

F. R. KOZLOV

**AMENDMENTS TO THE RULES
OF THE
COMMUNIST PARTY
OF THE SOVIET UNION**

REPORT TO THE 22nd PARTY CONGRESS
OCTOBER 28, 1961

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Comrades, our great Leninist Communist Party is experiencing joyous and exciting days. The eyes of the Soviet people, the eyes of all mankind, are fixed on the hall in the Kremlin where this Congress is taking place. (*Applause.*)

The Twenty-Second Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, a congress of builders of communism, has discussed with tremendous enthusiasm the Report of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. and the Report on the draft of the new Party Programme, which were delivered by Nikita Sergeevich Khrushchov, First Secretary of the Central Committee. (*Prolonged applause.*)

In his historic reports to the Congress, Comrade Khrushchov has summed up the gigantic creative activity of our Party and the entire Soviet people since the Twentieth Congress of the C.P.S.U. Those reports reveal the chief trends and laws of the development of society in the present epoch and define the magnificent tasks of the Communist Party and the Soviet people for the whole period of full-scale communist construction. (*Applause.*)

Every Congress of our great Leninist Party reflects a certain stage in its history, in its work of revolutionary transformation. The Twenty-Second Congress will occupy a special place in the heroic annals of the Communist Party and in the development of Soviet society. It will go down in history as an outstanding event of our day, as the congress that adopted the great Programme for the building of communist society. (*Applause.*)

In an atmosphere of unprecedented ideological unity, the Congress, expressing the will of the entire Party and of the whole people, has voiced its complete approval of the political line and practical activity of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. in the spheres of home and foreign policy, and has unanimously endorsed the new Party Programme. (*Applause.*)

The years will pass, glorious new pages will be written into the history of our Party, many wonderful events will occur in the life of the Soviet country, but the adoption of the Programme of the C.P.S.U. by the Twenty-Second Congress will for ever remain an event of great historic significance. (*Applause.*)

The Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is a fruit of the collective creative thought of the entire Party and of its Leninist Central Committee headed by Comrade Khrushchov. A creative attitude to theory, contact with real life, and an ability to express correctly the basic interests of the people characterise Comrade Khrushchov as a true Leninist, an outstanding political leader and a Marxist-Leninist theoretician. (*Stormy applause.*)

The entire content of the work of the Twenty-Second Congress of the Party is a majestic anthem to the all-conquering ideas of Marxism-Leninism. The new Party Programme and the decisions of the Congress provide a sound basis for the solution of highly important theoretical and practical problems of communist construction in the U.S.S.R. and of the consolidation of the world socialist system; they furnish a thorough analysis of present-day world development.

The new Programme of the C.P.S.U. puts forward the construction of a communist society in the U.S.S.R. as the immediate practical task of the Party and the Soviet people. Comrade Khrushchov has said that our Programme "*is a concrete, scientifically substantiated programme for the building of communism.*" The draft shows clearly how

the bright edifice of communism is to be erected. We see how it should be built, how it will look from within and without, what kind of people will live in it, and what they will do to make it still more comfortable and attractive. We can proudly tell those who want to know what communism is: 'Read our Party Programme'." (*Stormy applause.*)

In the Party Programme and in Comrade Khrushchov's reports, the Marxist-Leninist theory of the Party has been further developed, and a theoretical basis to its growing role in the life of society in the period of the full-scale construction of communism has been given.

"There must be a new, higher stage in the development of the Party itself and of its political, ideological, and organisational work that is in conformity with the full-scale building of communism," says the Programme. "The Party will continuously improve the forms and methods of its work, so that its leadership of the masses, of the building of the material and technical basis of communism, of the development of society's spiritual life will keep pace with the growing requirements of the epoch of communist construction."

Our Party has grown from the small Marxist circles and groups that emerged in Russia at the end of the last century into a ten-million-strong army of advanced fighters for the revolutionary transformation of society, into a party that guides a great socialist state, a party of builders of communism. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is a great force of our times, and its policy exerts a tremendous influence on the whole course of world history. (*Applause.*)

It was our Party that led the working people of Russia to victory over tsarism and capitalism, to the creation of the Soviet Union, the world's first socialist state. It was under the Party's tried and tested leadership that the Soviet people achieved the final and complete victory of socialism. Today the Party is confidently leading the 220-

million-strong Soviet people to the victory of communism and for the first time in history is breaking man's path to a happy future. (*Applause.*)

Comrades, the question of amendments to the Rules of the C.P.S.U. is presented for the consideration of the Twenty-Second Congress. The Rules of the Party constitute the basic law of inner-Party life. They determine the standards of Party life, the organisational principles of the Party's structure, and the methods of its practical activities. It is in the order of things that our Congress should discuss amendments to the Rules of the C.P.S.U. The new Programme confronts the Party and all Communists with the new and higher demands that arise out of the tasks of the full-scale construction of a communist society. With these gigantic tasks in hand, the Party will increase its militancy and continuously perfect the forms and methods of its organisational and educational work.

The great Lenin taught us that whenever the Party is faced with new tasks it should elaborate organisational forms, rules and standards of internal Party life that are in accordance with the historical conditions of its activity and which ensure fulfilment of those tasks. This is the postulate that guided the Central Committee in drawing up the draft Rules of the C.P.S.U. that have now been submitted to this Congress.

The Rules now in force were, it will be remembered, adopted in 1952 at the Nineteenth Party Congress at which Comrade Khrushchov delivered his report "Amendments to the Rules of the C.P.S.U.(B.)". The fundamental Leninist organisational principles of the structure and functioning of the Party embodied in the present Rules remain unchanged. The draft Rules presented for consideration to the Twenty-Second Congress develop these principles. They are based entirely on the requirements of the new Programme of the C.P.S.U. and reflect the great changes in the life of the country and the Party that have taken place in

the interim; they reflect the requirements of our further development.

In these past years the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has grown numerically and has become stronger both ideologically and organisationally. The Party, having eliminated the consequences of the cult of Stalin's person, has fully restored the Leninist standards of Party life and the principle of collective leadership, and has mustered still more closely around its Leninist Central Committee. The role of the Party as the guiding and directing force of the Soviet people has increased. The Party has become enriched by fresh experience in the political leadership of the masses. Never before has there been such a durable and indestructible Leninist unity of the Party's ranks as in our days. (*Prolonged applause.*)

The Rules of the C.P.S.U. that our Congress is to approve will place in the hands of the Party a reliable organisational weapon in the struggle for the victory of communism; they will enhance the role of the Party as the inspirer and organiser of communist construction.

As a result of the victory of socialism in the U.S.S.R., and the strengthening of the moral and political unity of Soviet society, the Communist Party, the party of the working class, has become the party of the entire Soviet people. This is the great result of the historical development of our Party, of the final and complete victory of socialism in the U.S.S.R. (*Applause.*)

The Party's guiding star in all its activities is the theory of Marxism-Leninism, a powerful ideological weapon of cognition, a weapon for the revolutionary transformation of society on communist lines. While developing Marxism-Leninism creatively, our Party resolutely combats all manifestations of revisionism, dogmatism, and sectarianism which are profoundly alien to revolutionary theory.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is an inseparable, integral part of the international Communist and working-class movement. It firmly upholds the tried and

tested principles of proletarian internationalism. Its long history and its manifold activities show that the Party fulfils its internationalist duty to the international Communist and working-class movement. The C.P.S.U. actively contributes to further consolidating the unity of the international Communist movement and fraternal relations with the great army of Communists of all countries; it co-ordinates its activities with the efforts of the other contingents of the world Communist movement to promote the joint struggle for peace, democracy and socialism. This is a most important condition ensuring the victory of socialism and communism, the triumph of the Marxist-Leninist theory on a world-wide scale. (*Applause.*)

Our struggle for the victory of communism in the U.S.S.R. is a great contribution to the cause of the world Communist and working-class movement, the highest manifestation of our internationalist duty.

