

**XXV**

**CONGRESS  
OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY  
OF THE SOVIET UNION**

**V.S. Shevtsov**

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AND THE SOVIET STATE  
IN DEVELOPED  
SOCIALIST  
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by *Kenneth Russell*

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КПСС И СОВЕТСКОЕ  
ГОСУДАРСТВО В РАЗВИТОМ  
СОЦИАЛИСТИЧЕСКОМ  
ОБЩЕСТВЕ

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## INTRODUCTION

The current stage in the development of Soviet socialist society is characterised by a process whereby the guiding role of the Communist Party is growing immensely. This arises from the considerable extension of the scale of communist construction and the increasing complexity of its tasks, from the growth of the awareness and political activity of the working masses, and from the development and deepening of socialist democracy.

The guiding role of the Communist Party is underpinned by the fact that it is the principal political factor determining the class nature and social orientation of the management of socialist society. The Party's guiding role ensures the coordination and unity of action of all state and public organisations.

As Leonid Brezhnev, the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, has said, "The revolutionary creativity of the people produced an extensive and smooth-working system through which the Party maintains its daily links with the masses and leads them. This system, made up of Soviets, trade unions, the Komsomol and

the voluntary societies of working people, has stood the test of time over the past fifty years and showed its indubitable advantages."<sup>1</sup>

As the ruling party, the CPSU guides, and is responsible for, the work of all state and public organisations, develops and improves the democratic foundations and principles of the Soviet system, and involves more and more of the working masses in social management and state administration.

The Party's decisions serve as a guide to action for all state and public organisations, which fully approve, support and carry out its policy.

The Party embodies the interests of the whole people. Consequently, the Party leadership is able to guarantee the most satisfactory solution of all the main economic, political and ideological issues for the benefit of society as a whole.

As a socio-political, rather than state, organisation, the Party exercises a leadership that is based not on the authority of power, but on conviction. It directs the activities of all organisations—both public and state—primarily through the Party organisations and Party groups in these institutions and through the Communists working in them.

It is inscribed in the Constitution (Article 6): "The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is the leading and guiding force of Soviet society and the nucleus of its political system, of all state and public organisations. The CPSU exists

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<sup>1</sup> L. I. Brezhnev, *Following Lenin's Course*, Moscow, 1972, p. 67.

for the people and serves the people. Armed with the Marxist-Leninist teaching, the Communist Party shall determine the general perspective of society's development, and the internal and external policy line of the USSR, give guidance to the great creative endeavour of the Soviet people and place their struggle for the triumph of communism on a planned, scientific basis."

The Party gives political guidance to all state and public organisations, yet it does not itself assume the functions of direct administration or duplicate the functions of other institutions involved in the political organisation of socialist society. This lies at the heart of the interaction between the Communist Party and the other organisations of the working people within the framework of Soviet society.

The Party is particularly concerned to separate more precisely the functions of Party and Soviet bodies and to remove duplication and parallelism in their work. During the early years of Soviet rule, Lenin declared that it was necessary to "delimit much more precisely the functions of the Party (and of its Central Committee) from those of the Soviet government; to increase the responsibility and independence of Soviet officials and of Soviet government institutions, leaving to the Party the general guidance of the activities of all state bodies, without the present, too frequent, irregular and often petty interference".<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, "Letter to V. M. Molotov for the Plenary Meeting of the C.C., R.C.P.(B.) with the Plan of the Political Report for the Eleventh Party Congress", *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 253.

The question of the place and role of Party and state in the political system of Soviet society, and of the principles underlying their interaction within the system, is becoming increasingly important in the developed socialist society.

## 1. DEVELOPED SOCIALISM— A NECESSARY STAGE IN THE COMMUNIST SOCIAL FORMATION

When analysing the process whereby a new society was to be established, Lenin wrote that socialism "is the first form of the new society. Communism is a higher form of society, and can only develop when socialism has become firmly established."<sup>1</sup> This highly meaningful definition of Lenin's is also a fine example of the dialectical cognition of social reality, and provides an instance of profoundly scientific forecasting. In the first place, it indicates that socialism and communism are inseparable, since, as the first phase of the communist formation, socialism directly precedes communism and develops into communism as it becomes more perfect and mature. The very prospect of communist development is wholly determined by the successes of socialism. In the second place, both socialism and communism, as two necessary phases in a single social formation, are relatively independent. In Lenin's view, socialism is "the first form of the new society", while communism is "a higher form of society".

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<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, "Report on Subbotniks Delivered to a Moscow City Conference of the R.C.P.(B). December 20, 1919", *Collected Works*, Vol. 30, p. 284.

Describing Marx's doctrine of the succession of socio-economic formations as a natural historical process, Lenin declared, with reference to the two phases of communist society: "Instead of scholastically invented, 'concocted' definitions and fruitless disputes over words (What is socialism? What is communism?), Marx gives an analysis of what might be called the stages of the economic maturity of communism."<sup>1</sup>

The experience of socialist construction in the USSR and in other countries shows that socialism possesses a fairly high degree of independence, as is indicated by the action of its own particular and specific laws and principles. It is a comparatively long phase in the socio-economic and political development of the new society, during which it matures and prepares the necessary material, social, political and spiritual prerequisites for the transition to the second phase of the communist formation.

The stipulation of scientific communism concerning the necessity and inevitability of the socialist phase of development is of fundamental theoretical and practical importance. Even though the capitalist stage can be bypassed during the transition to socialism, as has happened in the history of the peoples of Soviet Central Asia and Mongolia, the socialist phase is inevitable during the transition to communism.

"From capitalism", Lenin wrote, "mankind can pass directly only to socialism, i.e., to the social ownership of the means of production

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<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, "The State and Revolution", *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, p. 476.

and the distribution of products according to the amount of work performed by each individual."<sup>1</sup> The understanding of the historical place of socialism, its essence and its development prospects is now the subject of fierce ideological debate. The opportunists, for instance, do not recognise socialism as an independent phase of the communist social formation, and claim that between capitalism and complete communism there is a transitional period of bitter class struggle. The conceptions of socialism formulated by Western revisionists add up to a fanciful mixture of capitalist and socialist features. Guided by such "theoretical principles", they vainly criticise the tangible achievements of peoples in the socialist countries, and the guiding role of Marxist-Leninist parties in these countries.

In its most general form, socialism is characterised by several substantial features.

In the economic sphere, socialism means the establishment of public ownership of the instruments and means of production and the elimination of the material sources of the exploitation of some classes and social groups by others. Socialist ownership exists in the form of state property (the property of the whole people)—the leading and decisive form of ownership—and also in the forms of cooperative and collective-farm property and the property of public organisations. The members of a socialist society also have the right to personal property. Single in its social essence, socialist ownership excludes the division of

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<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, "The Tasks of the Proletariat in Our Revolution", *Collected Works*, Vol. 24, pp. 84-85.

people into those who own the means of production and those who do not—exploiters and exploited. All means of production, both in state and in cooperative, collective-farm and public enterprises and organisations, are public property, i.e., are in the hands of the working people themselves. This conditions the socialist character of the socialisation of the means of production and of the appropriation of the results of social labour. The forms of socialist ownership differ in the degree to which the means of production are socialised. But these differences are not fundamental. It is the common features, the homogeneity of the forms of socialist ownership, that are of overriding importance. It is the main precondition for gradually bridging the gap between them and later for completely merging them into the single form of communist ownership.

Associated with socialism are the achievement of the socio-political cohesion of society and an enormous expansion in real democracy. The social structure of Soviet society is marked by the existence of friendly classes and groups of working people, by the unity of their economic, socio-political and ideological interests, and by their common interest in the building of communism. Although classes are retained in socialist society (the working class and the collective-farm peasantry) and have certain minor differences, the appearance and development of a number of common features attest that the process of the moulding of a socially homogeneous society is under way.

