a ramified network of primary organizations embracing every sphere of the country's economic and cultural life, down to a single work unit. This enables it to conduct active Party work, to exert widespread influence on working people, which helps, in the long run, to increase its authority and strengthen its ties with the people.

## Leading Bodies

The highest organ of the primary Party organization is the *Party meeting* which as a rule is held every month. In the interval between meetings the primary Party organization is directed by its leadership.

We shall have more to say about Party meetings further on; here we shall familiarize you briefly with elective leading bodies.

If an organization has less than 15 Party members it elects a *Secretary* and *deputy secretary* for a term of one year. If the number of its members exceeds 15 several Communists are elected to a *Bureau*. At large enterprises and institutions with 300 and more Communists a *Party Committee* is elected for a term of two or three years. The number of Bureau or Committee members is determined by the meeting. As a rule, three to nine members are elected (by secret ballot) to the Bureau and from 13 to 15, to the Committee.



These elective bodies guide the daily work of their Party organization and of its shop organizations and Party groups. They periodically report on their activity to the Communists at general Party meetings. In the case of V. Mikhailov, after receiving his application the Secretary of the shop Party organization talked with the shop superintendent, with Mikhailov's workmates (Communists and non-Communists) and with those who had given official recommendations. Everybody's opinion was that Mikhailov was worthy of being admitted to the Party.

It remained to submit the question of admission to a general meeting of the shop Party organization, because any decision of the Secretary, Bureau or Committee enters into force only after its approval by a general meeting of Communists. This rule of procedure makes it possible to see that collective leadership is combined with the personal responsibility of each Communist for his work and with his responsibility to constantly strengthen Party discipline and enhance the role of Party members in carrying out the Party's policy.

## Highest Principles

In all their activity primary organizations, like the Party as a whole, are guided by the principle of *democratic centralism*, which presupposes combining democracy and centralism.

Democracy means the right of all Communists to manage Party affairs directly or through their elected representatives, to take part in framing the policy of the Party and forming its leading bodies.

One of the sources of the strength of the Party lies in the organization and activity of its members.

And this becomes possible if such democratic standards are observed as election of all leading bodies from lowest to highest level, periodical reports by elective bodies, the publicizing of decisions that are adopted, wide participation of all Communists in discussing questions of Party work, collective leadership, criticism and self-criticism. Democracy is essential not only in organizing inner-Party life. The Party can attract the broad masses of the people to its side and lead them in the revolutionary remaking of society only if it is a democratic organization.

A key condition for the normal activity of Party organizations, for the ideological education of Communists and for fostering in them initiative and creativity, is observance of the principle of collective leadership combined with the personal responsibility of Communists for the work entrusted to them.

The Party would have been unable to cope with the tasks facing it without a scientifically founded Programme and Rules. Along with democratic principles, these documents reflect the demands of centralism. For example, the Party Rules provide for the unconditional subordination of lower to higher bodies and of the minority to the majority, and for the obligatory fulfilment of the decisions that have been adopted. Incidentally, a decision is regarded as passed (and hence binding on all Communists) when it receives the vote of more than half of those present at the meeting.

In other words, centralism means strict Party discipline binding on all Communists, rank-and-file members and leaders of all ranks alike. Without the observance of the principle of centralism the Party would be deprived of internal unity and organization and would prove incapable of leading the working people.

The need for combining these principles is also due to the fact that democracy without centralism can lead to anarchy in the Party, to its degeneration into a loose, diffuse association, while centralism without democracy can result in erroneous arbitrary decisions.

## II. INNER-PARTY WORK

This work is conducted in keeping with the norms and principles of Party life put down in the Programme and Rules, in decisions of congresses and other Party documents. What forms does it take?

Primary organizations keep the register of Communists, enrol new members, instil in them devotion to the common cause, educate them to be ideologically convinced members devoted to communist ideals. They organize the study of revolutionary Marxist-Leninist theory in close conjunction with the practice of communist construction, combatting any attempt at a revisionist distortion or a dogmatic interpretation of Marxism-Leninism.

As we see, inner-Party work carried on in primary organizations is highly diverse in character. Let us examine some of its aspects.

### **Enrolment of New Members**

Ever more workers, farmers, engineers, technicians and other specialists express desire to work for the cause of the Party, to join the fighting union of Communists bound together by a community of views and aims. It is also natural that the Party

itself should want to augment its ranks with the finest representatives of the working class and all working people. Growth of the Party in conditions of communist construction is an objective trend, but one which does not operate spontaneously. The Party regulates it. As Leonid Brezhnev said at the 25th Party Congress in 1976, "the farther we advance, the bigger the tasks tackled by the Party, the more concern we should display about replenishing its ranks with fresh forces, drawing on those who have won the recognition of their primary Party organization, of their collective, on those who have shown themselves to be active in production and in social life."

Following Lenin's principle that the Party should not seek artificially to increase its numbers, it admits persons whose competence and moral qualities have been thoroughly tested.

Only those are worthy to call themselves Communists, Lenin pointed out, "who carefully study, ponder over and reach an independent decision on the problems and the *fate* of their Party...".<sup>1</sup> We have said already that Communists admit to their ranks those who do not seek any personal gain, who have proved in deeds that they are ready to fight selflessly for the lofty ideals of communism, the most just society in human history.

How are new Party members selected?

Although the CPSU has become a party of the whole people, it has not lost its class character, remaining first and foremost the supreme form of organization of the working class. It is noteworthy that workers make up 58 per cent of the new members, and farmers, 11 per cent. These figures, which reflect the leading role of the working class

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<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, Coll. Works, Vol. 19, p. 159

in society, show that in admitting new members the Party gives priority to the most advanced persons engaged in material production.

The Party increases its membership only through its primary organizations, which rally round themselves large bodies of non-Party activists. Therefore the qualitative composition of the Party as a whole depends in many ways on the quality of the work of primary organizations.

The conditions for Party membership set out by Lenin, have stood the test of time. The present Party Rules formulate the necessary requirements in Paragraph One: "Membership of the CPSU is open to any citizen of the Soviet Union who accepts the Programme and the Rules of the Party, takes an active part in communist construction, works in one of the Party organizations, carries out all Party decisions, and pays membership dues." This paragraph is in full keeping with the Leninist principles of membership in the Party.

Enrolment in the CPSU is conducted exclusively on an individual basis. It would be senseless to declare oneself a Communist of one's own volition, for the Party alone can decide whether a person is qualified by his professional, political and moral qualities to bear the name of Communist. Incidentally, candidate members are also regarded as Communists. All Party members must first pass through a year's probationary stage during which their performance of Party work is tested.