All the amendments and addenda to the Rules are designed to raise the organisational work of the Party to the level of the great tasks of communist construction as laid down in the new Programme of the C.P.S.U. The indestructible ideological and organisational unity of the Party is a most important factor guaranteeing its invincibility. (*Prolonged applause.*)

COMMUNIST CONSTRUCTION AND ENHANCEMENT OF THE PRESTIGE OF THE NAME OF PARTY MEMBER

Comrades, in the conditions now obtaining, the role played by each Communist and his responsibility to the Party and the people have grown immensely, and the prestige of the name of Party member has increased. "It is the duty of a Communist in production, in social and personal life," says the Programme, "to be a model in the struggle for the development and consolidation of communist relations, and to observe the principles and norms of communist morality."

The draft Rules, proceeding from these propositions of the Programme, lay down the basic duties and rights of a Communist, and outline the organisational principles that govern admission into and expulsion from the C.P.S.U.

The question of Party membership is one of the fundamental questions of Party construction. The successful fulfilment of the Party's responsible role as the vanguard of the Soviet people, its strength and militancy, depend primarily on the composition of its membership. The Party will continue to reinforce its ranks by admitting into them the most politically conscious and active members of our society, and will keep the name of Communist immaculate and hold it high.

Article One of the draft Rules reads:

"Membership of the C.P.S.U. is open to any citizen of the Soviet Union who accepts the Programme and the

Rules of the Party, takes an active part in communist construction, works in one of the Party organisations, carries out all Party decisions, and pays membership dues.”

This article retains Lenin’s principle of Party membership in full. What is new in the definition is the statement that membership of the Party is open to any Soviet citizen who “takes an active part in communist construction”. This requirement is in accordance with the new conditions of Party life; it is the surest criterion of a citizen’s worthiness to hold the title of Party member in the period of the full-scale construction of communist society. (*Applause.*)

Communism makes man’s life secure, joyous and happy. For all the springs of public wealth to flow more abundantly, however, labour for the benefit of society must become the prime necessity of life for all Soviet people. It is with this in view that the duties of a Party member in respect of social labour, production and the creation of the material and technical basis of communism have been brought into the foreground in the draft Rules of the C.P.S.U.

A Party member must serve as an example of the communist attitude to labour, must raise productivity of labour and be an innovator, must support and popularise everything progressive. A Communist must be knowledgeable in the technical field, must continuously improve his qualifications and take an active part in economic and cultural development. It is above all the way in which a Communist carries out these obligations that indicates his political maturity and his devotion to the great cause of Marxism-Leninism. (*Applause.*)

The Soviet people are in the forefront of the revolutionary transformation of human society. Their world outlook is the most progressive theory of our times—Marxism-Leninism. A Communist must untiringly perfect his knowledge of that theory; he must be guided by it in his day-to-day work and must be an active propagandist of the Marxist-Leninist theory among the working people. The

high political consciousness of Soviet people is the fundamental condition for their creative activity and for the development and strengthening of communist forms of labour and new, communist social relations.

We know, however, that in our society survivals of the past have not yet been completely eradicated from the minds and the conduct of people. These survivals manifest themselves in the scornful attitude of some people towards labour, in their striving to live at the expense of society, in private-property psychology, in improper behaviour at work and at home, and in religious prejudices. These survivals are constantly encouraged by the bourgeois propaganda that through various channels finds its way into our country and has a harmful influence on some Soviet citizens.

It is the duty of a Communist to be persistent in helping form and train the man of communist society, to struggle resolutely against all manifestations of bourgeois ideology, against the vestiges of private-property psychology and other survivals of the past; he must set an example in observing the norms of communist morality and always and in everything place social interests before his own.

Comrades, for a Marxist-Leninist party that is in power there is no more reliable and sure means of perfecting its work, training cadres, rectifying errors and removing shortcomings than the tried and tested method of criticism and self-criticism.

When a functionary ceases to be aware of his own shortcomings and blunders, when he does not assess the results of his own work critically, he becomes smug, conceited and complacent, he lives in the past and loses sight of perspectives. When his shortcomings and blunders are pointed out, he takes an incorrect stand unworthy of a Party member, and often resorts to suppression of criticism.

It happens at times that some conceited leaders regard even an appeal for criticism to be an encroachment on their authority. For instance, Comrade Gasparyan, former First

Secretary of the Artashat District Committee of the Communist Party of Armenia, ordered the destruction of an issue of the district newspaper only because it contained a leading article that in the most general form called on the delegates to a district Party conference to criticise shortcomings in the work of the District Party Committee. Gasparyan considered that this appeal undermined his personal authority as Secretary of the District Committee. What sort of Party leader is that? He is no leader; he is a misfortune! (*Animation.*)

The Rules of the Party to be adopted by the Congress are intended to arm Communists in the struggle against such intolerable practices. It is one of the most important duties of a Party member to develop criticism and self-criticism, and to struggle against ostentation, conceit, complacency, bureaucratic methods, and parochialism.

A Communist must oppose resolutely all attempts to suppress criticism and any actions that are detrimental to the Party and the state. Proper conditions must be provided everywhere to ensure Party members the unhampered exercise of the right to criticise any Communist, irrespective of the post he holds. The draft Rules of the C.P.S.U. not only proclaim this right, but guarantee it: "Those who commit the offence of suppressing criticism or victimising anyone for criticism are responsible to and will be penalised by the Party, to the point of expulsion from the C.P.S.U."

Our Party exists for the people; it regards service to the people to be its supreme duty, the purpose of its activities. The Party is always guided by Lenin's proposition that the Party must not only teach the people but must learn from them, must study and make use of the experiences of the masses. It is the duty of a Communist to explain Party policy to the masses, to help strengthen and extend the Party's ties with the people, to be tactful and considerate to people, and respond in good time to their needs and requests. The further strengthening of the bonds between the

Party and the masses is an essential condition for the successful realisation of the great plans for communist construction. (*Applause.*)

The draft Rules regard the education of Soviet people in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and socialist patriotism as one of the most important duties of a Party member. A Communist must fight against survivals of nationalism and chauvinism, and he must promote in word and deed the friendship of the peoples of the U.S.S.R., promote fraternal relations between the Soviet people and the peoples of the socialist countries and the proletarians and working people of all countries. (*Applause.*)

The strength and invincibility of our Party lie in the monolithic unity of its ranks, in conscious iron discipline. A Party member must actively defend the ideological and organisational unity of the Party, must display vigilance and safeguard the Party against infiltration by people unworthy of the lofty name of Communist.

What the Party demands of every Communist, of every Party functionary, is that he should be truthful and honest, that he should observe Party and state discipline strictly and serve his people faithfully.

Unfortunately we still meet with cases of certain functionaries forgetting that indisputable truth, and resorting to deception of the Party and the state.

Take, for example, the former leaders of the Tajik Party organisation, Uljabayev, Dodkhudoyev and Obnosov. When they proved incapable of ensuring the further development of the republic's economy, mainly cotton-growing, they resorted to anti-Party actions that amounted in effect to swindling. To conceal their political bankruptcy and at the same time to create the impression that they were keeping pace with reality, these pseudo-leaders falsified figures and doctored accounts. The republic did not fulfil its plan for cotton sales to the state, but its leaders, having lost all sense of shame, reported that the plan had been fulfilled ahead of schedule. They implanted servility and

toadyism in the organisation, trampled inner-Party democracy underfoot, and violated Soviet laws.