Changes in the socio-class structure of So-

viet society in comparison with 1913 are shown by the following percentage figures:<sup>1</sup>

	1913	1928	1939	1959	1972	1974
Whole population (including non-working members of families)	100	100	100	100	100	100
Of which: Factory and office workers	17.0	17.6	50.2	68.3	80.7	82.2
Of which: Workers	14.6	12.4	33.5	49.5	59.8	60.6
Collective-farm peasantry and handicraftsmen in cooperatives	—	2.9	47.2	31.4	19.3	17.8
Individual peasants and handicraftsmen not in cooperatives	66.7	74.9	2.6	0.3	—	—
Bourgeoisie, landowners, dealers and rich peasants	16.3	4.6	—	—	—	—

The experience of the development of Soviet society has confirmed the historical correctness of the Marxist-Leninist principle that, with the elimination of class antagonisms and with the eradication of the exploitation of man by man, the social breeding ground for national discord and mistrust also disappears, favourable conditions arise for the voluntary drawing together of nations, and relations of friendship spring up between peoples.

<sup>1</sup> "The National Economy of the USSR. 1922-1972", *Jubilee Statistical Yearbook*, Moscow, 1972, p. 35 (in Russian).

Within a comparatively short historical period, striking results have been achieved in the Soviet Union as regards the economic and cultural development of nations. The inequality between peoples that was inherited from the past has been eliminated in the course of socialist construction through the implementation of the Leninist nationalities policy. The equalisation of different nations' and nationalities' levels of economic development was a powerful factor in the socio-political progress of the socialist nations.

As for intellectual and cultural pursuits, socialism ensures the predominance of Marxist-Leninist ideology, a high level of awareness, education and culture among the people, the development of science, and the flowering of art and literature.

Lenin once remarked that "politically, the distinction between the first, or lower, and the higher phase of communism, will in time, probably be tremendous".<sup>1</sup> One of the greatest differences between socialism and communism is the fact that the first phase inevitably presupposes the existence of the state and other political institutions.

Only under socialism do society's productive forces attain the degree of development that is essential in order to overcome the vestiges of the old division of labour, bring about an abundance of material wealth, and mould communist social relations. Only on the basis of socialism during the process of communist construction are the preconditions created that

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<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, "The State and Revolution", *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, p. 475.

are necessary for the removal of class and intraclass distinctions and the substantial differences between town and countryside, and between manual and brain workers.

The development and improvement of socialism and the building of communism form a single process. The development of a socialist economy is at the same time the creation of the material and technical base of communism.

The improvement of socialist social relations and the gradual bridging of the gap between town and countryside, and between mental and physical labour also constitute the foundation for fashioning communist social relations.

The flowering of socialist democracy, the strengthening of the socialist state and the improvement of all the forms of social management also pave the way for the future communist social self-administration that will supersede political administration by the state. The ethics and conduct of the new man of the communist society are already being moulded now, in the course of the Soviet people's constructive labour and during the enhancement of their consciousness and activity.

"When defining the historical place of socialism," Mikhail Suslov, member of the Politbureau and Secretary of the CC CPSU, points out, "the writers of scientific literature sometimes confine themselves to partial descriptions, such as the statement that socialism is an undeveloped, immature society (as compared with full communism). This is true from the standpoint of the historical perspective of socialism, as the first phase of communism, evolving into its highest phase. When-

ever we talk of socialism, we do, naturally, always have in mind the perspective of its development. Communism is our great goal; we hold it to be sacred, and it is the vital task of our theoreticians to identify, at a profound scientific level, the ways and means of attaining it. But it is no less important to deal theoretically with the matters that fully reveal all aspects of what socialism *really* is as compared with the past, and to what historical height it raises mankind."<sup>1</sup>

The division into periods of the process whereby a communist society would be established was made by Lenin in draft notes for his *The State and Revolution*. He indicated three main periods:

I "prolonged birth-pangs";

II "the first phase of communist society";

III "a higher phase of communist society".<sup>2</sup>

The transitional period, which Lenin called the "long pains of birth", starts immediately after the revolutionary establishment of the political power of the working class. It is during this period, which ends when socialism has been built by and large, that the socialist mode of production is set up. This in turn presupposes: the establishment of ownership by the people as a whole of the means of production through the socialist nationalisation of capitalist property; and the transfor-

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<sup>1</sup> M. A. Suslov, "The CPSU—the Party of Creative Marxism". *The 24th CPSU Congress and the Development of Marxist-Leninist Theory*, Moscow, 1971, p. 10 (in Russian).

<sup>2</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Marxism on the State*, Moscow, 1972, p. 31.

mation, through the setting up of cooperatives, of petty private ownership of the means of production of the peasants, handicraftsmen and artisans into cooperative socialist property.

It was an important economic task of the transitional period to overcome the multiplicity of modes of production and to consolidate the socialist form of economy. The socialist form became dominant in the economy, but was not the only form in operation. The social bases of socialism were also created during these years: the exploiter classes were abolished and so the question "who will win?" was resolved, the working class was developing successfully, a socialist peasantry was taking shape, a new intelligentsia was emerging, and there was a significant increase in the political and ideological cohesion of Soviet society.

In January 1933 a joint Plenary Meeting of the Communist Party's Central Committee and Central Control Committee summed up the successes that had been achieved, and commented that the capitalist elements in town and countryside had been smashed, the foundation for a socialist economy laid, and the victory of socialism in the USSR assured.<sup>1</sup>

In his *Critique of the Gotha Programme*, Marx stated that a transitional period of profound revolutionary transformations of society's economic and social foundations would be matched by a politically transitional period

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<sup>1</sup> See *Resolutions and Decisions of the CPSU Congresses, Conferences and CC Plenary Meetings*, Vol. 5, Moscow, 1971, p. 72 (in Russian).

"in which the state can be nothing but the *revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat*".<sup>1</sup>

The building of socialism by and large is succeeded by the period of its self-sufficient development. This stage is marked by a profound transformation of social relations in all spheres of economic, political and cultural life. The socialist transformation of the economy was completed. The socialist form of economy became the only form, though this does not rule out some small-scale private trading which does not play a substantial role.

The exploiter classes were completely eliminated, the causes of the exploitation of man by man were eradicated, and socialist principles were established in all spheres of life in Soviet society.

Socio-political cohesion was achieved in society, the friendship between the socialist nations was consolidated, and a cultural revolution was largely carried through.

The triumph of socialism in the Soviet Union was legislatively enacted in the 1936 Constitution of the USSR, which established the socialist principles of the social and state organisation of the USSR, as well as far-reaching social freedoms and civil rights, and introduced a system of direct, equitable and universal elections, by secret ballot, to the organs of power. The political superstructure was thus brought into line with the economic basis of socialism.

The victory of socialism ushers in immense possibilities for the further development and

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<sup>1</sup> K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 3, Moscow, 1976, p. 26.

improvement of productive forces and socialist social relationships, paves the way for the general emergence and use of the vast historical advantages of the new social system, and initiates the stage in which a mature, developed socialist society is built.

Foreseeing that socialism would pass through various stages of maturity, Lenin first used the concept of "the developed socialist society" in March 1918.<sup>1</sup> In 1920, Lenin said that the transition towards the developed socialist society was a lengthy process, so that within this period "our policy will be divided into a number of even smaller stages. And the whole difficulty of the task which falls to our lot, the whole difficulty of politics and the art of politics, lies in the ability to take into account the specific tasks of each of these transitions."<sup>2</sup>

Lenin's statements about the developed socialist society were developed further in Party decisions. The conclusion that developed socialism has been built in the USSR was first formulated in 1967 in Leonid Brezhnev's report *Fifty Years of Great Achievements of Socialism*.

Completion of the building of developed socialist society in the Soviet Union is recorded in the country's new Constitution. It says:

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<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, "Original Version of the Article 'The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government'", *Collected Works*, Vol. 42, p. 78.

<sup>2</sup> V. I. Lenin, "Report on the Work of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars Delivered at the First Session of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee, Seventh Convocation, February 2, 1920", *Collected Works*, Vol. 30, p. 331.

"At this stage, when socialism is developing on its own foundation, all the creative potentialities of the new system and the advantages of the socialist way of life are revealed more and more fully, and the working people use the fruits of the great revolutionary achievements to an ever increasing extent.

"This is a society in which mighty productive forces and advanced science and culture have been created, a society in which the living standard of the people is rising steadily and increasingly favourable conditions are taking shape for the all-sided development of the individual.