A person entering the Party as a candidate or full member must attach to his written application recommendations from three CPSU members who have been Party members for not less than five years and who know the applicant from having worked with him for not less than one year.

To replenish its ranks the Communist Party draws mainly on the Young Communist League, which to all intents and purposes is its reserve. In keeping with the Rules of the CPSU, young people up to and including the age of twenty-three may join the Party only through the YCL. A recommendation from the district or city committee of the YCL is equivalent to the recommendation of one Party member.

It is natural for the Party organization, which influences the production, political and social life of the collective, to rally round itself its most active members. In such conditions, as experience has shown, advanced persons feel the need to work in the Party's ranks. Such was the case with Vladimir Mikhailov, who became a candidate member a year ago, acquiring the same rights and duties as a full member, the only difference being that he did not have the right to vote at Party meetings and could not be elected to leading bodies.

Communists prepare candidates for full membership first of all by drawing them into active Party work. Each is given a definite social assignment. Young Communist Vladimir Mikhailov was given both moral and practical encouragement. His constructive initiatives were supported in every way. He was invited to take part in the discussion of various production and Party problems. In this way, through experience, he came to know the Leninist principles of inner-Party life, Party discipline, the democratic and collective character of Party leadership. And his comrades, too, were able to have a better idea of his capabilities.

The question of admission is decided by a general meeting of the primary organization, whose decision is valid if not less than two-thirds of the Party members attending the meeting have voted for it,

and comes into effect after endorsement by the district or city Party committee, which issues the Party membership card to the new Communist.

## Party Meetings

Work in a Party organization inevitably makes every Communist feel personally involved in all the affairs of the collective. It is extremely important for the primary organization to take full account of the collective opinion of its members, to draw general conclusions from their experience. This is one of the purposes served by regular meetings of all its members. Such meetings are the supreme collective organ of leadership of every primary organization.

At their meetings Communists discuss questions of Party policy and take decisions on many questions relating to production. At them every Party member can exercise in practice his right to elect and to be elected to Party organs, to submit his proposals, to state his opinion on any question and argue in favour of it, and criticize any Communist, irrespective of the position he holds.

Through meetings Communists exercise their right to take part in elections to organs of state power: in accordance with the USSR Constitution Party meetings can nominate candidates for deputies to Soviets and for people's judges, and elect representatives to electoral commissions.<sup>1</sup> They also dispatch highly trusted persons to be responsible for canvass-

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<sup>1</sup> The right to nominate candidates for deputies belongs, of course, not only to CPSU organizations, but also to trade union, co-operative, YCL and their public organizations and work collectives.



sing to district pre-election meetings where candidates are discussed.

At their meetings Communists decide questions concerning admission to, and expulsion from, the Party, sum up the results of the activity of their organization, set tasks for the future, hear their comrades' reports on their work, determine penalties for infractions.

The meeting can annul any decision of the Secretary, Bureau or Committee if it is out of line with everyday life or goes against Party policy or decisions of the higher Party bodies. A decision adopted by a general membership meeting is obligatory for all Communists belonging to the given Party organization.

Since meetings play such an important role in the life of the Party the CPSU Rules contain strict provisions on the order of their procedure. The frequency of holding Party meetings in primary organizations depends on their structure and size. They should be held at least once a month in all primary organizations which have no shop or other equivalent Party organizations, and in all shop organizations. They should be convened at least once every two months in Party organizations with shop branches. In large organizations with more than 300 members a general Party meeting is held whenever necessary within the terms fixed by the Party Committee, or on the demand of several shop organizations. A violation of these rules can lead to serious mistakes in Party work.

On the strength of many years of practical experience definite rules on the preparation and procedure of meetings in Party organizations have been developed. The CPSU Rules do not fix the number of Party members who must be present to make the meeting valid. This question rests with those

present. It is up to the Party Committee, the Party Bureau and the Secretary of the Party organization to organize Party meetings so that all Party members or a majority are able to attend and take an active part in them.

At the beginning of the meeting the Secretary reminds those present of the number of Communists on the register of the organization, states how many are attending and why some are absent. As a rule, this is followed by the proposal that the meeting be opened, on which a vote is taken by a show of hands. The opening of the meeting makes it valid and its decisions become binding on the entire Party organization, including absent members.

A presidium to conduct the meeting is elected by open ballot. The agenda is then adopted and the order of procedure (the time-limit for the report or information and for participants in the debate).

Such was the case also when Vladimir Mikhailov's application was discussed. The question of admission was first on the agenda of the shop organization's meeting. The Secretary of the Bureau read out Mikhailov's application and the three recommendations and then, by tradition, asked Vladimir to speak about his life.

And although a year before Vladimir had already spoken about himself when he had been admitted as a candidate member, he again mounted the rostrum and, fighting nervousness, said that he had been born in a worker's family and was 30 now. From the very first day in the factory he had worked in one and the same team. Three times a week he attended evening courses in the fourth year of an institute.

"Any questions for Mikhailov?", the Secretary asked.

The first question was from a young engineer.

"Last October the new Constitution was adopted. What personal part did you, Comrade Mikhailov, take in the discussion of the draft?"

"As far as I can remember when I spoke at a meeting on behalf of our team, I expressed our approval of the draft and gave our proposals for raising production efficiency. Specifically, we regarded deficiencies in the way the work of production lines was organized as the main cause of the occasional cases of unrhythmical work of the assembly line. Our proposals for changing the arrangement of machine tools and equipment were taken into account, and now the assembly line moves without stoppages."

"Are you satisfied with the reply?," the Secretary asked the engineer. The latter shrugged undecidedly. "Any more questions?"

A sprightly girl's voice asked about Vladimir's family status.

"I am married. My wife works as a dressmaker in a dressmaker's shop. We have a three-year-old son."

Then the floor was taken by the Party organizer of the group, one of those who had given Mikhailov a recommendation. He said:

"I have known Vladimir since he came to work here, straight from the school-bench. He had a few months' apprenticeship. We all liked the way he persevered in learning the fine points of an adjuster's trade.

"After service in the Army he returned to our team, combining work with evening studies in a specialized technical school. He won his work-mates' respect with his conscientious attitude towards work, refusal to turn his back on shortcomings, and ready sympathy. Now he is successfully coping with a team leader's duties. During his probation period

we have become still more convinced that he will be a good Party member. I recommend that he be admitted to the Party and feel sure that in the future he will also bear with honour the lofty name of Communist."