It must be said that the Tajik Party organisation proved equal to the situation. With the help of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., it looked into the state of affairs in the republic, and sharply condemned the anti-Party conduct of the former leaders; as you know, a plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Tajikistan removed them from their posts, and expelled them from the Party.

The Rules of the C.P.S.U. make it the duty of a Communist to oppose any act that is detrimental to the Party or the state, to be principled everywhere and in everything, and to display Bolshevik intolerance of facts of deception, lying and hypocrisy.

Our Party is of the flesh and blood of our great people. It is strong in its ties with the people, its loyalty to the people and its profound understanding of their interests. The people will never stand for deception and falsehoods. They will recognise only that Communist, that Party leader, who is honest and truthful. Only such a leader can work boldly and confidently. He does not fear just criticism of his actions and, indeed, appreciates it as help and support from the masses. (*Applause.*)

Thus, the duties of a Party member as outlined in the draft Rules are prompted by the necessity of increasing the responsibility of every Communist for our great cause. The Party member's clear understanding of the duties imposed on him by the Rules and his full exercise of the extensive rights envisaged in the Rules should encourage initiative and independent activity on the part of Communists, should enhance the militancy of all Party organisations.

Comrades, in the period since the Twentieth Congress the Party has been substantially reinforced by the admission to its ranks of advanced workers, collective farmers and intellectuals. Party organisations have been paying

greater attention to growth and composition of their membership.

This, however, does not mean that we have no shortcomings in the admission of new members. Not infrequently Party organisations fail to observe the principle of individual selection; when a comrade seeks admission to the Party, they show interest in his professional record, which, of course, is correct, but not in his social work nor his behaviour in the family, in private life.

A number of points have been added to the Rules of the C.P.S.U. to increase the responsibility of Party organisations for the admission of new members into the Party, for observation of the principle of individual selection for Party membership of the more politically conscious, advanced people of Soviet society. Party organisations must pay greater attention to the training and ideological moulding of newly-admitted members and candidate members.

The point on an extended probationary period has been removed from the draft Rules. This measure was introduced after the Nineteenth Party Congress, because at that time there were many candidate members whose term of probation had run out; there were then in the Party over 300,000 people who had been candidate members for more than five years. There are in the Party today about 10,000 people who have been candidate members for two or three years.

There is no doubt that the extension of the probationary period has played a positive role. As the above-quoted figures show, there is no need for it now. Furthermore, the leaders of some Party organisations who misinterpreted the right to extend the term of candidate membership did little to prepare candidate members for full membership within one year. The draft Rules envisage a different procedure. If, in the course of his term as candidate member, an applicant has not shown his abilities and, on account of his personal qualities, cannot be admitted into full

membership of the C.P.S.U., the Party organisation passes a decision to refuse admission into the Party. The probationary period must actually serve as a school preparing candidate members for full membership of the C.P.S.U.

More active ideological work in the Party, the strengthening of Party discipline and greater political consciousness on the part of Communists have led to a sharp fall in the number of expulsions in recent years. In future, too, we must proceed from the principle that expulsion from the Party, as the highest Party penalty, should be applied only to those who are really unworthy of membership in the Party.

To establish a guarantee against any unwarranted application of the highest Party penalty and to make Party organisations more strictly accountable for their members, the draft Rules include a new point: a decision by a primary Party organisation to expel a member becomes valid only if it is passed not by a simple majority but by at least two-thirds of the Party members present at the meeting.

Primary Party organisations are entitled to discuss the question of calling to account and penalising Communists elected to district, city, area, regional and territorial committees and to the central committees of the Communist parties of the Union republics, as well as members of auditing commissions at those levels.

We must give careful attention to everything that concerns the fate of a Party member. But we must not be less exacting of Communists for it. Party organisations must be intolerant and principled in respect of those whose actions and practices cause detriment to the Party.

THE FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF INNER-PARTY DEMOCRACY

Comrades, the draft Rules are imbued with the idea of broader Party democracy as an essential condition for the further encouragement of the activity and initiative of all Party organisations and the drawing of all Communists into constructive Party work. The Party must organise its internal activities in a form that will serve as a model of communist public self-government.

The Leninist principle of democratic centralism has been the invariable foundation of Party organisational structure. It combines harmoniously sound organisation and the strictest discipline with the most extensive inner-Party democracy. On the basis of the experience accumulated by the Party, the draft Rules develop this inviolable Leninist principle of Party construction.

Of exceptional significance is the proposition in the draft Rules that collective leadership is the supreme principle of Party leadership, one that guarantees the Party and all its bodies against unilateral, subjective decisions and actions. Only collective leadership provides conditions for the development of the activity and initiative of Communists and ensures the proper training of cadres. It goes without saying that collective leadership does not in any way reduce the personal responsibility of a Party functionary for whatever is entrusted to him, for fulfilment of a decision adopted collectively.

Leninist standards in Party life, the principle of collective leadership and the regular renewal of the composition of Party bodies preclude the concentration of excessive power in the hands of individual functionaries, and prevent their placing themselves above the control of the collective; they ensure an ample influx of fresh forces into Party bodies and the proper blending of old and young cadres. *(Applause.)*

In conformity with the C.P.S.U. Programme, the draft Rules provide for a periodical renewal of the composition of Party committees and continuity of leadership.

It is envisaged that at each regular election the composition of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. and of its Presidium shall be renewed by not less than one-quarter; the composition of the Central Committees of the Communist parties of the Union republics, territorial and regional Party committees, by not less than one-third; that of area, city and district Party committees and the Party committees or bureaus of primary Party organisations, by one-half. In his report on the draft Programme of the C.P.S.U., Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchov has given thorough and profound substantiation of the necessity for the introduction of this new, important principle.

It must be said, comrades, that we have every possibility of giving effect to this principle. Party cadres have grown numerically and have become stronger ideologically and politically. Thousands of Communists annually reinforce the ranks of Party activists. Regular renewal of the composition of leading Party bodies has, in recent years, become the rule in Party work.

Here are some figures. The composition of the Central Committees of the Communist parties of the Union republics, territorial and regional Party committees was renewed at the last elections by forty-five per cent, and that of city and district committees by forty per cent. Renewal of the composition of leading bodies must become a standard of Party life. It is, therefore, embodied in the Pro-

gramme and the Rules, and thus made a law of Party life. *(Applause.)*

Formerly, a certain number of leading functionaries in many Party bodies remained in office for a very long period. The draft Rules preclude this. It is now laid down that members of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. shall, as a rule, be elected for not more than three successive terms. Communists shall not be elected for more than three terms to the Central Committees of the Communist parties of the Union republics, territorial, regional, area, city and district Party committees or the Party committees or bureaus of primary Party organisations. A Party member may not be elected secretary of a primary Party organisation for more than two successive terms.

The advisability of such a system of election to Party bodies is obvious. We need a steady flow of new, promising people with initiative coming into the leadership. At the same time the leading Party bodies must be rid with a firm hand of people who have been longer on the job than is good for it, who have come to believe that there is no one who can replace them, have stopped in their progress and, although unable to cope with the work entrusted to them, cling to their leading positions.