"This is a society of mature socialist social relations, in which a new historical community of people, the Soviet people, has emerged through the drawing together of all social strata and on the basis of the juridical and actual equality of all nations and nationalities.

"This is a society in which the organisation, ideological commitment and political consciousness of the working people, who are patriots and internationalists, have attained a high level.

"This is a society in which the law of life is the concern of all for the welfare of each and the concern of each for the welfare of all.

"This is a society of true democracy, the political system of which assures the effective administration of all social affairs, the increasingly active participation of the working people in state affairs, and the combination of genuine rights and freedoms of man with a sense of civic duty.

"Developed socialist society is an objectively necessary stage on the road to communism."

The characteristics of developed socialism are: a high level of maturity in all social relations; a powerful material and technical base; a social structure that is characterised by the absence of class and national antagonisms and by a high degree of homogeneity and cohesion; far-reaching democracy; the flowering of socialist science and culture; and the triumph of the ideology of Marxism-Leninism, socialist internationalism and friendship between peoples.

The main distinctive features of developed socialism include higher indices of the country's national economy and a considerable growth in productive forces. Since the thirties the Soviet Union's economic potential has grown roughly 10-fold; its gross social product, 8-fold; its national income, 9-fold; industrial output, 12-fold; and agricultural production, 2-fold.

Soviet society has advanced further in building the material and technical base of communism. As was pointed out at the 25th CPSU Congress (1976), the country's economic potential grew significantly through the fulfilment of the Ninth Five-Year Plan, and has practically doubled over the last ten years. The Soviet economy has clearly demonstrated its ability to develop at a high and steady rate. The national income, which is used for consumption and accumulation and is the chief overall indicator of the health of the economy, grew by 28 per cent over the five years, and in 1975 it exceeded the 1970 level by 76,000

million roubles. Some 80 per cent of the increase in the national income was obtained through higher labour productivity. The greatly increased scale of the Soviet economy is well illustrated by the fact that during the eighth five-year period (1966-70) the overall growth in the national income averaged out at 326,000 million roubles more than during the seventh five-year period (1961-65), but in the ninth five-year period (1970-75) the figure was about 400,000 million roubles more than during the eighth five-year period. During these years the basic production assets grew by 50 per cent and, at the end of the ninth five-year period, stood at over 800,000 million roubles. In industry—the leading sector of the economy—output increased by 43 per cent. The absolute growth in the generation of electrical energy during the eighth five-year period amounted to 234,000 million kilowatt-hours, and to 294,000 million kwh during the ninth five-year period; the corresponding figures for oil (including gas condensate) were 110 and 137 million tons, for steel 25 and 26.3 million tons, for mineral fertilisers 24.1 and nearly 35 million tons, for chemical fibre and thread 216,000 and 334,000 tons, and for motor vehicles 300,000 and 1,046,000 units.

The increment in the output of vital commodities far exceeds their total production during the whole of 1940 (the last pre-war year): the figure here is 6 times in the case of electrical power, 4.5 for oil, 1.5 for steel, over 10 for mineral fertilisers, 30 for chemical fibre and thread, and 7 for motor vehicles. The CC CPSU Report to the 25th Party Congress declares: "We have achieved a higher

growth of industrial output, capital investments and state appropriations for new measures to raise the people's living standard than in any other preceding five-year period. The list of major products of which the Soviet Union is now the world's biggest producer has become even more impressive. In recent years steel, petroleum and mineral fertilisers have been added to the list which includes coal, iron ore, cement and some other items. . . .

"More than 500,000 million roubles have been invested in all branches of the economy and this has made it possible to increase our basic production assets by 50 per cent. And this took only five years. Compared with 1965 these assets have practically more than doubled. To the economic potential which had taken nearly half a century to build we have been able to add as large a potential in only ten years."<sup>1</sup>

The economic contest between the two opposed social systems is coming increasingly to be a struggle for the highest labour productivity, the greatest production efficiency and the fullest use of the advances of the scientific and technological revolution.

Developed socialism is also characterised by increased economic, political, cultural and scientific cooperation between the USSR and other socialist countries. Economic cooperation has grown broader and deeper, and the economic integration of the countries belonging to the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance is under way. The CMEA states' pol-

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<sup>1</sup> *Documents and Resolutions. XXVth Congress of the CPSU, Moscow, 1976, p. 43.*

icity of interstate specialisation and coordinated production, the close cohesion of national economic plans, and economic integration is an expression of the objective needs of the development of world socialism. As Leonid Brezhnev pointed out in his Report at the 25th CPSU Congress, "The socialist community has now become the world's most dynamic economic force. In the past five years the industry of its member countries grew four times as swiftly as that of the developed capitalist states. In 1975 the industrial output of the countries of our community was more than double that of the Common Market countries."<sup>1</sup> The predominance of socialist production relations, the effect of the economic laws of socialism, and a number of other natural features and characteristics are present in all stages of socialist development. But its modern phase, the stage of the developed socialist society, has both qualitative and quantitative differences from the preceding stages. The main difference is the immeasurably higher level of socialist production, social relations, culture and the consciousness of the masses.

The determining feature of a developed socialist society is the socio-political and ideological cohesion of all classes and social groups and of the people as a whole. Until this cohesion is achieved, a socialist society cannot be regarded as developed, no matter what economic and cultural level it may have attained.

While retaining the continuity and general nature of earlier stages of socialist society,

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<sup>1</sup> *Documents and Resolutions. XXVth Congress of the CPSU*, p. 12.

the social relations of developed socialism and the whole of its socio-political structure have also undergone certain changes and taken on specific features.

Developed socialism shows a correlation between classes and social strata that is marked by greater maturity and by a substantial reduction in social differences. Significantly, the leading political role of the working class is also assured by the fact that it is the numerically predominant class. At present, workers account for 58 per cent of the Soviet population. The intelligentsia also make up a very high proportion in the social structure of developed socialism. In 1939 the intelligentsia and office workers comprised 17.7 per cent of the country's population, but today this particular stratum accounts for over 25 per cent. The numbers of the scientific intelligentsia are growing especially rapidly. The number of scientific workers over the same period has increased almost tenfold.

A further characteristic of the developed socialist society is the altered balance between the urban and rural population. In 1961 this correlation swung in favour of the urban population, and in 1973 a total of 59 per cent of the population were already living in towns.<sup>1</sup>

Changes have also occurred in the proportional balance between the groups of the working people who perform skilled and unskilled, manual and mechanised jobs, and so on.

It is Party policy to consistently remove the substantial socio-economic and cultural differ-

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<sup>1</sup> *The USSR in Figures in 1973. A Brief Statistical Digest, Moscow, 1974, p. 7 (in Russian).*

ences between town and countryside. At the 25th CPSU Congress it was pointed out that the incomes of collective farmers derived from the public economy would go up by 24-27 per cent during the tenth five-year period. They are growing more quickly than the average wages of factory and office workers. Collective farm earnings will grow through increased productivity, and will be improved by ensuring parity in the remuneration of labour of equal complexity, difficulty and intensity in both collective farms and state agricultural enterprises.

It is a major task in building a classless communist society to further bridge the gap between the working class, the collective-farm peasantry and the intelligentsia, and to gradually eliminate the substantial differences between town and countryside, and between mental and physical labour.

The bridging of the gap between all classes and social groups, the encouragement of the moral and political qualities of the Soviet people, and the reinforcement of their social cohesion are taking place on the basis of Marxist-Leninist ideology, which expresses the socialist interests and communist ideals of the working class.

In an advanced socialist environment the social and national equality that was proclaimed with the victory of the proletarian revolution acquires additional socio-economic and politico-legal guarantees, ensuring the consistent and comprehensive implementation of this principle. Working together, struggling for socialism and fighting to defend it have given rise to new, balanced relations between classes and

social groups, nations and nationalities—relations of friendship and cooperation. The Soviet people are welded together by their common Marxist-Leninist ideology and by the noble aim of building a communist society.