As a rule, a Party meeting proceeds successfully, in a businesslike way and constructively, if it has been well prepared. What does preparing and conducting a meeting properly involve? In the first place, the questions put up for discussion must be of direct concern to the whole work collective of the shop or enterprise so that all present will be interested in taking part.

For example, it has become a regular practice in primary Party organizations to hear from time to time Communists' reports on how they fulfil the demands of the Rules and Programme of the Party, raise their ideological and theoretical level, assimilate technical, economic and professional knowledge and master skills, on what they do to play a vanguard role in the collective. But we shall say more on such reports somewhat later.

With the growth of the political consciousness and the educational, professional and cultural level of Communists, Party Bureaus and Committees have begun to submit more often ideological and theoretical questions to Party meetings.

At their meetings Communists familiarize themselves with the most important decisions of the Central Committee and the government. The agendas often include questions connected with the social and educational functions of the work collective, with drawing people into the management of production and public affairs. Party meetings discuss also questions of socialist emulation—labour competition between workers and their collectives in fulfilling production plans. A thorough consideration

of such problems helps Communists to become more fully aware of their place in the collective, to gain a deeper knowledge of Marxist-Leninist theory, to raise their ideological-theoretical level.

Communists invariably take an active part in the discussion of draft production plans, the most important socialist obligations undertaken in the course of socialist emulation, plans for the social development of the collective, for the expansion and reconstruction of an enterprise, and measures to improve working conditions and raise the level of production.

As the political leaders of work collectives, Party organizations exert their influence not only on the Communists, but also on non-Party people. *Open Party meetings* are one of the forms in which they exercise this influence. Non-Party workers are invited to such meetings to join the Communists in discussing questions of common concern.

There is a fairly widespread practice of holding joint *Party and YCL meetings*. Securing the participation of the advanced youth in the solution of important problems, Communists inculcate in those who will take over after them a conscientious attitude towards work, pride in their trade, a careful and economical approach to the management of the wealth of society.

The selection of important pressing questions for discussion at a Party meeting is only part of the work required to ensure its effectiveness. It is equally important to prepare the report on the key issue of the meeting so as to interest everyone. Reports are made by the heads of enterprises, shops or teams or the Secretaries of Party organizations, as well as by front-rank workers, innovators, authors of rationalization proposals, representatives of the

planning, material and technical supply and marketing departments, etc.

Special importance is attached to *report-and-election* meetings, at which the results of the work of the organization and its executive body are summed up, general conclusions are drawn from experience, shortcomings and their causes are analyzed, and activities for the period ahead planned.

The procedure for delivering reports and holding elections is defined in a special instruction of the CPSU Central Committee one of the basic principles of which is systematic renovation of leadership while simultaneously preserving its continuity. Observance of this instruction is obligatory. The date of the report-and-election meeting is fixed in agreement with higher Party bodies.

The practice of Party work has shown that often it is beyond the powers of one person to prepare a report which is effective as to both substance and style. In such instances a whole group of Party activists or a special commission drafts the report.

One more indispensable element in preparing a Party meeting is the drafting of its resolution, which also is the result of the collective effort of activists. An active part in preparing the draft resolution is taken by the main speaker himself. Otherwise there may occur discrepancies and even contradictions between the report and the resolution.

As a rule, in the course of the meeting a commission is elected which includes in the draft the more valuable ideas and proposals expressed during the debate on the draft resolution.

After the debate is over the draft resolution is read out and adopted by a show of hands, as a basis. Then remarks are made and amendments and addenda are proposed, and a vote is taken on them. The draft resolution adopted *in toto*, by a

show of hands, together with all the accepted amendments and addenda, becomes binding on all the Communists of the organization.

Now, the meeting is over. The results of the work done in the past period have been summed up, and plans for the immediate future have been drawn up. How do the Communists carry them out? An indispensable part is played by the efficient fulfilment by them of their Party assignments. But that is a subject apart.

## **Party Assignments**

The Party's strength lies in the activity of its members. It is first of all through its members that the Party exerts its influence in all areas of social life. The more active Communists are in their jobs, Party life and social work, the more efficiently the Party organization copes with its tasks.

The main thing in the organizational and educational work of the primary organization is to enable every Communist to gain political experience through active participation in the production and social activities of his or her work collective. This purpose is served best by Party assignments.

Party work is essentially made up of different kind of jobs carried out by Party members which give them a feeling of responsibility for the common cause. Success in carrying out assignments depends in no small measure on the ability of the Party organization to allocate assignments to members capable of carrying them out.

One of the most important assignments for a Communist is his or her election to a leading Party post, to the Bureau or Committee. Equally important and honorable is work in elective posts in the or-

gans of state power—the Soviets of People's Deputies—or in one of the many public organizations, which also is regarded as a Party assignment. Many Communists work in elective posts in the Young Communist League and in the trade unions.

Reading lectures, conducting political orientation work in one's own collective, canvassing during elections are among other forms of Party assignments which have proved valuable. As a rule, Communists are assigned to head publicly-run economic schools and theoretical seminars in their shops, sections and other production units.

The more experienced Communists are often entrusted with the job of supervising young workers at the beginning of their careers. In carrying out this honorable assignment Communists not only pass on their professional skill to youth, not only teach work habits to their future successors, but also encourage them to care for their trade, feel professional pride in their work. These tutors educate the young workers in the traditions of the collective and share their production experience and knowledge of life with them.

It is a matter of prime concern to the Party that every member should actively perform his duties and assignments. An important part in increasing the activity of Communists is played by their periodical reports at meetings of their primary organizations or Party groups, to Bureaus or Committees, on how they comply with the Party Rules.

## **Communists Report on Their Work**

What is important to the Party is not what post a man holds, but how he uses his rights and carries out his duties, what he does for the benefit of society. That is why the primary organization keeps



a close eye on how each of its members carries out his duties. That is why every Party member periodically reports to fellow-Communists on his work.

In discussing their comrade's report Communists consider his vanguard role in increasing production efficiency, his participation in social work, his efforts to raise his general educational, ideological and theoretical level, the carrying out of Party assignments by him, his conduct at work and at home.

When reporting to his comrades at a meeting or a sitting of the Bureau or Committee a Communist not only describes his successes and achievements, but also notes his mistakes, miscalculations and omissions in work. This self-criticism helps him to avoid repeating these errors in the future. If he fails to mention some mistake through forgetfulness or unawareness, those present openly point this out to him.