Take Comrade Dolgatov, the former Secretary of the Sergokala Party District Committee, Daghestan A.S.S.R. Having got it into his head that he was irreplaceable, he began to disregard the opinion of the Party organisation. When Communists brought this to the attention of the District Committee, and it raised the question of his work at a plenary meeting, Dolgatov announced: "No king ever surrendered power voluntarily, and I don't intend to give it up without a battle." *(Laughter.)* The Communists of the district removed this self-opinionated bureaucrat from the post of district secretary. *(Applause.)*

Such "leaders" sometimes establish themselves at higher levels than district committees. There was, for

example, the former Secretary of the Tyumen Regional Committee, Comrade Kosov, who decided that nothing was taboo to him. He began to abuse his power and committed breaches of socialist legality. Kosov was removed from his post as Regional Secretary, and severely punished.

The proposed arrangement for the regular renewal of the Party bodies provides for an influx of fresh forces to and continuity in leadership and is, at the same time, directed against those conceited people who do not abide by the standards of inner-Party life, and also against weak-willed functionaries lacking in initiative, who may be said to have nothing but failures to boast of.

It must be made clear that the principle of the regular renewal of Party bodies is closely linked up with the principle of continuity in leadership. It does not by any means refute the important role played by experienced leaders enjoying high esteem. There can be no continuity in leadership, and experience cannot be properly passed on, unless there is a more or less stable group of leaders. For this reason, the draft Rules provide that some Party leaders and functionaries may, in consideration of their recognised prestige and outstanding political and organisational abilities, be elected to leading bodies for a longer period. In that case, however, the given candidate for election must obtain at least three-quarters of the votes tendered by secret ballot.

In the course of the discussion of the draft Rules the opinion has been expressed that the election of functionaries to leading Party bodies for a longer period than is envisaged by the draft Rules should be allowed only with regard to the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. and its Presidium. This proposal cannot be accepted. Let us suppose that the secretary of a primary Party organisation is elected to the district committee for two successive terms. At the third election he is elected second secretary of the district committee. He shows himself an able functionary deserving promotion to first secretary. He

cannot, however, be elected to the district committee for a fourth time if the Rules do not provide for the possible extension of the term of office in an elected body for a competent Communist enjoying great prestige. There must be no obstacles to the growth and promotion of competent and energetic functionaries.

Every leading Party functionary must, in all his actions, be an example of service to the people, a model for all Communists and non-Party people. (*Applause.*) The higher the Party post held by a Communist, the greater his responsibility. This has been stressed in the draft Rules of the C.P.S.U., specifically by the introduction of the following clause:

“A member or alternate member of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. must, by his entire activity, justify the great trust placed in him by the Party. A member or alternate member of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. who degrades his honour and dignity cannot remain a member or alternate member of the Central Committee.”

This clause in the draft Rules shows how exacting our Party is towards those who have been found worthy to be members of its militant Leninist general staff. (*Prolonged applause.*)

The draft Rules envisage a change in the way in which the results of balloting at elections to Party bodies are decided. It has been the practice until now to consider a candidate elected to a Party body if he has won more votes than the other candidates and more than half the votes of those with the right to vote, present at the meeting, conference or congress.

In practice this not infrequently leads to experienced and valuable Party workers who have obtained an absolute majority of votes being rejected because there have been from three to five votes cast against them. This in no way accords with the policy of fully developing inner-Party democracy since it permits of an insignificant minority imposing its will on an absolute majority.

The draft Rules, therefore, say that a candidate is considered elected if more than half the participants in the meeting, conference or congress have voted for him.

The objection may be made that such a system of voting may in some cases lead to more people being elected to a Party body than was intended. Yes, there may be such cases. But then the draft Rules do not define the numerical strength of elective Party bodies. The meeting of a Party organisation, a conference or congress have the right to decide for themselves on the number of Communists to be elected to a leading body. It stands to reason that Party bodies should not be made too large. Details of the methods of elections to Party bodies must, as previously, be laid down in relevant instructions from the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.

The draft Rules provide for a further development of inner-Party democracy by making it incumbent on Party bodies to give regular information on their work to Party organisations. This will help strengthen the ties between the leading Party bodies and the rank and file, will strengthen the supervision of the activities of elective bodies by the Party active, by all Communists.

The strength of the Party lies in the active work of its members. A Communist not only carries out the decisions of higher Party bodies, but himself, to the best of his ability, participates in the elaboration of those decisions. That is why every possibility must be ensured for a free and business-like discussion of questions of Party policy and for discussion on controversial or insufficiently clear questions, both in individual organisations and in the Party as a whole. This, too, is reflected in the draft Rules.

An important feature of the draft Rules is the greater role allotted to local Party bodies and the extension of their initiative and independence in solving the economic and political problems confronting a region, territory or republic.

At the same time it must be pointed out that the C.P.S.U.

is not a federation of parties or party committees. It is a centralised organisation. The Communist parties of the Union republics and the territorial and regional organisations are parts of a single whole, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. (*Prolonged applause.*) The strict subordination of individual Party organisations to the centre, and of lower organisations to higher, is an indispensable condition for the Party's fulfilment of its historic tasks.

The Party fights against all manifestations of parochialism, against all attempts to approach problems of Party policy from a narrow departmental standpoint, for it considers them to be alien to Marxist-Leninist party principles. Lenin stressed that "refusal to accept the direction of the central bodies is tantamount to refusing to remain in the Party, it is tantamount to disrupting the Party. . . ."

Centralism is not the antithesis of inner-Party democracy. It implies encouragement of local initiative and creative effort, and the promotion of a high degree of conscious discipline. Democratic centralism guarantees unity of will and action of the Party; it lends the Party mobility and enables it rapidly to re-form its ranks with due regard to the changing situation and to concentrate all its efforts on fulfilling the historic tasks of communist construction. (*Applause.*)

The C.P.S.U. is a voluntary alliance of the advanced, politically most conscious members of Soviet society. Freedom of opinion, freedom to discuss any matters concerning the policy or practical activity of the Party, is a standard of Party life. As a general rule, the more important the issue, the wider must be the range of Communists taking part in its discussion. And it is only natural that different opinions should be voiced. In the course of an exchange of views, a common, correct point of view is elaborated that is then set down in a Party decision binding on all.

Of course, we must not allow the Party to be involved in fruitless debate at the whim of a small group of confused or immature people, must not give anti-Party ele-

ments an opportunity to undertake actions tending to undermine Party unity. The Party must not discard any weapons that can be used in the struggle for the ideological and organisational unity of its ranks. (*Prolonged applause.*) That is why the Rules retain guarantees against attempts by a negligible minority to impose its will on the majority, as well as against attempts to form factional groups and split the Party.

Among the questions asked in the course of the discussion of the draft Rules were these: Does not the solid unity of the C.P.S.U. and Soviet society as a whole preclude all disruptive activity within the Party? Do we need, in present-day conditions, any formal statutory guarantees against factionalism and group activities?

We do need such guarantees, comrades.

It is true enough that in Soviet society there no longer exists a social basis on which any opportunist trends could thrive in the Party. But the causes of ideological waverings on the part of individuals or groups have not yet been fully removed. Some people may yield to the influence of bourgeois propaganda from without; others, who fail to understand the dialectics of social development and who have turned into smouldering embers, as Comrade Khrushchov so aptly put it, may keep on rejecting all that is new and clinging to old dogmas defeated by the realities of life.

We know well how bitterly the anti-Party factional group, made up of Molotov, Kaganovich, Malenkov, Voroshilov, Bulganin, Pervukhin, Saburov and of Shepilov who later joined them, resisted the implementation of the Leninist course charted by the Twentieth Party Congress.