The social cohesion of Soviet society is concretely reflected in the fact that, during the years of the building of socialism, a new historical community took shape—the Soviet people. This community is founded on the firm unity of the economic, socio-political and spiritual principles that are characteristic of all Soviet nations and nationalities, and on the common Marxist-Leninist ideology.

This new historical community, the Soviet people, does not imply that a single nation has formed, or is forming, inside the USSR. The socialist nations and nationalities are developing as integral parts of a single whole—the Soviet people. It is a new historical community that does not exclude the national community, but combines organically with it. Being ultimately the result of the internationalisation of all aspects of public life, the new historical community, far from impeding the development of each nation and nationality, ensures the most favourable conditions for their flowering and drawing closer together. The moulding and development of the new historical community make it possible to concretely predict the course of the process of further drawing together and, in the historical perspective, the fusion of nations.

In the developed socialist society the qualitatively new Soviet community not only embodies new relationships between the different nations, but also manifests itself socially.

Harmonious relations of friendship and co-operation have taken shape both between nations and nationalities, and between classes and social groups. In the development of the Soviet people as a historical community, the role of social factors is even more important than the role played by these factors in the development of nations.

By and large, new, common features of the nations and nationalities that make up the Soviet people have taken shape and are continuing to develop and even to appear—features such as community of territory, economic and political cohesion, unity of aims and interests, and common features in their intellectual makeup, which are embodied in the single Marxist-Leninist ideology, in Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism, and in the development of a unified, multinational Soviet culture.

Profound internationalism and patriotism, respect for national dignity, and a feeling of friendship and fraternity are organically characteristic of the Soviet people, who all work in a single, multinational socialist society. The country guarantees the free development, along socialist lines, of the statehood, economy and culture, and the all-round social progress of all the republics and of the Union as a whole.

The developed socialist society also has a corresponding political superstructure—the state of the whole people, which is an embodiment of profound democratism.

Thus, the economic sphere of developed socialism presupposes a powerful material and technical base, high rates of growth in social-

ist production and labour productivity, timely application of the advances of the scientific and technological revolution, and a high level of well-being among the masses.

A further characteristic of the economic structure of a developed socialist society is an increasingly deepening economic integration with other socialist countries.

The social sphere of developed socialism is characterised by relations of friendship and cooperation between all classes and social groups in society and between nations and nationalities. Increasingly, the gap is being bridged between the working class, the collective-farm peasantry and the intelligentsia, the nations and nationalities are gradually drawing closer together, and the substantial differences between town and countryside, and between physical and mental labour are being removed. The socio-class structure of developed socialist society is being improved through intensifying its homogeneity and strengthening the social cohesion of the people.

The spiritual sphere of developed socialism means the moulding of a communist world outlook among the working masses, the inculcation of Marxist-Leninist ideas, and the development in the Soviet people of a communist attitude towards labour, and lofty moral convictions. The Soviet people's ideological and political cohesion is the source of the vital strength of socialist society.

More and more countries in which socialist social relations have triumphed are effecting the transition towards the building of a developed socialist society. The programme for the

social development of the German Democratic Republic, formulated in the decisions of the 8th Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (June 1971), is orientated towards the building of a developed socialist society in the country. The programme adopted by the 10th Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party (April 1971) makes the point that the building of a developed socialist society is now the chief historical task of the Bulgarian people. At the 10th Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party (November 1970) it was emphasised that the republic was accomplishing tasks connected with the complete building of socialism. The main aim of the Party—the creation of a developed socialist society—is declared in a decision made at the 10th Congress of the Rumanian Communist Party (1969). The 10th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (March 1971) worked out a programme for the all-round development of a socialist society and its political system. The 6th Congress of the Polish United Workers' Party (December 1971) announced that the Polish People's Republic had entered the stage of the building of developed socialism.

The experience of other socialist countries is evidence of the law-governed consistency of the development of the communist formation. The socialist political system is being established and improved accordingly.

## 2. THE POLITICAL ORGANISATION OF SOCIETY UNDER DEVELOPED SOCIALISM, AND THE PLACE AND ROLE IN IT OF PARTY AND STATE

The political organisation of society is the system of institutions, both state and public, which interact and so determine the political life of society as a whole. Between the institutions that form the political organisation of society there are political relationships, i.e., a special kind of the class social relationships that arise in the course of governing the state and of determining its system, tasks, functions and methods. The political organisation of a socialist society is a complicated social entity, functioning in a very coordinated way. Naturally, this calls not only for cohesion as regards the working of individual elements in the system, but also for their deeper interpenetration and interdependence. It follows that only in a system and in an organic unity do these elements create the new quality that is not present in any one of them in isolation.

All aspects of the political life of society are connected with state power and with the attitude that is taken towards it. It was this consideration that led Lenin to define politics as "participation in the affairs of state,

direction of the state, definition of the forms, tasks and content of state activity".<sup>1</sup>

When recognising state power to be the main and determining form of political domination in a class society, one must bear in mind that all the forms of authority that appear in the workings of public organisations, their importance notwithstanding, are, to a greater or lesser extent, associated with state power. But, on the other hand, without taking account of the workings of various non-state organisations (political parties, trade unions, cooperatives, etc.), it is impossible to form a deep and rounded view of political life in that society and to fully understand the workings of state power.

It will be recalled that in the *Communist Manifesto* the founders of scientific communism defined proletarian power as the proletariat organised into a ruling class. The dictatorship of the working class was thus seen as an organisation, a system of power, embodying class domination. Starting off from the conclusions drawn by Marx and Engels in this field and summing up a vast quantity of revolutionary experience, Lenin formulated the principles of building the political organisation of the new society. It includes organs of state popular power—Soviets, which constitute the all-embracing and most mass political organisation of the working people.

Within this system the guiding role belongs to the Communist Party. The vanguard of the

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<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, "Theses on the Attitude of the Swiss Social-Democratic Party to the War", *Collected Works*, Vol. 41, p. 382.

working class becomes the nucleus of power, and without it there can be no dictatorship of the proletariat.

The political organisation of society also includes the trade unions, since they are the bodies which primarily encompass the working class and link the Party with it. In the various fields of production, cultural, scientific and other activity, the working people amalgamate to form mass organisations (co-operatives, youth league, etc.), which also form important links in the unified, coordinated system.

So, on the one hand, this well-devised and smoothly-working system acts as a means of organising the proletariat into the ruling class and, on the other hand, as the organisation of the power of the ruling class.

Lenin's assessments of the social nature and purpose, place and role of individual links in the system, such as the Soviets, trade unions, the Komsomol, etc., and the forms and methods whereby they were to be guided by the Communist Party—the highest form of the socio-political organisation of the working class and all the working people—are of lasting scientific value and of practical significance.

Only the political organisation of socialist society possesses such qualities as unity and completeness. This is because its component state and public organisations are based on a single economic and socio-class foundation of society, and are accomplishing the common tasks of the building of socialism and communism. The guiding and directing role of the Communist Party is the vital socio-political factor that determines the class nature and

social orientation of the management of socialist society, ensuring the unity of its political organisation.

The political organisation of society is really the organisation of the ruling class and of its political domination. Consequently, the political organisation of any class society presupposes not just a simple, even fairly coordinated quantity of organisations and institutions empowered to exercise political functions, but rather a system of them, based on coherent class aims and tasks. The unity of all political organisations is attainable in a socialist society, but is impossible in a society that is torn by vast contradictions and conflicts.

Political institutions that are hostile to the ruling class do not, of course, form their own particular political organisation of society, nor are they in a position to discharge such a function (although it cannot be denied that they also participate in political relationships). During the early years of Soviet rule, for instance, it was opposed and fiercely resisted by various counter-revolutionary political organisations which, naturally, did not form part of the political organisation of Soviet society.