In most cases Party meetings, Bureaus and Committees adopt resolutions on the reports of Party members which assess their work, show up the strong and weak points, and set concrete tasks for them. These reports have become an effective form of checking on each other's work on a comradely basis, of sharing experience, and an effective means of educating Party members. They are usually made in an atmosphere of comradely criticism of shortcomings, goodwill and at the same time exacting standards. The discussions following the report bear out Lenin's idea regarding the responsibility of the Party for each of its members and the responsibility of each Communist for the Party as a whole.

Prior to the meeting at which V. Mikhailov was admitted to Party membership his application had been discussed at a sitting of the Bureau of the shop organization. At this sitting a representative

of the Committee of the factory Party organization asked him about his social work in the collective. Vladimir said he was a member of the editorial board of the shop's wall newspaper, where he was in charge of the humour and satire section. Appearing monthly and illustrated with photos and drawings, this wall newspaper describes the experience of the best workers, criticizes the erroneous actions of the administration and ridicules violators of discipline and bad workmen.

In addition, Mikhailov is a member of a volunteer public order squad.

Set up on the initiative and with the mass participation of the population and working under the guidance of Party and government bodies, these squads help to maintain law and order, discipline and high standards of community behaviour.

Every day more than 200,000 guardians of order are on duty in towns and villages, ever ready to come to a person's aid, to defend his honour and dignity, to uphold the interests of society against criminal encroachments. Thousands of them have been awarded government decorations.

Vladimir Mikhailov's and his comrades' beat is between the new cinema some 200 metres from the factory gates and the old church. They not only help the militia to guard public order, but do a great deal towards preventing crime. Their mere appearance has a sobering effect on potential trouble-makers. Consequently the last criminal offence was registered in the locality about three years ago.

For some time the militia had been receiving complaints from people living near the local ale-house. At times merry-makers sing too loudly after 11 p.m. (the hour at which by the rules of the City Soviet all noise disturbing the peace must cease) or begin

to settle accounts in anything but a gentlemanly manner. They have to be quieted by the squads, whom the militia has taught special wrestling holds and methods of self-defence. True, as a rule there is no need to use these methods, for the racket-makers calm down at the sight of the squads (who wear red armbands).

And yet, whenever he reports for duty Vladimir worries at the thought that should a crisis arise, he will have to quickly decide what's the right thing to do and do it immediately, remembering that protection of public order is both his personal Party duty and part of the work of the factory Party organization.

## Party Educational Work

Theory lays the basis for practical work. It provides a scientific approach to the solution of tasks facing the Party and the entire people. That is why in organizing the ideological and theoretical education of Communists the Party lays emphasis on their mastering of Marxist-Leninist theory, and on combating bourgeois and revisionist ideology.

In its ideological activity the Party is guided by collectively elaborated propositions which creatively develop Marxism-Leninism so as to apply it to present-day conditions. But the whole of the Party's ideological work rests on Lenin's thesis: "...the *only* choice is—either bourgeois or socialist ideology. There is no middle course. . . . Hence, to belittle the socialist ideology *in any way, to turn aside from it in the slightest degree* means to strengthen bourgeois ideology."<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, Coll. Works, Vol. 5, p. 384

The CPSU has developed a comprehensive system for teaching Marxist-Leninist theory to Party members. This system is divided into three stages—elementary, secondary, and higher—making for a differentiated and consistent study of the main propositions of Marxism-Leninism.

The *first stage* comprises schools of political knowledge for those who have not learned how to study political literature on their own. In these schools the fundamentals of political and economic knowledge and the main Party documents are studied in the course of five or six years.

The *second stage* consists of schools for teaching the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism. Those attending them study the history of the CPSU, philosophy, political economy and scientific communism according to six- to eight-year programmes.

The *third stage* is the highest form of Party education. It includes theoretical seminars, schools for active Party workers, and evening universities of Marxism-Leninism. Here one studies Marxist-Leninist theory, problems of the international Communist, working-class and trade union movements, questions of ethics and aesthetics, philosophical problems of natural science, etc. As a rule, theoretical seminars are organized for engineers and other specialists.

Along with Communists, the system of political education embraces non-Party people. Tens of millions of workers and peasants, engineers, technicians and other specialists are involved in the study of economics, which is organized also by trade union and YCL organizations.

Great attention was paid to political enlightenment by the 25th Congress of the CPSU (1976). Specifically, Leonid Brezhnev said in his report to

the congress: "...present-day conditions produce new tasks for the Party's ideological activity. The practice of the Party organizations suggests the way for us to follow to make it more effective. This involves a comprehensive 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."

The congress oriented the primary organizations towards raising the theoretical level of Party education, and indicated that a deep study by all Communists and millions of non-Party people of the decisions and other materials of the congress should be one of the immediate tasks.

The Party organizations attach special importance to staffing the various sectors of the system of political education. That is a difficult matter, for at large enterprises hundreds of theoretical seminars, schools of political knowledge and schools of Marxism-Leninism have to be organized.

One of the central tasks is to select competent people to lecture at schools and to conduct seminars. Over the recent years it has been the practice to entrust this work to graduates of evening universities of Marxism-Leninism.

Lenin devoted particular attention to the composition of the cadres of propagandists. In a letter to students at the Capri Party School he wrote that "In any school, the most important thing is the ideological and political trend of the lectures. What determines the trend? The *lecturing personnel*, entirely and exclusively."<sup>1</sup> Hence the constant concern for the training of lecturers, who receive every

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<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, Coll. Works, Vol. 15, p. 472

possible assistance. Conferences devoted to theoretical and methodological problems and exchange of experience are organized for them. The sponsorship of young lecturers by experienced ones and visits to one another's lessons are also of considerable help.

As a rule, the Committee, Bureau or Party meeting approve every propagandist personally, which enhances his sense of responsibility for this important Party assignment.

The primary organization sees to it that the study process is as effective as possible, and comes to the aid of the propagandists who need it.

It has become the custom to sum up the results of political studies at meetings or Bureau or Committee sittings at the end of the course.

The ideological and political education of Communists and non-Party people is effectively helped by various forms of mass propaganda. Great popularity is enjoyed, for instance, by the communist education schools and schools of economics. There are almost 413,000 communist education schools, where questions on economics and politics and progressive production experience are studied. They are attended, in off-work hours, by at least ten million people.

In their political work primary organizations often organize question-and-answer sessions in factory clubs and at places of residence.

Party organizations regularly dispatch propagandists to shops, teams and farms to explain the domestic and foreign policy of the Party and the plans for economic and cultural development.

Party Bureaus and Committees set up groups of news analysts who address audiences with comments on events at home and abroad.