The members of the group betrayed the Leninist principles of Party activity. They were bent on carrying out their anti-Party designs at all costs, and went to the point of holding clandestine gatherings and hatching plans to seize the leadership in the Party and the country and change Party policy. Molotov and the others wanted to turn the

clock back to the times that were so hard for our Party and country, the times when the harmful methods and practices bred by the cult of the individual were current, and when no one was safe from arbitrary and repressive measures. They ignored the fact that the Leninist course of our Party, adopted by the Twentieth Congress, had the fullest approval of the entire Party, of all Soviet people and the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties. (*Applause.*)

It stands to reason that the factional group, which tried to impose its anti-Party, anti-Leninist views on the Party, could have done serious damage to the cause of communist construction.

I fully agree with Comrade Khrushchov in that had those renegades gained the upper hand, they would have stopped at nothing to achieve their infamous ends, and would have begun dealing summarily with honest, absolutely innocent people. It is most fortunate for us, comrades, that the anti-Party group was rendered harmless and that we have been able, strictly in keeping with the Leninist course, to bring about tremendous changes in the country and raise the prestige of our Party and the Soviet state to an unprecedented height in the international arena. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchov, First Secretary of the Central Committee of our Party, displayed Bolshevik firmness and fidelity to principle in the struggle against the anti-Party factional group, in the defence of the Leninist line of our Party. (*Applause.*) The whole of the Central Committee rallied round Comrade Khrushchov. In that complicated situation, the Central Committee of our Party adhered firmly to its Marxist-Leninist stand; it exposed the factional, anti-Party group with merciless determination, and defeated it completely. (*Applause.*) These actions of the C.C. C.P.S.U. and Comrade Khrushchov won the approval of the entire Party and the people as a whole. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

From the lofty rostrum of the Twenty-Second Congress,

many delegates indignantly condemned the foul deeds of the anti-Party group as a whole and of its individual members.

Facts were established and disclosed which indicate that Molotov, Kaganovich and Malenkov took a hand in exterminating many absolutely innocent people, including prominent Party leaders and statesmen, and that by their careerist policy and their departure from Leninism they contributed to the rise and flourishing of the cult of the individual.

The facts indicate that the organisers of the anti-Party group are still trying to uphold their harmful views. Molotov shows particular zeal in this respect. He has gone so far as to describe the new Programme of the C.P.S.U. as anti-revolutionary in spirit. He, Molotov, does not care at all that in the course of its nation-wide discussion the Programme won the unqualified approval of the Party and the people and of the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties, and that all fair-minded people on earth describe it as the Communist Manifesto of our epoch. That statement of Molotov's is in effect a challenge to our Party as a whole, and to the Twenty-Second Congress of the C.P.S.U., which has unanimously approved the new Programme. I share the opinion of the delegates who spoke here and who said that Molotov, Kaganovich and Malenkov must be called to strict account by the Party and the people for all their anti-Party, criminal deeds.

The anti-Party group, above all Molotov, Kaganovich and Malenkov, resisted with might and main the elimination of the after-effects of the personality cult. They were afraid that they would be called to account for the abuses of power perpetrated at the time of the cult of Stalin's person.

Violations of Lenin's behests by Stalin, the abuses of power, and wholesale repression of honest Soviet people have been condemned by our Party and all Soviet people. *(Prolonged applause.)*

Comrades, in the Central Committee Report to the Congress and in his Concluding Speech yesterday, N. S. Khrushchov said that lately the leaders of the Albanian Party of Labour have, without any cause given by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its leadership, radically altered their political course and adopted the path of sharply worsening relations with our Party, with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. The actions of the leaders of the Albanian Party of Labour, primarily those of Mehmet Shehu and Enver Hoxha, show clearly what may result from recurrences of the cult of the individual, violations of the Leninist principles of party leadership and the introduction of anti-democratic practices in the party and the country.

The Albanian leaders have forgotten what the aid and support of the Soviet Union and of the other socialist countries have meant to Albania. While continuing to pay lip-service to Soviet-Albanian friendship, they are, in effect, violating that friendship and persecuting the true friends of the Soviet Union. They have gone so far in their actions as to openly attack our Party and its Leninist Central Committee, and the leadership of the fraternal parties of the socialist countries. As for themselves, they pose as almost the sole consistent Marxists-Leninists. In reality, however, they are reviving in their Party and their country all that was bad in our country at the time of the cult of the individual, and are maintaining their power by force and arbitrary methods.

The pernicious policy of the Albanian leadership may lead to Albania's detachment from the socialist camp and to the political isolation of the Albanian Party of Labour within the ranks of the international Communist movement. This anti-Leninist course may, at the same time, do grave damage to the building of socialism in Albania, which has cost her heroic people so much effort and labour, and impair the country's position on the world scene.

The Moscow Meeting of Communist and Workers' Par-

ties, held in November 1960, has said in its Statement: "A resolute defence of the unity of the world Communist movement on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and the prevention of any actions which may undermine that unity, are a necessary condition for victory in the struggle for national independence, democracy and peace, for the successful accomplishment of the tasks of the socialist revolution and of the building of socialism and communism. Violation of these principles would weaken the forces of communism."

As you know, the Albanian Party of Labour has affixed its signature to that historic Statement. But of late all the actions of its leaders indicate that they have begun to deviate from the agreed common line of the international Communist movement on the principal questions of our time. What is more, the leaders of the Albanian Party of Labour turned down the repeated attempts of the C.C. C.P.S.U. and other fraternal parties aimed at overcoming the divergences that had arisen. They replied to these steps with a rude refusal, and resorted to what were in effect provocative actions.

What was the Central Committee to do after the numerous attempts to persuade the Albanian leadership to abandon its sectarian actions proved futile and after, through the fault of this leadership, its harmful policy of deviation from the principles of proletarian internationalism came to be known to our ideological adversaries? Obviously, principled censure of the anti-Leninist conduct of the Albanian leaders and an open appeal to look for ways and means of surmounting the differences was, in the circumstances, the only correct and sound Marxist-Leninist approach to the matter. (*Prolonged applause.*) That is why the Central Committee, in its Report to this Congress, told the whole truth about the harmful attitude of the leadership of the Albanian Party of Labour.

Comrade Khrushchov has cited facts which show that Mehmet Shehu, Enver Hoxha and other Albanian leaders

have in the last few days, even while the Twenty-Second Congress of the C.P.S.U. has been in session, committed acts which indicate that they are drifting still more towards nationalism and sectarianism, that they are departing still further from the agreed line of the international Communist movement and have adopted a course of outright slander against the C.P.S.U. and its Central Committee, a course of deceiving their Party and their people. Is it not a disgrace, comrades, that the Albanian leaders consider enemies all those who today advocate friendship with the Soviet Union!

We must state emphatically that genuine unity of the fraternal Communist and Workers' parties is possible only on a principled Marxist-Leninist basis, and not through hushing up the pernicious policy of the Albanian leadership. (*Applause.*) In this case, hushing up matters would be tantamount to encouraging people to continue their wrong, anti-Leninist actions. Our Party cannot adopt such an attitude. (*Prolonged applause.*)

We Soviet Communists will continue to expose resolutely all who depart from Leninism, all revisionists and dogmatists. The cause of the socialist revolution, of Marx and Lenin, is a great cause, and it is the sacred duty of every Soviet Communist and the whole of our Leninist Party to uphold the purity of Marxism-Leninism, to promote its creative development and the ideological unity of the world Communist movement. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

THE GROWING ROLE OF LOCAL PARTY BODIES AND PRIMARY ORGANISATIONS

Comrades, the policy of the Party is put into practice through the effort of millions of Soviet people. Led by the Party, by its local bodies and primary organisations at factories, on collective and state farms, in offices and research institutions, Soviet people are enthusiastically carrying out the magnificent tasks of communist construction.