In the modern bourgeois political system the revolutionary working movement, its institutions and organisations, and the broad democratic movement of the masses have won certain positions and a certain place. The arena of political struggle within capitalist society has broadened to a very great extent. The masses are playing an increasingly active and effective part in politics, and this has a substantial effect on the institutions and forms of

bourgeois society. The anti-democratic desires of the ruling circles are opposed by the growing yearning of the masses for democracy, and by their interest in extending their social and political rights. The way is being paved for the formation of a broad front of democratic forces in opposition to the state-monopoly oligarchy. Describing this process, Lenin wrote: "Capitalism in general, and imperialism in particular, turn democracy into an illusion—though at the same time capitalism engenders democratic aspirations in the masses, creates democratic institutions, aggravates the antagonism between imperialism's denial of democracy, and the mass striving for democracy."<sup>1</sup>

The objective and subjective preconditions for radical social transformations are growing in the developed capitalist countries, and political forces are taking shape that are capable of putting an end to the omnipotence of the monopolies and of ensuring the transition of society towards a socialist path of development.

The struggle for democratic transformations creates favourable conditions in these countries for the struggle to achieve socialism. The theses of the Düsseldorf Congress of the German Communist Party contained the statement: "The GCP proceeds from the view that anti-monopoly and socialist transformations are interconnected stages in the single revolutionary process of the transition from capitalism to socialism."<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, "Reply to P. Kievsky (Y. Pyatakov)", *Collected Works*, Vol. 23, pp. 24-25.

<sup>2</sup> *Thesen des Düsseldorfer Parteitag der Deutschen Kommunistischen Partei*, 1971, S. 17.

The thesis that transformation and the changing of the capitalist system are possible without altering the socio-economic foundations of society and without changing the ownership of the decisive means of production and the exercise of political power forms the essence of all contemporary petty-bourgeois theories, including Right-wing Social-Democratic and reformist social theories.

It is noteworthy that in all countries where Social-Democrats are in power the policy of "democratic socialism" makes absolutely no changes in the essence of capitalism and does not lead to the creation of a new society. The rejection of any change in the ownership of the means of production and in political power that is preached by "democratic socialists" amounts to no more than preventing any change in capitalism that might affect its principal foundations.

The revolutionary programme of Marxist-Leninist parties takes full account of the fact that, as Ib Norlund puts it, "the decisive factor in social development is the class struggle for power in society or, more precisely, the struggle to possess the principal apparatus of power which controls society and the state apparatus. . . . The class nature of the whole state must be changed."<sup>1</sup>

Mass democratic movements and the revolutionary activity of the working class and Communist Parties relying on the trust and support of the working people and putting forward a constructive programme aimed at

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<sup>1</sup> See Ib Norlund, *Det kommunistiske synspunkt*, Copenhagen, 1968.

the progressive development of the whole of society give rise to certain changes, although not decisive ones, in the political superstructure of bourgeois society. These changes also affect the sphere of state and juridical relations and the relevant bodies and institutions.

The increasingly reactionary nature of the ruling monopoly circles is in conflict with the existence of bourgeois-democratic institutions whose socio-political purpose is not just that they constitute a specific form of oppression of the working people, but that they are, to some extent, used by the working people in the struggle for relatively more favourable living conditions.

The organisations of the ruling class in capitalist countries are opposed by the socio-political associations of the working class and its allies. Bourgeois socio-political organisations, and primarily the bourgeois state, strive to eliminate the socio-political associations of the working class and its allies or at least to restrict the scope of their activities; and the working-class organisations opposing them aim to destroy the political system of the bourgeoisie and its basis—the machinery of state power.

Profoundly contradictory and constantly subjected to acute crises and upheavals, the political superstructure of modern bourgeois society is the objective source of class conflict and fierce struggle. The socialist political system has enormous advantages over it.

Communist construction is a multifaceted process, embracing all aspects of life in society—the economy, social relationships, culture and living conditions. The working people are

involved in this vast creative process through mass public organisations. Together with the socialist state, they take part directly in creating the material and technical base of communism, in establishing communist social relationships and in moulding the new man.

The new Constitution of the USSR reflects the important part played in the country's life by the trade unions, the Young Communist League, the co-operatives and other mass organisations. They are ensured the right of participation in political, economic, social and cultural decision-making, and the right to initiate legislation. This is additional evidence that the state of the whole people takes into account the interests of all social strata and groups.

Public organisations are associations of Soviet people set up in accordance with their interests, at their wish, on the principles of voluntary membership and self-administration, and for the purpose of developing activity among them that is directed towards the building of communism. Through the extensive system of public organisations, many millions of working people take part in the political life of society.

While forming part of the unified political organisation of socialist society, public organisations are nevertheless characterised by certain features that differ from those of other elements in it, particularly the state.

The state is endowed with structural and functional unity, and embraces all citizens, whereas public organisations do not have a rigid hierarchy of systems and embrace a larg-

er or smaller section of citizens in accordance with some particular criterion.

While accomplishing the common task of building communism, public organisations enable social and personal interests to be combined as flexibly and as fully as possible. Public organisations operate through specific methods, by educating the working masses and boosting their activity and initiative.

In the developed socialist society these organisations include the trade unions, which have a total membership of over 113 million and act as a school of administration and management, a school of communism. Through the trade unions, millions of factory and office workers acquire the skills of production management and performing state and public work.

The role of the trade unions is growing even more in modern circumstances.

Defining the place of the trade unions in socialist society, Lenin described them as "a school of administration, a school of economic management, a school of communism".<sup>1</sup>

"Have these aspects of trade-union work been exhausted under developed socialism? No, they have not," Brezhnev said in his speech at the 16th Congress of the Trade Unions of the USSR on March 21, 1977. On the contrary, they assume still greater importance now and reveal themselves more fully.

"The Soviet trade unions have always been a school of administration. And what is especially important, indeed a matter of basic import-

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<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, "The Trade Unions, the Present Situation and Trotsky's Mistakes", *Collected Works*, Vol. 32, p. 20.

ance, is that they represent a mass school where tens of millions of people are learning the art of managing production and running the state and society.

"The Soviet trade unions have always been a school of economic management. And it is also a matter of fundamental importance that they are a school of socialist economic management. In our society, production and the working man are not opposed to each other. The dual task of the trade unions is to show concern for the development of the national economy, for increasing production, and concern for the rights and interests of the working people and their working and living conditions. This is indeed a dual task since the growth and qualitative improvement of the economy provide a direct and sure way of improving the living conditions of the working man, his family and every citizen.

"The Soviet trade unions have always been a school of communism in which people learn to live and work the communist way. A new spiritual makeup of working man is being moulded in this school. It fosters the lofty qualities of working people-internationalists. It fosters loyalty to the unfading slogan 'Workers of the world, unite!' "<sup>1</sup>

The Komsomol, or Young Communist League, as an independent public organisation of young people, helps the Party to educate the youth in the spirit of communism, to involve them in the construction of the new society, and to prepare a generation of roundly devel-

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<sup>1</sup> L. I. Brezhnev, *Speech at the 16th Congress of the Trade Unions of the USSR*, Moscow, 1977, pp. 8-9.

oped people who will live, work and manage public affairs under communism.

The central task of the Komsomol is to educate young people in the spirit of communist ideology, Soviet patriotism, internationalism, and a high degree of organisation and discipline. The Komsomol must endeavour to see that every young person is an active builder of the new society.

The collective farms, the consumer and building cooperatives, and other such organisations are one of the forms of involving the masses in communist construction, one of the forms of communist upbringing and schooling in self-administration. In the USSR, consumer cooperatives alone have some 60 million members.

An important role in the developed socialist society is played by scientific, technical and educational societies, organisations of rationalisers and inventors, writers', artists' and journalists' unions, and cultural and sporting societies. The technical societies have a membership of 4.5 million engineers and technicians, and the All-Union Society of Inventors and Rationalisers has been joined by 5.4 million people.

The vast amount of the Soviet people's social activity is not confined to the public organisations, but extends far beyond them, giving rise to extremely varied and flexible organisational forms. The work of production conferences, workers' meetings and collective farmers' general assemblies is being activated. Today the operative legislation on the rights of the factory and local committees of trade unions provides even greater opportun-

ities for the working people's participation in running the affairs of enterprises and institutions.

The development of collective-farm democracy is marked by the adoption of new Model Rules for the collective farms and by the election of a Union Council of Collective Farms, as well as collective-farm councils in regions, districts, territories and republics. All this illustrates the very real processes of the development of socialist democracy, which are strengthening and further developing the socialist system.