The purpose of ideological and political education is well served by factory newspapers, in which the life and problems of work collectives are given timely coverage.

These forms of Party work extend not only to Communists, but to vast numbers of non-Party members, helping to maintain the Party's close ties with the people. Party work among the masses is dealt with in the next chapter.

### III. THE PARTY AND SOCIETY

The Party maintains its ties with the people through numerous channels including state and public organizations, the press, radio and television.

#### Public and State Organizations

Tens of millions of Soviet people are connected in one way or another with various public organizations such as trade unions, the Young Communist League, scientific and technical societies, the society of inventors and rationalizers, the Union of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, the Voluntary Society for Assistance to the Army, Air Force and Navy, etc. Communists are found in each of these organizations, and through them the Party co-ordinates the work of these organizations, helps to define their objectives and avoid duplication, and encourages their initiative.

While politically guiding public organizations the Party does not work for them. With the help of explanations and recommendations Communists put them on a correct course and direct their activities



towards the single aim of building the material and technical basis of communism which will make it possible to implement the principle, "From each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs."

The Party's policy as set forth in its documents is the principal form of its leadership of public organizations. And this is not only because its decisions are binding on all government and public organizations by virtue of its being the guiding force of Soviet society, but also because this policy is worked out with the active participation of the entire people and all public organizations. That is why the latter accept the policy of the Party as their own.

The practice of building a communist society has suggested numerous forms of Party guidance of public organizations some of which have become universal. One of them is *Communists' work in public organizations* and their leading bodies, where they act as vehicles of Party policy.

The Communist Party has maintained over many decades firm links with the *trade unions*. The reason for this is easy to understand. The Party and the trade unions have the same class basis, including in their ranks both workers and other categories of working people. At present workers make up 42 per cent of the membership of the Party and at least 65 per cent of that of the trade unions.

But there are important distinctions between the Party and the trade unions. The Party has in its ranks a comparatively small part of the workers, peasants and intelligentsia—16.2 million persons who are more mature ideologically and active politically. The trade unions have as members the bulk of working people—more than 113 million. The Party does not press to increase its ranks, but selects

only the worthiest. The trade unions strive to recruit all working people.

Party guidance of the Soviet trade unions in no way bears out the notion, artificially cultivated in the West, that the Party controls the trade unions and dictates its will to them. In reality, this guidance is based on respect for the organizational autonomy of the trade unions, on non-interference in their day-to-day activity.

The Party sees its task with regard to the trade unions in providing ideological and political leadership, i.e. disseminating among workers Marxist-Leninist ideology, which is a scientific expression of the vital interests of the working class and all working people, in explaining their place and role in society, in the building of socialism and communism. The Party helps the trade unions to frame and implement policies conforming to the working people's interests.

The Party's close ties with the trade unions are realized also organizationally: through what may be called two-fold membership. Communists are, as a rule, also trade union members. By taking part in the work of their trade unions they help to pursue the Party's policy in them.

This practice had existed before the October Revolution of 1917, but at that time the tendency was for Communists to join newly organized trade unions, while today the situation is reversed, with the ranks of the Party being augmented with the politically more aware and active members of trade unions.

Just as all trade union members, Communists have the right to elect and be elected to any leading body, from the factory committee to the Central Committee of their trade union or the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions. Membership of

the Party gives them no advantages, for leading trade union bodies are elected on the criterion of competence and not party affiliation.

Members of foreign trade union delegations often ask about the percentage of Communists in the leading bodies of the Soviet trade unions. This question is asked not only by friends wanting a clearer picture of the relationship between the Party and the trade unions, but also by prejudiced people, who argue somewhat as follows: Since the Communist Party is the ruling party, does it not preserve its position by monopolizing leading posts in all institutions and organizations, the trade unions included?

That this is not so is seen even from the fact that Communists make up only 30.6 per cent of the composition of all leading trade union bodies. Consequently, almost 70 per cent are non-Party people. Moreover, this proportion has remained practically unchanged over many years.

The reader may want to know how the CPSU manages to ensure its successful leadership of the trade unions, given this proportion of Communists to non-Party people. In the first place, this is explained by the Party's immense authority. Soviet people remember that it was the Party that took part in the founding of the trade union movement in Russia, helped the workers to set up their own organizations, roused them to the struggle against tsarism, and after the victory of the socialist revolution in 1917, directed their efforts in building a new society.

Experience has taught Soviet trade unions that Party leadership is an essential factor in the successful performance of their work. In guiding the trade unions the Party concentrates on strengthening their organizational autonomy, enhancing their role in

society, extending their functions and rights, and improving the forms and methods of their work.

That is why the Soviet trade unions always back the Party, that is why they accept its ideological and political leadership.

The Party exerts a strong influence also on the *Young Communist League*. Without going into the details of the activity of this mass organization of young people (you can read about Soviet youth in other Novosti Press Agency publications), we shall limit ourselves to pointing out that the Party exercises its guidance of the YCL through Communists elected to leading YCL bodies, through constant contact with the youth in work, studies and everyday life.

Primary Party organizations keep close watch on the cultural and educational activities of public organizations at enterprises and institutions. Along with all their various activities aimed at encouraging the harmonious development of people, houses and palaces of culture, clubs and libraries also undertake to help production. Popularization of the successes of winners of socialist emulation drives and of the movement for a communist attitude towards labour, honouring the best workers, dissemination of technical and economic knowledge and other forms of cultural and educational activity help factory and office workers and peasants to cope more effectively with their production tasks. You will hardly find an industrial or agricultural enterprise, a research institution or educational establishment where there are no posters, panels, display stands and photo exhibits popularizing advanced experience, boards of honour with photographs of the best workers, satirical bulletins, etc., which keep the personnel informed about progress in the fulfilment of the production programme, about those who

have done a good job at work and those who have not.

The Party exercises its leading role in the state through the Communists working in the Soviets of Working People's Deputies and other state institutions.

Here are some concrete examples. Communist Yuri Sidorov heads a team of turners at the Elektrosila electrical engineering association in Leningrad. As well as being an outstanding worker, he is a deputy to the USSR Supreme Soviet. That his constituents are pleased with him is seen from the fact that he is serving his second consecutive term in the supreme organ of Soviet power.

Work of equal social merit is performed by Mariya Ivannikova, weaver at the Frunze cotton mill in Moscow, Mikhail Klepikov, team leader on the Kuban collective farm in the Krasnodar Territory, and many others. Incidentally, the USSR Supreme Soviet elected in 1974 has 1,517 deputies, 1,096 of whom are Communists.