The chief component of the work of district, city, area, regional and territorial Party organisations, the Communist parties of the Union republics and their leading bodies is to implement the policy of the Party, to organise the execution of decisions adopted by Party congresses and directives given by the C.C. C.P.S.U. The draft Rules specify this general task in a list of the basic duties of local Party organisations and their leading bodies.

The most important of these duties are the all-round promotion of industrial and agricultural production, and work to continuously improve the living and cultural standards of the people. The Party bodies can ensure the fulfilment of these duties by a higher standard of political and organisational work among the masses, better selection and education of personnel, and more efficient leadership of government and non-government organisations.

The selection and placing of leading personnel and their education in a communist spirit, in a spirit of awareness of their great responsibility to the Party and the people

for the job entrusted to them, constitute the chief organisational task of the Party, of its local bodies and primary organisations.

The Party organisations have done much to improve the selection, placing and education of personnel, and have achieved positive results. The overwhelming majority of the Party cadres possess adequate knowledge and organisational experience. Over nine-tenths of the secretaries of regional and territorial Party committees and central committees of the Communist parties of the Union republics, and almost three-quarters of the secretaries of city and district Party committees, have received a higher education. In the last five years the number of secretaries of district and city Party committees who have received a higher education has more than trebled. The number of engineers, economists, agronomists, livestock-breeding experts and other specialists among Party officials is growing from year to year.

In these circumstances, it is particularly impermissible that some sectors of Party, government, economic and cultural activity should still be headed by people lacking adequate knowledge or who are simply unqualified for the job. The reason for this is the careless selection, placing and education of personnel.

Party bodies sometimes substitute the mechanical filling of vacancies and rash promotion for a thoughtful policy of selecting and placing personnel, a policy that would take into account the nature of the task in hand. Here is an example. The Strommashina Factory in Kuibyshev needed a director. How do you think the problem was solved? The economic council concerned telephoned the Regional Party Committee, and the decision was taken, without looking properly into the matter, to appoint to the post Comrade Kuroyedov, shop chief at a factory. No one seemed to be embarrassed by the fact that Kuroyedov had shortly before been found guilty of falsification and doctoring reports, offences for which he had been called to account

at Party and administrative level. Small wonder that after becoming director of the factory, Kuroyedov indulged in doctoring reports on an even larger scale, with the result that it soon became necessary to remove him. It is characteristic, however, that neither the economic council nor the Kuibyshev City Party Committee had the courage, in relieving Kuroyedov of the office of director, to admit their error and say in so many words that they were relieving him for falsification. They covered their decision with the elastic formula: "Relieved in view of his transfer to another job." (*Animation.*)

It should be obvious that such unsound practices give rise to an irresponsible attitude to the selection and promotion of personnel, and breed more errors.

It is the duty of Party committees to be highly exacting with regard to officials. They must work patiently with people and educate them in the spirit of the utmost fidelity to our ideas and principles. But there are still Party committees whose sole means of influencing people seem to be threats and high-handed methods. This style of leadership was typical, for example, of the Kardymovo District Committee in Smolensk Region. That district saw 32 collective-farm chairmen replaced in a short period of time. One of the collective-farm chairmen, speaking at a district Party conference, gave a very apt description of such methods of would-be leadership. "The District Committee," he said, "guided the collective farms from positions of strength and brinkmanship between a severe Party penalty and expulsion from the Party." (*Laughter.*)

We must put an end to such treatment of personnel. It is at variance with the policy of promoting inner-Party democracy adopted by the Party. The Rules of the C.P.S.U. direct Party bodies towards improving their work with personnel, towards making officials more strictly accountable to the Party and the people, and improving the methods of Party leadership.

In recent years important measures have been taken to

extend the rights of the local government and economic bodies. These measures have removed the restrictions shackling independence and initiative in planning, in industrial and agricultural management, and in the use of funds and materials at local level. Thereby greater opportunities have been provided for the effective utilisation of the resources of regions, territories and republics. Local Party committees, too, now have extensive rights in settling organisational and other Party matters.

This course, aimed at promoting socialist democracy, has had a beneficial effect on the activities of local bodies. Party organisations undoubtedly take a more responsible attitude to the manner in which government and public affairs are managed. This does not mean, however, that Party committees must assume functions assigned to government and economic bodies.

Unfortunately, Party committees sometimes deal with matters which can perfectly well be taken care of by other bodies. This is evident from the fact that certain Party and government bodies adopt numerous joint decisions on matters of secondary importance. Indeed, was it really necessary for the Buryat Regional Committee of the Party to adopt, jointly with the Council of Ministers of the Buryat Autonomous Republic, a decision on the use of the sea buckthorn shrubs in Selenga District? Such practices give rise to an irresponsible attitude and get government and economic executives into the habit of securing the endorsement of Party bodies on any matter, however unimportant.

Government and economic bodies should be released from petty tutelage. The draft Rules of the C.P.S.U. state: "Party organisations must not assume the functions assigned to government, trade union, co-operative or other mass organisations of the working people; they must not mix the functions of Party bodies with those of other bodies, must not allow unnecessary parallelism in work."

Strict observance of these requirements as laid down in

the Rules will enable Party bodies to concentrate on more effective work among the masses. We must draw the working people more actively into the administration of government and public affairs, must improve our work in the selection, placing and education of personnel, and organise the effective supervision and check-up of work done. All this has been dealt with comprehensively in the Central Committee's Report to the Congress.

The promotion of the voluntary principle in Party activity is of vast importance in improving the work of local Party organisations. The variety and scope of the application of this principle may be gathered from the following: there are now more than 230,000 non-staff functionaries, lecturers and members of various standing commissions of the district, city, area, regional and territorial Party committees and of the central committees of the Communist parties of the Union republics. Over 600,000 Communists are working on commissions of primary Party organisations, specially set up to check the work of the respective managements. Thousands of political education centres, Party study rooms and libraries are successfully working on the voluntary principle in the various Party organisations, and the press has some editorial boards and departments functioning on a voluntary basis. Another new way in which the help of Party activists is enlisted, is the voluntary commissions set up by district Party committees in Moscow and Leningrad for the preliminary examination of questions of admission into the Party and also of personal matters. These commissions are doing useful work. We should examine their activities carefully, study their experience and think of ways of applying it on a larger scale.

We must see to it that the paid apparatus of Party bodies is reduced and the number of unpaid Party functionaries increased. The Party bodies, says Nikita Sergeevich Khrushchov, should have more and more commissions and departments, with district committee and city committee

secretaries and other functionaries all working on a voluntary principle.

Comrades, the primary organisation is the basic Party unit where the Communist is moulded as a person of ideological integrity, as a socially conscious and active fighter. Nothing can take the place of the schooling the Communist receives in the Party collective. The primary organisations carry on their activities in the midst of the masses. The Party gives leadership to the masses, carries out its policy and its decisions through the primary Party organisations.

During the past few years the primary Party organisations have grown stronger, have increased numerically. There are nearly 300,000 primary organisations in the Party today. In view of the growing demands being made on all aspects of Party work, the section on the primary organisations in the draft Rules has been considerably revised in the light of the tasks outlined in the Programme of the C.P.S.U.