As the leading and guiding force in Soviet society, the Communist Party directs all these organisations and associations. The Party is, as the USSR Constitution declares (Article 6), the nucleus of the Soviet political system, of all state agencies and public organisations.

The Communist Party's guiding role in the activities of the public organisations of the working people is formalised in their charters and rules. The Rules of Trade Unions, for example, contain the following stipulation: "The trade unions shall carry out all their work under the guidance of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union—the organising and directing force in Soviet society." The preamble to the Komsomol Rules also formalises the principle: "The Komsomol shall operate under the guidance of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The strength of the Komsomol lies in its guidance by the CPSU and its ideological conviction and dedication to the cause of the Party." The rules of the voluntary societies contain similar articles.

Unlike all previous socio-economic forma-

tions, a communist society arises as the result of the conscious and deliberate efforts of the working people. Hence the growing importance of the conscious masses, the degree of their organisation, and their ability to keep their bearings in the extremely dynamic conditions of socialist development. All this enhances, to an unprecedented degree, the role of the working people's guide and organiser—the Communist Party.

Party guidance in the political organisation of Soviet society is exercised through the formulation of an overall perspective, the correct political line, directives and instructions, through the selection, deployment and education of managing cadres, and through checking performance and seeing how the political line and directives of the Party bodies are being implemented.

The Party ensures the purposeful and coordinated development of all the components of Soviet society. While being a public organisation itself, the Party nevertheless guides the other public organisations. Moreover, the Party is the only one of all the public organisations to guide the state. Thus, by virtue of its political guidance the Party combines all the public and state organisations into the single political system of Soviet society.

Lenin viewed the Party as the engine driving the whole machinery of Soviet society, while the Soviets, the trade unions, the cooperatives and the Komsomol were the organisations that linked the Party with the masses. "Just as the very best factory, with the very best motors and first-class machines, will be forced to remain idle if the transmission belts

from the motors to the machines are damaged," Lenin wrote, defining the role of Soviet trade unions, "so our work of socialist construction must meet with inevitable disaster if the trade unions—the transmission belts from the Communist Party to the masses—are badly fitted or function badly."<sup>1</sup>

The guiding role of the Party in relation to the state and to the other public organisations is conditioned by its nature as the progressive, conscious vanguard of the working class.

Under socialism, the state is the only political organisation to embrace all members of society. It is the most universal of the mass organisations. It incorporates a ramified system of social organs and institutions that carry out the numerous and varied tasks of communist construction.

The state has at its disposal a special apparatus and means, including coercion, which enable it to struggle purposefully against anti-social phenomena of all kinds. No public organisation, no matter how large it might be, is in a position to replace the state or to assume its functions. It is the only organisation to establish law and order in society and to enforce them in the appropriate forms. For instance, the Soviet state performs functions of control over the legality of the activities of public organisations, both through the organs of the public prosecutor's office as a part of general supervision, or through other state organs in special forms. Exercised strictly in

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<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, "Draft Theses on the Role and Functions of the Trade Unions Under the New Economic Policy", *Collected Works*, Vol. 42, p. 382.

accordance with the law, this control does not lead to interference with the internal affairs of the public organisations. Some public organisations (various voluntary societies, organs of public self-activity, etc.) operate under the guidance of state institutions.

There is a great variety in the forms of interaction between the socialist state and public organisations, and in the participation of some of them in the exercise of state functions. Without the corresponding activity of public organisations, the possibility of the complete and successful performance of many functions of the socialist state would be made more difficult, and the element of flexibility and universality would be lost.

It will be recalled that Lenin saw the role of the Soviet trade unions in terms of a "reservoir" of state power, as a mass organisation of the working people without which "the dictatorship cannot be exercised".<sup>1</sup> Needless to say, public organisations do not conduct state activities.

In a socialist environment any state phenomenon is, to a varying extent, a public phenomenon. On the other hand, since any public phenomenon develops within a particular state entity, it cannot as yet fail to be, to a greater or lesser degree, a political phenomenon, presupposing the existence of state juridical institutions within the system of socialist democracy. One can also find deeper and more

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<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, "The Trade Unions, the Present Situation and Trotsky's Mistakes", *Collected Works*, Vol. 32, p. 20.

varied forms of the delegation of the functions of state power in the activities of the public organisations, bearing in mind the unity of the socio-class nature, the goals and the tasks of the political system of socialism. Thus, public organisations help to expand the social base of the local organs of state power, and to strengthen the social principles underlying their activities, and discharge important educative functions. There exist many forms of interaction and connection between the Soviets and the working people's public self-active organisations. They are the involvement of the people in the current work of the Soviets and their organs, the joint conduct of mass measures, the participation of the Soviets in the formation of the majority of these organisations, and the exercising of control over their activities directly, through their own organs and through special social formations set up for the purpose (volunteer public-order squads, Soviets of Comrades' Courts, etc.).

The local Soviets, in turn, constantly influence the public self-active organisations, with the influence being of an organising kind, since it contains coordinative and orientational elements. On the other hand, these organisations enrich the forms of Soviet work, foster the efficiency of the state apparatus, and so on.

One of the most important forms of interaction between state and public organisations is their joint participation in the formation of state organs. In accordance with the legislation currently in force, the right to nominate candidates for the post of deputy in all links in the Soviet representative system belongs primarily

to public organisations and working people's societies, as personified by their central, republican and local organs, and also to general assemblies of workers, office staff and collective farmers at their enterprises and institutions. But the participation of the public organisations of the working people in forming the organs of Soviet state power extends further. All the work—from the compiling of electoral rolls and counting the votes to the handing of the mandate to the elected deputy—is performed by electoral commissions, and they, in accordance with the election regulations, are formed primarily from the representatives of public organisations and working people's societies.

The close ties that exist in the activities of state organs and public organisations are reflected in the form of the important documents jointly adopted by them. Joint resolutions adopted by the USSR Council of Ministers and the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, the State Committee on Labour and Wages Under the USSR Council of Ministers and the Trade Union Council, and the enactments of the USSR Ministry of Education and the Komsomol Central Committee, the USSR Ministry of Culture and the governing bodies, of the creative unions (composers', artists'), etc. have widespread application.

An effective form of interaction between state and public organs is provided by the inclusion of representatives from some organs in the composition of others. For instance, the legislation that lays down the procedure for the formation and working of the young of-

fenders', probation and youth employment commissions set up by the executive committees of the Soviets of Working People's Deputies, requires that trade union and Komsomol representatives should sit on them. The representatives of youth organisations are frequently included in the boards of all-Union and republican central organs of state administration. Representatives of the Komsomol Central Committee are members of the boards of the USSR Ministry of Culture, the USSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialised Education, the Sport Committee Under the USSR Council of Ministers, and a number of others.

The most widespread means of interaction between state and public organisations are the joint drafting of decisions, and joint supervision and participation in their enforcement.

In the practical activities of Soviet state there are many cases in which the Soviets of Working People's Deputies, expressing the will of the Soviet people, have adopted resolutions at the initiative of public organisations.

Thus, in a number of cases the Trade Union Council participates directly or organises the drafting of bills (on matters of labour, culture, living conditions, social security, etc.) and submits them, through the Government or the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, for consideration by a session of the USSR Supreme Soviet. For example, the Council drafted the Regulations on the Procedure for Examining Labour Disputes and the Regulations on the Rights of the Factory, Plant and Local Committees of Trade Unions, which were approved by the Presidium of the USSR Supreme So-

viet, and later by the USSR Supreme Soviet, and made law.

A specific form of the participation of the working people in state administration is people's control, which is exercised in all spheres of state, economic and public life. It provides for systematic checking of the enforcement of Party and Government directives, the further improvement of the management of communist construction, and the observance of state discipline, legality, and law and order.

As the CPSU Programme stresses, the strengthening of people's control over the activities of the state apparatus is a vital condition and means of improving it and further developing socialist statehood during the building of communism.

People's control is one of the fundamental democratic principles on which the political organisation of socialist society is founded and functions. It is an inseparable part of all the institutions of socialist statehood.