The Soviets direct all aspects of state building and economic, social and cultural development, adopt decisions and ensure and verify their execution by the work collectives of industrial and agricultural enterprises, research institutions and educational establishments.

## **Work Collectives**

The Party devotes special attention to work collectives which are directly involved in the production of material values and which are building the economic foundation of communism, its material and technical base.

The work collective of today is a complex social organism with its own administrative body, and there are primary branches of public organizations to which its employees belong. It is in their work collective, in conditions of socialist democracy (including production democracy), that workers, peasants and other working people are drawn into the management of production and state and public affairs. There they learn to feel that their enterprise belongs to them, and there they develop the proper attitude towards their duties, and a sense of strict responsibility to the collective for their work, for all their actions and conduct.

The work collective provides a great deal more than scope for labour activity. To many people it is also a primary school for social activity, which brings out their best qualities such as perseverance, initiative, a feeling for the collective, comradesly mutual assistance, kindness, modesty, etc.

Work collectives make up the main productive force of society—the working class with its remarkable qualities, revolutionary and collective spirit, and ability to organize. There is a constant increase in the number of workers who have become fully skilled in their trades, but continue to study without leaving their jobs. Such workers are active politically. They consider the interests of the state, the interests of their work collective as their own. With their positive example they lead all the other workers. It is appropriate to note here that the delegates to the 25th Congress of the CPSU included 797 Heroes of Socialist Labour and 244 winners of Lenin and State prizes, which are awarded for outstanding successes in labour, in the development of science and culture.

“The collective in which one works is a home,

family and school rolled into one," Leonid Brezhnev said addressing the 16th Congress of the Trade Unions of the USSR. "It is here that professional skills, experience and a conscientious attitude towards work are passed on from generation to generation, and communist dedication and loyalty to the Party, readiness to be always in the front ranks in the most difficult and crucial areas, are being implanted in the hearts of youth."

That is why the primary Party organization is the leading political core of the work collective, its cementing and inspiring force. The stronger it is organizationally and the more closely it is united ideologically, the more effective and fruitful its influence on the work collective.

There occur periods in the life of every production collective when a maximum exertion of forces is demanded of it. Such a period set in for the workers of the Krasny Proletary plant of Moscow in the year when the production of a new model of a screw-cutting lathe had to be organized. This involved changing equipment, retraining workers and solving a host of other problems.

After analyzing the set-up in the plant the Party organization decided to concentrate attention on the administrative personnel. The most crucial sectors were entrusted to the most highly qualified specialists capable of seeing beyond the immediate needs of production to those of tomorrow. Open Party meetings were held in all the shops, at which Communists singled out the shortcomings in their work and sought to bring home to every worker the importance of the task at hand. As a result the production of the new model of the lathe, which measures up to the highest world standards, was started earlier than planned.

As the political leader, the primary organization influences the labour, social and educational functions of the collective, raises the political consciousness of its members, strengthens its unity. It educates workers ideologically, cultivates a Marxist-Leninist world outlook in them, encourages them to work harder at their jobs and be more active socially, inculcates a conscientious, communist attitude towards work. It also concerns itself with the all-round development of the workers' abilities, their cultural level, education and professional skill. The working people are brought up on the glorious revolutionary, militant and labour traditions of the working class and the entire Soviet people. The Party wants all workers to become conscious supporters of its policy.

In their work collectives Communists head socialist emulation drives for the fulfilment of state plans and workers' individual pledges to improve the quality of output and raise the efficiency of production, and help fellow-workers to find and use to the best advantage the internal resources of their enterprises and institutions, and to introduce into production the latest scientific and technical achievements and the experience of advanced workers. Interested in preserving and increasing the wealth of society, Communists take measures to strengthen labour discipline, raise labour productivity and improve the quality of output.

Primary Party organizations carry on extensive propaganda work among workers and other employees, helping them to learn how to take part in the management of state and public affairs. With the use of criticism and self-criticism, they combat all manifestations of red tape, mismanagement and wastefulness. They do so in keeping with their right to supervise the work of an administration.



## Checking on the Work of the Administration

Primary organizations not only influence rank-and-file Party members, but educate executives in a spirit of strict responsibility for the work entrusted to them, socialist enterprise, high standards of efficiency and intolerance of shortcomings and omissions in work. In short, they want each member of the work collective, from its head to the rank-and-file worker, to feel personally responsible for the whole production process.

In keeping with the Rules of the CPSU, its primary organizations have the right to check on the work of the administration of enterprises in industry, agriculture, transport, communications, building, material and technical supplies, trade, public catering, utilities and services, design organizations, drafting offices and research institutes, educational establishments and cultural and medical institutions. They also check on the work of the administration of ministries, state committees and other central and local economic agencies and departments.

The right to check on the work of an administration gives Party organizations a powerful instrument with which they can influence the solution of economic tasks. This right enables them effectively to carry into life Party and government decisions, harmonizing the interests of the state, the collective and the individual, and concentrating the attention of the Communists on the key problems affecting the life of the collective.

This type of supervision is based on Lenin's demand that verification and execution be considered in unison. Primary organizations do not exercise this power from the side-lines, as inspectors or observers, but as organizers and educators of the work collec-

tive. It is not the recording of negative facts, but their prevention, the timely removal of shortcomings and improvement of the state of things that form the meaning and main essence of Party supervision.

The right to check on the activities of an administration is a powerful means for the further extension of inner-Party democracy, promotion of initiative and independent action on the part of Communists. It enhances their vanguard role and responsibility for the work of their organization and the Party as a whole. This is an important feature of the activity of the Party, which not only proclaims the principles of inner-Party democracy, but creates conditions in which this democracy can be realized in practical life and each Communist can show his abilities.

While systematically checking all aspects of the work of management, Party organizations do not take over its functions, nor do they engage in detailed supervision of the executive staff. They work to strengthen the one-man management system which under socialism combines individual management with various forms and methods of control from below.

There are different forms of verifying the work of an administration. One of these is to hear reports by managers (both Communists and non-Party members) at sittings of Party Committees and Bureaus or at meetings of Party groups or primary or shop Party organizations. This helps to bring out shortcomings and, what is most important, to find ways of improving a given situation.

The primary Party organization can demand that an administration present a comprehensive report on the state of affairs at the enterprise or the institution. Having carefully studied the report the Party

organization will have a full picture of the administration's activity without hearing a report from the head of the enterprise himself.