The primary Party organisations should today focus their attention on questions concerning the creation of the material and technical basis of communism, the development of communist social relations and the education of the working people in the spirit of communism. (*Applause.*)

As stated in the draft Rules, the primary Party organisation acts as organiser of the working people in carrying out the current tasks of communist construction, heads the socialist emulation movement for the fulfilment of state plans and of obligations undertaken by the working people. One of its cardinal tasks is to rally the masses to find and make the best use of untapped resources at enterprises and collective farms and to introduce in production, on a broad scale, the achievements of science and engineering, and the experience of front-rankers. It is the duty of the primary Party organisations to work for better labour discipline, the steady increase of labour productivity and improvement of the quality of production, and to see to it

that the social wealth at enterprises and at state and collective farms is taken proper care of and increased.

To enable primary Party organisations at industrial enterprises and trading establishments, state and collective farms to cope with these tasks they have been empowered to use such an effective means as supervision of the work of the relevant management. The draft Rules now extend this right to the primary Party organisations of designing and drafting offices and research institutes directly related to production.

The primary Party organisation helps the working people to acquire proficiency in administering state and public affairs, and through extensive criticism and self-criticism, to put a stop to red tape, parochialism, and violations of state discipline. It is the duty of the primary Party organisation to enhance the vanguard role of Communists in the field of labour and in the socio-political and economic life of the country, and to improve agitational and propaganda work among the masses.

Comrades, the Communist Party—the spokesman of the finest aspirations of the Soviet people—is the standard-bearer of communist morality. On its banners are inscribed the most lofty and radiant ideals. The Party will be able to accomplish its majestic tasks only if it educates all its members and all Soviet people in the spirit of communist morality, to cultivate in them ideological integrity, a high sense of social consciousness and civic duty, industriousness and discipline. The moral code of the builder of communism, as formulated in the C.P.S.U. Programme and included in the draft Rules, will play a significant part in this. This code will become the standard of behaviour for every Party member, the yardstick by which every Communist and Party organisation will measure and assess the moral qualities of their Party comrades. (*Prolonged applause.*)

All the clauses in the draft Rules concerning the primary Party organisations are therefore designed to enhance

their role, their activity and militancy when carrying out the grand tasks of communist construction.

In the period of the full-scale building of communism the Soviets, trade unions, co-operatives and other mass organisations of the working people play an ever bigger role in the life of the country. The Party will continue, through these organisations, to extend and strengthen its ties with the masses, to consult the people on cardinal questions of its policy, and to enlist the working people on a bigger scale in the administration of state and public affairs. The draft Rules stress that the Party guides the mass organisations through the Party groups in them, by encouraging the initiative and activity of the masses as an essential condition for the gradual transition from socialist state organisation to communist self-administration by the people.

The Party groups in the non-Party organisations must enhance in every possible way the influence of the Party, and carry out its policy among the non-Party masses, strengthen Party and state discipline, combat red tape, verify the execution of Party and state directives.

The importance of the Young Communist League is growing. The Party regards the youth as a big constructive and creative force in building communism, and the Komsomol as an independently-acting mass organisation of young people, an active helper and reserve of the Party. (*Applause.*) The Komsomol is called upon to help the Party educate the youth in the communist spirit, to draw it into the work of building a new society, and to train a generation of harmoniously developed people who will live and work, and govern public affairs under communism.

The Communist Party considers it as its sacred duty to strengthen the defensive might of the U.S.S.R., and regards Party guidance as basic in the building up and the organisation of the country's Armed Forces. The draft Rules

state that in their work, the Party organisations in the Soviet Army take guidance from the Programme and the Rules of the C.P.S.U. They outline the principal tasks of the Party organisations in the Armed Forces. An important clause is the one that the guidance of Party work in the Armed Forces is exercised by the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. through the Chief Political Administration of the Soviet Army and Navy, which functions as a department of the C.C. C.P.S.U.

RESULTS OF THE DISCUSSION OF THE DRAFT RULES OF THE C.P.S.U.

Comrades, the draft Rules have been widely discussed at meetings of primary Party organisations, at district, city, area, regional, and territorial Party conferences and at congresses of the Communist parties of the Union republics, attended by over 9,000,000 Communists. More than one and a half million people have taken part in the discussion on the draft Rules; over 120,000 letters containing various suggestions and additions to the draft Rules have been received by Party bodies and the editorial offices of newspapers and magazines.

We may say with good reason that the whole Party, its entire membership has participated in the discussion of the draft Rules. The draft Rules have been unanimously endorsed at all the Party meetings, conferences and congresses without exception. (*Prolonged applause.*)

The very active part taken by Communists in the discussion, and the suggestions, amendments and additions made in the course of the discussion show that the many-million-strong army of Communists of the Soviet Union have at heart the further strengthening of the Party's ranks, the raising of its militancy and organisation, and the enhancing of the role of every Party organisation, of every Communist, in accomplishing the historic tasks outlined in the new Programme.

The proposals and remarks made by Communists concern the further development of the Party, the promotion of inner-Party democracy, the Leninist standards and principles of Party life, Party membership and the duties and rights of Communists.

The various proposals sent in may be divided into three groups.

The *first* group covers proposals which supplement or enlarge on one or another of the clauses in the draft Rules. They include proposals for greater stress on the necessity to continuously improve the forms and methods of the Party's activities, develop inner-Party democracy, and raise the level of leadership of the masses. All these proposals have been thoroughly studied by the Central Committee, and the relevant additions and more precise formulations have been introduced, in generalised form, in the text of the draft Rules distributed among the delegates.

I think it necessary to dwell in brief on some of these proposals.

In the course of the discussion many Communists expressed the wish that, in the period between conferences and congresses, the local Party committees should inform the Party organisations more extensively on their work. This fully accords with the Party's demand that there be stricter supervision by the rank and file of the Party over the work of their elective bodies. This proposal is a fitting one, and it is reflected in the draft Rules.

Many consider it necessary to include in the Rules a clause stating that it is the duty of every Communist to help in every possible way to increase the defensive might of the U.S.S.R., and to fight unflaggingly for peace. It is common knowledge that our Party regards defence of the socialist Motherland, the strengthening of the defence power of the U.S.S.R. as a sacred duty of the Party and the entire Soviet people, as an essential condition for the preservation and promotion of world peace; it regards the struggle for peace among nations as its

cardinal task. (*Applause.*) This is also reflected in the draft Rules.

It has been proposed to put it down in the Rules that to be an active atheist, a propagandist of the scientific-materialist world outlook, is one of the Communist's duties. This proposal should be considered. Religious prejudices and superstition are tenacious and are still current among a certain section of the population. Who, if not the Communist, is in duty bound to explain the anti-scientific nature of religious ideas.

Besides the proposals and additions spoken of earlier, amendments of an editorial nature that improve certain formulations in the draft Rules, have also been suggested. Some of them have been introduced into the draft.

The *second* group covers proposals, additions and remarks which, in the main, are to the effect that various clauses contained in the draft Rules of the C.P.S.U. be elaborated in greater detail.

The proposal has been made, for instance, that the range of the Communists' duties should be expanded. But if this proposal were accepted there would be little distinction in the Rules between the important and unimportant, the essential and unessential. We believe that this should not be done. The duties of a Party member formulated in the draft Rules give a complete and exhaustive answer to the question what is required of a Communist in the period of the full-scale building of communist society.

It has also been proposed that the new Rules should retain the numerous points to the effect that non-fulfilment by a Party member of one or another of the duties laid down in the Rules is incompatible with Party membership. But the draft Rules contain special clauses defining the responsibility of a Communist for non-fulfilment or violation of the Rules. That is quite sufficient.