Public opinion is the chief force in people's control. Although having a comparatively small full-time staff, the organs of people's control embrace millions of working people. The forms and methods adopted by state organisations are also characteristic of people's control. In some circumstances the organs of people's control are empowered to use not only the force of public opinion, but also state coercion.

Despite the difference in the forms and methods adopted by state and public organisations, the most important of them are persuasion and organisational work among the masses. Involved here are two relatively self-

contained, yet interconnected means of accomplishing the essentially uniform tasks of communist construction.

But it is not just a question of the public organisations helping the organs of the Soviet state to carry out their functions. The state organs give a great deal of assistance to the public organisations. For instance, the state grants material and other privileges to the trade unions. The state in some cases makes available to the trade unions fully equipped premises and plots of land; maintains, at the expense of state enterprises, premises intended for the trade unions' cultural and educational work; confers on trade union organs the rights of being a legal person, and forbids appeals for the sequestration of the trade unions' funds, buildings or equipment. In 1960 the sanatorium and health resort institutions with all their facilities, transport, ancillary enterprises, subsidiary holdings, installations and plots of land were handed over to the trade unions, along with the money allocated for their upkeep.

A striking example of state assistance to the trade unions is the USSR Council of Ministers' decree of 15 January 1959 on the transfer by economic organs to the trade union organisations of sums of money for mass cultural and recreational work.

One of the means whereby trade unions can express their views is all kinds of proposals submitted to economic and Soviet organs. These proposals reflect the collective experience and intelligence of the masses of factory and office workers, and have the force of public opinion. Thus, the December (1957) Plenary

Meeting of the CC CPSU considered it necessary that the trade unions should take a more active part in discussing matters affecting production, labour and living conditions in Soviet and economic bodies. The plenary meeting also instructed that, when drafting production plans and when reviewing current matters relating to labour and living conditions, planning bodies were obliged to consider the views of trade union committees. Regional and territorial executive committees should examine enterprises' draft annual plans together with the representatives of the appropriate trade union committees and councils after they had been discussed at general meetings of factory workers and office staff, conferences or production meetings.

The interrelationship between the state and the public organisations in a socialist society is marked by the establishment of a system of legal guarantees ensuring that the public organisations make use of their rights. Very instructive in this respect is the resolution of the CC CPSU and the USSR Council of Ministers entitled "On Improving the Planning and Reinforcing the Economic Stimulation of Industrial Production" (October 1965) which formalises the concrete rights of factory trade union committees as regards planning, bonus expenditure and the use of several other assets of the enterprise.

The Soviet state has directly obliged administrative bodies (ministries, committees, executive committees, etc.) to examine jointly with the trade unions all matters concerning the planning and organisation of production, labour and wages, labour protection, the pro-

vision of cultural facilities and services for factory workers and office staff, as well as other business affecting the interests of the working people.

In addition to the trade unions, the Soviet state also gives a great deal of assistance to the Komsomol, the Voluntary Society for Assisting the Army, Air Force and Navy, sporting societies, collective farms and other public organisations.

The development of all forms of social management depends directly on the functioning of the organs of state administration, on its precision, efficiency and competence. Improvements in social self-administration can only occur in close cohesion with improvements in state activity as a whole.

Within the framework of the unified political organisation of society, both sets of machinery retain comparative autonomy, while gradually drawing closer to one another.

The all-embracing nature of state administration is of considerable importance to the development of the mechanism of society. It is the state and its various bodies that determine the forms, ways and methods of perfecting public self-administration.

The existence of a ramified network of public organisations is characteristic of the political system of socialism. Together with the state, these organisations form the unified system of socialist democracy.

The building of communism enhances the role and significance of the working people's socio-political organisations, which arise as a result of the self-activity of the masses and which function on the basis of the democratic

principles of the USSR Constitution. In a socialist environment both state and socio-political institutions are tackling a single principal task—the building of communism, in which all classes and social strata in society have an interest. This is the greatest advantage of socialism, and it constitutes an enormous opportunity for the creative activity and initiative of the masses. Since the establishment of communism is an objective law and occupies a lengthy period of time, socialist democracy too, as constituted at present, requires maximal development and improvement.

The wish to unite political organisations into a single system irrespective of their class orientation often becomes the means whereby bourgeois ideologists gloss over and conceal the class essence of political domination. Ralph Miliband, for instance, says that the present state system in the West represents a complex interaction between various political and legal institutions, and that it is an important feature of this interaction that it integrates within itself not only the political forces whose interests it serves, but also a broad spectrum of opposition forces, which are claimed to be collaborating with the system. Referring to opposition parties, Miliband declares: "Merely by taking part in the work of the legislature, they help the government's business."<sup>1</sup>

At odds with the vigorously publicised bourgeois theories of the diffusion of political, state power is the very real process of its growth within bourgeois society. The financial

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<sup>1</sup> Ralph Miliband, *The State in Capitalist Society*, London, 1969, p. 53.

oligarchy strives to "resolve" in its own favour the inevitably intensifying antagonism between itself and the forces of democracy by subverting official democratic institutions and suppressing or corrupting political and general democratic movements—by all means, in fact, that fall under the broad heading of an attack on democracy.

The decisive role in the establishment of a political regime belongs to the imperialist monopolies and to the military-industrial complex. As Lenin put it, "A monopoly, once it is formed and controls thousands of millions, inevitably penetrates into *every* sphere of public life, regardless of the form of government and all other 'details'."<sup>1</sup>

In a bourgeois democracy the state does not stand to gain from entirely absorbing the non-state associations of the ruling classes; instead it coordinates its activities with these associations, regarding them as autonomous links in the common machinery of the domination of the monopoly bourgeoisie. In a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie the crucial influence on the state apparatus—the most powerful unit in the mechanics of political power—is ultimately exerted by the employers' unions through the leading bourgeois and Right-wing socialist parties. All this is the practical expression of the "democratic pluralism" that is so zealously preached by bourgeois ideologists.

The democratic character of the socialist social system finds its highest reflection in the management of society by a Marxist-Leninist

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<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, "Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism", *Collected Works*, Vol. 22, p. 237.

party—a management which is at the same time the crucial condition for the development of socialist democratism.

The experience of the CPSU shows that the enhancement of its guiding role in all spheres of society is the vital condition of the building of socialism and communism. Without control by the ruling Communist Party, the whole political organisation of society, including the state, cannot function normally.

Socialism arises and develops only on a conscious basis and with the assistance of a conscious, purposeful and scientific influence on social processes. This gives rise to the need for an organisation that will formulate the prospects for the development of society and will carry out practical activity in all spheres of social life so as to convert the policy statements into reality.

After the victory of the socialist revolution the Communist Party became the ruling party of the Soviet state—the world's first state of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Party's status as the guiding and directing force in the state greatly boosted its responsibility for the country's future and for the building of socialism. This called for the creative devising of the principles of Party guidance over the economic, political and public life of the country.

The Party coordinates the activities of state organs and public organisations so as to unite the people's efforts to accomplish urgent historical tasks.

While expressing and combining in its policies the interests of all classes and social groups, and of all Soviet nations and nationa-

lities, the Communist Party also provides a model of the most sophisticated forms of managing and guiding complex social processes. This is one of the most substantial factors that ensure the Party the guiding role in socialist society.

The political nature of Party guidance is reflected not only in the fact that the Party carries out its policies through direct ideological and organisational work among the masses and in their public organisations, but also—and primarily—in the fact that this happens through the state, which it guides. It is in this vital direction of its activities that the Party's political line is effected.

Party policy extends to all aspects of the life of society, exerting a decisive influence. This is made possible largely because the state is the major means whereby Party directives are implemented.

The question of the relationship between state power and the guiding role of the Communist Party in the political organisation of socialist society is primarily associated with the political guidance of the Soviets.

Highly important in determining the political nature of this guidance is the stratum of workers in the Soviets. The growth in the role of Party guidance is, to a considerable extent, the result of the expansion of this stratum.

Party guidance of state organs is effected in many ways.

The principal way is through the drawing up of a scientific programme of state activity, and the drafting of directives and memoranda. Accordingly, the 24th Congress modified the

CPSU Rules so that CPSU Congresses will now be convened every five years, thus matching the periods covered by the USSR's national economic development plans.