For a more detailed supervision of the administration's work primary Party organizations set up special commissions. These commissions do not independently examine and decide questions on the work of an administration, for this is the prerogative of the Party organization as a whole. They work under the guidance of Party Committees, Bureaus and Secretaries.

The Party Committee of the Voronezh ore dressing equipment plant has five such commissions. This is what Leonid Solovyov, deputy head designer of the plant, had to say about them:

"I was somewhat embarrassed when I was first elected to one of these commissions. Heads of our service departments and shop superintendents are, as a rule, competent specialists with a long service record. How could I, a comparatively young, less experienced man, check on their work?

"Eventually I realized that when a commission is concentrating on key problems that seriously affect the performance of shops and departments, people go out of their way to help when one of its members visits a production unit.

"Our commission supervising the technical retooling of the plant has five members: V. Grebennikov and P. Kleimenov, engineers from the head technologist's department, A. Gerusov, an electrician, A. Bugakov, a turner, and myself. We plan our work in such a way as to keep an eye on all the principal organizational and technical measures designed to introduce the results of scientific research and new technology into production. And we stress the need to increase people's sense of responsibility for their work.

"I remember the serious criticism which was levelled at the heads of the machine shop at a Party conference of the plant. They fully deserved it, as they didn't obtain any of the considerable results they could from the technical re-equipment we had carried out. Communists singled out the reasons for this: a small average number of machine replacements and long periods of enforced idleness for machines.

"There was a similar situation in some other shops at that time.

"The Party Committee instructed our commission to get to the bottom of the matter. We invited Party activists from among the workers, foremen and leading specialists of departments to take part in the inspection. What did we find out?

"The collective had accumulated a lot of experience in adjusting and starting complex operating units. But they had a poor record in maintaining and operating them.

"We submitted our conclusions and proposals to the Party Committee, which adopted a special decision, while the director issued appropriate instructions. The situation improved. In 1976 alone, as a result of the work of these Party commissions hundreds of thousands of roubles were saved by introducing organizational and technical measures. But the result is not only reflected in figures. Today no one in our plant doubts that our effort has had a considerable effect on raising the level of production and technological discipline and every worker's sense of responsibility for the fulfilment of planned assignments."

The size of commissions depends on the amount and character of the work planned. They are elected by a show of hands at general meetings or confer-

ences for a term of one year and re-elected at report-and-election meetings.

When necessary new commissions are set up at a regular Party meeting or a sitting of the Party Committee, which secures the mass participation of active trade unionists and YCL members in their work.

In places where the establishment of commissions is found inexpedient the work of an administration is checked on by all Communists under the guidance of the Secretary of the Party organization.

At enterprises where there are no primary Party organizations supervisory functions are performed by the trade union and YCL organizations, which inform Party organs about shortcomings and violations of state discipline and labour legislation.

In cases when the management does not eliminate in good time the deficiencies spotlighted by the commissions the primary Party organization brings its influence to bear on the executives at fault.

In addition, at its general meeting every work collective elects *people's control* groups and posts. Being one of the forms of socialist democracy, these organs verify the fulfilment of state plans and assignments, combat violations of labour and state discipline, departmentalism, mismanagement and wastefulness, red tape and other bureaucratic violations, and help to improve the work of the machinery of state.

It is hard to give a precise estimate of the effect of the work of people's control inspectors. Some idea can be gained, however, from the fact that in 1976 the people's control units of the Tomsk Region imposed fines, totalling 15,877 roubles, on 84 officials who had harmed the interests of the state by their actions or failure to take action. Each of them had to part with roughly the equivalent of his monthly salary.

Party organizations help people's control bodies to carry out their functions.

The effectiveness of people's control bodies depends in large measure on those who are elected to staff these control posts and groups. Quite understandably, Party organizations concern themselves with improving the membership of these bodies. Take the example of the Elektrotsink plant in Ordzhonikidze, capital of the North-Ossetian Autonomous Republic. Half of the 243 members of people's control units, elected under the guidance of the Party organization, are rank-and-file workers. The Party organization exercises its influence in these units through Communists, who make up 46 per cent of the number of people's inspectors, and YCL members, who account for 14 per cent.

Primary organizations see to it that the most trustworthy people, people who are not prepared to tolerate shortcomings, are elected to people's control bodies. At the time of writing there are 649,000 people's control groups and 659,000 people's control posts in the country. They are staffed with more than nine million of the finest representatives of the working class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia. Thirty-seven per cent of them are Communists.

The quality of the work of people's control bodies depends also on those who head them. That is why Party organizations often recommend to these posts members of Party Bureaus and Committees and deputy Secretaries. This facilitates the co-ordination of the work of people's control posts and groups with that of Party commissions for control over the activities of administrations.

Competent guidance by higher Party bodies is essential if the work of primary organizations is to be effective. This subject is dealt with in the concluding chapter.

## IV. PARTY COMMITTEES

### A Reliable Support and Assistance

In all the foregoing pages we have endeavoured to show that primary Party organizations, which work at grass-roots level, actively help to fuse the policy of the Party with the initiative and creativity of the masses. That is why the district, city, regional Party Committees and the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of the Union republics can firmly rely on primary organizations. But the latter's capacity for action and their ability to take correct decisions depend to a considerable extent on the help given them by higher Party bodies in improving inner-Party work, organizing political work among the masses, correctly placing cadres and conducting political educational work among Communists and non-Party people. The Party Committees organize exchange of experience of inner-Party work between their organizations and take measures to raise the activity of Communists and strengthen their discipline.

To provide primary organizations with leadership means first and foremost to promote their creative initiative and independent activity in all matters, to enhance their responsibility for Party work at enterprises, construction sites and in institutions.

Leadership of primary organizations does not consist of regulating all their activity. The Party's Central Committee sharply criticizes local Party Committees which try to decide questions bearing on the life of work collectives without the participation of primary organizations.

Assistance to primary organizations consists in both informing Communists systematically on new tasks and problems and in suggesting possible ways of solving them.

Experience shows, however, that to give advice, instructions and recommendations is not enough for successful leadership of primary organizations. It is equally important to support initiative from below. In other words, feedback is essential to Party leadership.

As laid down in the CPSU Rules, the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of the Union republics and territorial, regional, area, city and district Party Committees systematically inform primary Party organizations of their work.

Let us look at some of the many forms of leadership of primary organizations that have been evolved by higher bodies in the course of their work.

## **Improvement of Structure**

Life does not stand still, especially in our age of scientific and technological revolution.

Not only are new factories and mills, organizations and institutions emerging, but whole new cities; vast territories are being settled. For instance, about 150 new cities and townships have sprung up in Siberia in the past fifteen years.