Many suggestions and additions have been submitted regarding admission into the Party and the probationary

period. Some propose placing higher demands on those joining the Party: an increase of the probationary period up to two years and the Party standing of Party members giving recommendations up to five years; admission of new members by secret ballot; submission by applicants for Party membership of recommendations from the collectives they work in, their trade union organisations, etc. Others, on the contrary, believe that the existing rules of admission into the C.P.S.U. should be relaxed; for instance, that members of the Komsomol should be admitted into the Party without having to pass through the established probationary period; that the probationary period should be reduced to six months and the required number of recommendations decreased.

We believe that the procedure of admission into the C.P.S.U., as laid down in the draft Rules, conforms to the present period in the development of our Party, and should not, therefore, be changed. (*Applause.*)

Many proposals deal with the question of communist morality. Suggestions have been made that the Rules should give in fuller detail the duty of Party organisations in combating the manifestations of a private-property psychology, the tendencies towards personal enrichment, and the anti-social behaviour of some Communists. In the section on the duties of a Communist and in the moral code of the builder of communism, the draft Rules outline the respective demands on Party members. It stresses that a Party member must be implacable to injustice, parasitism, dishonesty and money-grubbing. The Party's position on the question of the moral make-up of the Communist has been comprehensively dealt with by Comrade Khrushchov in his reports to our Congress, and all Party organisations will be guided unswervingly by the propositions made. (*Prolonged applause.*)

The *third* group concerns proposals and additions which do not take into account the present-day conditions in the Party's activities.

It has been proposed, for instance, that the secretaries of district, city, regional, and territorial committees and of the central committees of the Communist parties of the Union republics should be elected not at plenary meetings but directly at conferences and congresses, and the secretaries of Party bureaus at Party meetings. But if this proposal were accepted and if the secretaries of Party bureaus and committees were elected directly at meetings and conferences, it would mean that the secretaries would be invested with greater powers than the rest of the bureau or committee members, and placed above the bureau or the committee. This proposal runs counter to the principle of collective leadership, and its acceptance is inadvisable. (*Applause.*)

We cannot agree for that matter with the proposal that the secret ballot be replaced by open ballot at election of Party bodies. The authors of this proposal give as their reason that open voting, more so than secret, tends to foster in Party members a spirit of fidelity to principles, promotes the development of criticism. This kind of argument is unconvincing. As you know, the secret ballot is preceded by preliminary open discussion of the candidate nominated to the Party body. Every Party member has the unrestricted right to criticise and challenge any candidate. There is, therefore, every opportunity for principled discussion of the merits and demerits of the candidates put forward, and hence for fostering in Communists a spirit of fidelity to Party principles. Rejection of the secret ballot would be a step back in the development of inner-Party democracy, would mean narrowing and restricting the right of Party members to express their will fully and freely. (*Applause.*)

Then there is the proposal to abolish candidate membership. The argument is that the political and cultural level of the people has risen considerably, that the primary Party organisations are working in the midst of the masses and so are in a position to judge of the

merits of every working person who wants to join the Party, and that, therefore, the probationary period can be dispensed with.

The Communist must be in the van of Soviet society; he must be an example to non-Party people. The probationary period is an important way of checking whether the person who is joining the Party is fitted to carry out the lofty and complex duties of a Communist. It is precisely in the Party organisation, in working together with Party members, that all the qualities of the prospective Party member become apparent. To abolish the probationary period would mean reducing the demands made on those joining the Party.

The proposal has been made that the Rules provide for the restoration of periodical Party purges. It will be remembered that the Eighteenth Party Congress already considered it necessary to abandon the practice of mass purges. The resolution of that Congress stated: "The method of mass purges, introduced at the beginning of NEP, in the period of the revival of capitalist elements, to safeguard the Party against infiltration into its ranks of people who had become corrupted under NEP, is no longer needed in the present situation when the capitalist elements have been liquidated."

Twenty-two years have passed since then. The victory of socialism in our country is complete and final. The U.S.S.R. has entered the period of the full-scale building of communism. Is there any need in these circumstances to restore Party purges?

The purges were necessary in conditions of the acute class struggle within the country. Now, in the period of full-scale communist construction, when complete moral and political unity of the whole people has been welded, such a measure is unnecessary. The Party is strong enough, ideologically and organisationally, to clear its ranks of those who violate the Programme or the Rules, without recourse to purges. (*Prolonged applause.*)

There are also proposals and additions which, while essentially correct, do not, however, come under the Rules. They mostly concern the organisation and holding of Party election meetings and Party conferences, the method of determining ballot results, and other such questions. These proposals and remarks, as I have earlier mentioned, should be taken into account when the relevant instructions of the C.C. C.P.S.U. are being worked out.

In conclusion, during the discussion of the draft Rules Communists and non-Party people made a number of critical remarks concerning the activities of local Party bodies. They pointed out particular shortcomings in the way the Party's political and organisational work was conducted, facts of violation of the Leninist standards of Party life, of an incorrect attitude to criticism, distortions of the Party's line in the selection of cadres. The Central Committees of the Communist parties of the Union republics, and the territorial and regional committees of the Party should carefully consider all the critical remarks and concrete proposals made by Communists with regard to local Party bodies, and take the necessary measures to eliminate these shortcomings.

* * *

Comrades, the Central Committee's Report and the Report on the draft Party Programme delivered by Comrade Khrushchov, and the Programme of the C.P.S.U. that has been unanimously and enthusiastically approved by the Congress, open up wide new vistas before the Party and the entire Soviet people. The path to our great goal, communism, is now outlined with the utmost clarity and scientific authenticity. (*Applause.*)

This is an inspiration to the members of the great Party of Communists, to all Soviet people, it gives them fresh strength and calls on them to accomplish further exploits for the triumph of communism. The tremendous creative

activity and initiative displayed by Soviet people in the days preceding the Twenty-Second Congress of the C.P.S.U. and during it, show their readiness to fulfil, under the Party's leadership, the great plans envisaged in the new Party Programme. (*Prolonged applause.*)

At the new stage in the historical development of our country, the great Communist Party of the Soviet Union will continue to march at the head of our heroic people and will raise still higher the level of its political and organisational leadership of the masses.

The Rules of the C.P.S.U., which are to be adopted by the Twenty-Second Congress of the Party, will help every Party organisation, every Communist, to define its or his place in the constructive endeavour of the entire people, to work with redoubled energy for the realisation of the Congress decisions. "The organisational principles laid down in the Rules," said Comrade Khrushchov, "must ensure the successful implementation of the Programme, must strengthen the unity and cohesion of the Party, the militant vanguard of the Soviet people in the struggle for communism." (*Prolonged applause.*)

Guided by the Programme of the C.P.S.U.—that great document of our era which defines the aims and tasks of our Party and the Soviet people for many years to come—and undeviatingly observing the Leninist standards and principles embodied in the Rules, the Party will unite its ranks still more closely, it will extend and strengthen its bonds with the working people and lead our people along the straight and bright road to the triumph of communism. (*Prolonged applause.*)

The time is not far distant when the Soviet people, under the leadership of the Party, under the banner of Marxism-Leninism, will build a communist society, which will put into effect the great principle "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs", and the sun of communism will shine over the whole world. Communism establishes throughout the world Peace, Labour,

Freedom, Equality, Fraternity and Happiness for all peoples. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Long live Marxism-Leninism, the mighty ideological weapon of the working people of the whole world! (*Stormy applause.*)

Long live the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the guiding and directing force of Soviet society in the struggle to build communism! (*Stormy applause.*)

Long live communism! (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

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ОБ ИЗМЕНЕНИЯХ
В УСТАВЕ
КОММУНИСТИЧЕСКОЙ ПАРТИИ
СОВЕТСКОГО СОЮЗА

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