In the course of concentration and specialization of production new industrial and research-and-pro-



duction associations and agricultural complexes employing tens of thousands of people are being set up. As enterprises, institutions and educational establishments expand so do their Party organizations, which leads, in turn, to an increase in the number of shop organizations and Party groups.

District, city and other Party Committees readily sanction the establishment of new and the enlargement of existing shop organizations and Party groups, because new Party units strengthen the Communists' opportunities for independent action, their influence on work collectives, and their sense of responsibility for production and Party work. Besides, the Party Bureaus and Committees are augmented with new Communists who actively join in social work.

As experience shows, increase in the number of grass-roots organizations makes it possible to distribute Party assignments more rationally and pay more attention to each Communist. It also facilitates timely exchange of experience and checking up on the implementation of decisions and makes for more fruitful individual work with Communists and non-Party people.

## **Analysis of Work Done**

Another useful form of leadership of primary organizations is discussion of reports on their work at sittings of higher Party Committees, conferences of active Party workers and district and city conferences and seminars. This helps primary organizations to uncover mistakes and omissions in work and use latent reserves.

Analysis of the activity of a primary organization enables a higher Party body to assess the work

being done at grass-roots level, popularize positive experience and prevent the occurrence of revealed shortcomings in other organizations.

As a rule, the discussion of the work of a primary organization is preceded by talks with the Secretary of the Bureau, group organizers and other Party workers as well as rank-and-file Communists about the state of production, political and inner-Party work. When necessary a study is made of Party documents such as minutes of meetings, records of payment of membership dues, long-term and current Party work plans, etc. Those entrusted with the job of inspecting the work of a primary organization attend Party meetings, meetings of Party workers, classes in political schools, and theoretical seminars.

After the discussion the Party Committee adopts a resolution containing, in addition to an assessment of the work of the primary organization, concrete recommendations on improving it.

In Chapter II, devoted to meetings, we already noted the importance of the choice of the leader of the Party organization—the Secretary of its Bureau. Let us examine this question in greater detail.

## **Party Leader**

The Secretaries of the Bureaus of primary Party organizations constitute an exceedingly important category of Party cadres. To be elected to this honorable post, a Communist must have been a member of the Party for not less than one year.

At all the stages of its history the Communist Party has paid tremendous attention to the selection, training and education of cadres qualified to fill elective leading posts in their organizations. Leonid Brezhnev said at the 25th Congress of the CPSU

that "The modern leader must organically combine within himself the Party approach and well-grounded competence, a sense of high discipline and initiative, and a creative approach to his work. At the same time, on every sector the leader must take account of the socio-political and educational aspects, be sensitive to the needs and requirements of people, and set an example in work and in everyday life." All these qualities are a must for Party leaders. The Party backs up its course for enhancing the role of its organizations with ensuring their qualified leadership. As recently as 1966, only one-third of the Secretaries of primary organizations had a higher or incomplete higher education. In 1977 more than half of them had higher school diplomas.

In present-day conditions, when primary organizations play an ever growing role in managing the economy, the most capable organizers from among qualified specialists are elected as Secretaries of these organizations.

The competence of a Party leader in production matters helps him to solve problems in conformity with the interests of the state. A sound professional knowledge coupled with a thorough ideological and theoretical grounding equips a leader to cope with tasks of any complexity.

A Party leader is always in direct contact with the masses. Every day people turn to him with the most diverse production, social and personal problems. When a Secretary shows constant concern for people around him, Communists and non-Communists alike, and understands their feelings and requirements, he gains in authority.

To be able to acquire a profound understanding of people, their feelings, interests and needs, Party leaders must have a basic knowledge of sociology, social psychology, and pedagogics. To this end a

system for improving the qualifications of Secretaries of primary Party organizations has been established.

Many of them are given instruction at permanent courses, where experienced Party workers teach young Secretaries the elements of political leadership, the ability to conduct individual work with people. Wide exchanges of experience are arranged during classes. The courses, with their highly-qualified lecturers, give those attending them a thorough grounding.

Also widespread are city and district evening universities of Marxism-Leninism with faculties specializing in Party development.

District Committees run Party schools, schools for active members of Party organizations, and seminars on various problems of Marxist-Leninist theory. Special groups are formed to be attended by Secretaries of primary and shop Party organizations, their deputies, Bureau members and Party group organizers.

Party work has many aspects to it, and courses and seminars alone will not produce real Party leaders. It is essential for a Communist to be in constant contact with the masses, to carefully study progressive experience obtained through collective efforts. Therefore an important and sometimes determining role in raising the ideological and theoretical level and practical competence of Secretaries and other active members of Party organizations is played by theoretical and methodological conferences on various aspects of Party work. In addition to obtaining information on questions of theory, participants in such conferences exchange their experience of individual work with people and learn methods of mobilizing a collective to accomplish the tasks set before it.

Of considerable help to Secretaries and other active Party workers in acquiring the necessary theoretical knowledge and advanced experience are Party organizational work rooms set up under district and city Party Committees and at large primary organizations.

Visitors to these rooms, where valuable experience accumulated by primary organizations is systematized and generalized, are given consultations by qualified people on different aspects of Party work. The rooms arrange display stands and exhibitions and supply visitors with reference and popular literature on Party building.

A great deal towards improving leadership of primary organizations is done by methodological councils under Party Committees, and councils of Secretaries of primary Party organizations in localities remote from district centres. As a rule, the latter are headed by experienced Secretaries of large organizations. The councils generalize experience of participation in mass political campaigns, discuss problems concerning the organization of political educational work at places of residence, protection of public order, community development, the work of services and public utilities, etc. District Party Committees give these councils organizational leadership and methodological assistance.

Regular conferences of Secretaries of Party organizations, held with the participation of functionaries of district and city Party Committees, help them to exchange experience, formulate new tasks and work out the details of fulfilling them.

This is a general outline of the forms and methods used by Party committees to raise the ideological and theoretical level of Secretaries of primary organizations.

\* \* \*

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union has always made exacting demands on its lower units. These demands have become higher still in the conditions of developed socialism, when the material and technical basis of communism is being built. The political life of the Party, its ideological and organizational work as reflected in the activities of primary organizations has been dealt with in this booklet, whose limited space forbids describing everything that might interest the reader. But, as we have already said, you will find answers to many questions pertaining to the activity of the CPSU in other booklets of our series "CPSU: The Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Experience of Party Work."

V. Ilyin  
The Foundation of the Party

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