Occupying as it does the central place in the political organisation of Soviet society, the CPSU carries out the ideological and political guidance of all state and public organisations, and it unifies and coordinates their activities as regards the management of the various spheres of life in society.

The pursuit of the Party's political line directly through the state, which it guides, is coming to be a major area of its activities. State policy and all the activities of state organs are determined by the Party's political directives and memoranda. Party policy is the factor on which the future of the country and of millions of people largely depends. Consequently, it is vitally important that the Party's political line should be correct, and that it should be able to avoid mistakes in its activities.

A vital principle of the implementation of the Communist Party's guiding role is the combination of its political guidance with organisational work and with the selection, deployment and education of cadres. Bringing the numbers of responsible officials up to strength is an inalienable right and duty of the ruling Communist Party.

The Party seeks to unify political guidance and the economic activities of the state apparatus.

The functions of the Party organ consist in political guidance. This does not mean, however, that it should not, for instance, constant-

ly and deeply look into economic affairs and the organisation of production. Without substituting for Soviet and economic organs, the Party committees are obliged, using the appropriate methods, to be concerned all the time with economic and cultural matters, and to mobilise the working people for the successful development of industry and agriculture.

The unity of political and economic management illustrates the link between theory and practice. Politics is a concentrated expression of the economy. Lenin frequently issued the warning that a gap should not be allowed to develop between cadres' political and economic work. "Under the bourgeois system," he said, "business matters were managed by private owners and not by state agencies; but now, business matters are our common concern. These are the politics that interest us most."<sup>1</sup>

The Party is constantly concerned to perfect the Soviet state apparatus and to improve the style and methods of its work by resolutely eradicating bureaucracy, poor organisation and red tape.

Increasing the precision, coordination and effectiveness of the work of the state apparatus and of all administrative organs makes it possible to organise to best advantage all measures designed to accelerate the economic and social development of society, to ensure the fullest possible use of the available resources and to further unify tens of millions

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<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, "Tenth All-Russia Conference of the R.C.P.(B.)", *Collected Works*, Vol. 32, p. 430.

of working people in order to accomplish the tasks set by the CPSU.

Guided by the Leninist principles of Party and state life, the CPSU is constantly improving its political, ideological, organisational and economic activities, and adopts a scientific approach to all matters on the basis of a sober appraisal of the possibilities at hand.

A further important area of Party guidance is the Party's systematic control over the activities of all state organs and verification of how Party directives are carried out.

In Lenin's words, "To test men and verify what has actually been done—this, this again, this alone is now the main feature of all our activities, of our whole policy."<sup>1</sup>

The fundamental principle underlying the structure and operation of Party and state organs is the principle of democratic centralism, which is in the fullest accord with the democratic nature of the Communist Party, the Soviet state and the whole political organisation of socialist society.

Any deviation from the territorial-production basis of the structure of Party and Soviet organs entails shortcomings in management and fewer successes in economic construction. This was confirmed in 1963 and 1964 by the experience of many Party and Soviet organisations. The November (1964) Plenary Meeting of the CC CPSU devised measures which put an end to the infringements that had taken place, and restored the territorial-production structure of Party, Soviet and public organisations.

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<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, "The International and Domestic Situation of the Soviet Republic", *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 226.

The Party's memoranda and directives underlie the work of all state organs. Commenting on this fact, Lenin wrote in 1920: "No important political or organisational question is decided by any state institution in our republic without the guidance of the Party's Central Committee."<sup>1</sup> And also: "In law and in practice, the Constitution of the Soviet Republic is based on the tenet that the Party rectifies, prescribes and builds according to a single principle."<sup>2</sup> Party directives underlie the work of the Soviets too. The most widespread kind of Party directive is the sort in which the tasks of the Soviets are defined in terms of the tasks of other state and public organisations within the framework of general state measures. Clear illustrations of this are provided by the CPSU directives on the national economic plans, as well as those on carrying out important economic reforms and major economic and socio-cultural measures. The directives define the role and place of the Soviets in the common task of developing productive forces and raising the prosperity and culture of the Soviet people.

Party directives may concern any socio-political, economic or cultural aspect. They are based, however, on the Party's unified political course, which rises above departmental and local interests, and expresses the tasks of the state, which are determined by

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<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, " 'Left-Wing' Communism—an Infantile Disorder", *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 48.

<sup>2</sup> V. I. Lenin, "Speech Delivered at an All-Russia Conference of Political Education Workers of Gubernia and Uyezd Education Departments. November 3, 1920", *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 367.

the concrete conditions and the general laws of social development.

Every Soviet state organ strives to approach any concrete question from the principled positions recorded in the Party directives.

Mikhail Kalinin, the prominent Soviet statesman and Party official, made the following comment on the importance of Party guidance for the successful functioning of the Soviets: "The guiding role of the Communist Party is of decisive importance to the Soviets. . . . The more decisively and consistently the Soviets implement the general line of the Party, the more complete and effective is the work of the Soviets."<sup>1</sup>

The formulation of a political line and its consistent implementation make up the basic form through which the Party performs its political and organisational guidance and exerts a purposeful influence on all the main and decisive processes of social development.

The Party gets its recommendations and proposals accepted through the people's representational organs in full accord with their status, which is defined by the Constitution and the relevant legislation.

The Party does not just issue memoranda; it directs all its efforts towards ensuring their full and precise implementation by all state and public bodies.

The Party also coordinates and unifies the activities of all state and public organisations. This role results from its great authority,

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<sup>1</sup> M. I. Kalinin, *Selected Works*, Vol. 2 (1926-1932), Moscow, 1960, p. 512 (in Russian).

which enables it to accommodate the interests of different organisations and departments, to coordinate their work, and to unify and direct it. In so doing, the Party gives the whole political organisation of Soviet society a purposefulness that multiplies its strength many times.

An assortment of bourgeois ideologists, opportunists and revisionists seek to find a contradiction in the fact that the development of socialist democracy and the enhancement of the role of the Soviets and the public organisations are accompanied by a growth in the guiding role of the Party.

In their attacks on the socialist system anti-communist ideologists resort frequently to a relatively simple ploy: they try to represent state power and the guiding role of the Party as being incompatible concepts, so that the Party is gradually substituting itself for the state.

Leonard Schapiro, for instance, well known for his anti-Soviet views, claims that in the USSR "all formal decision-making organs and institutions ... are in fact façades, they are not real political instruments at all".<sup>1</sup>

While exercising political guidance over all the organisations of the working people, the Communist Party does not replace a single one of them, nor does it command them. Party guidance is based exclusively on conviction and ideological influence, and relies

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<sup>1</sup> Leonard Schapiro, "Political Change in the Soviet Union Since Stalin's Death", *L'U.R.S.S. Droit-Economie-Sociologie-Politique-Culture* (sous la direction de M. Mouskhely), tome II, Paris, 1964, p.41.

on the people's implicit trust in the Party's policy and on its recognition by the people as their leader and organiser. That is why the growth in the Party's role does not, and cannot, imply any increase in its rights *vis-à-vis* other organisations of the working people. What it really means is a growth in the Party's obligations, in the significance of its ideological and political guidance, and in the scale of its activities.

It might be asked whether the principle of Party guidance of the activities of organs of power does not in some way limit state power. The answer here would be no, primarily because the principle of Party guidance already described excludes the replacement of state bodies by Party ones. The Party implements all its decisions through the Communists working in the state organs and through their primary Party organisations and Party groups, thus leaving the organs of state power with the possibility of fully exerting their autonomy.

The Party attaches great priority to seeing that all sectors of Party, state, economic, cultural, educative, and social work are headed by politically mature, knowledgeable and capable organisers who have a deep-seated feeling of responsibility for the task entrusted to them.

Communists form the nucleus of state organisations and are the force that is capable of uniting the masses, mobilising and directing them towards the fulfilment of Party directives. While being the directing force in society, and while exercising political guidance over it, the Party does not replace the

organs of state power. Lenin forcefully warned against any substitution of this kind, pointing to the need for a more precise delimitation of the functions of the Party and Soviet power and for an increase in the independence and responsibility of the state apparatus and its officials, with the Party nevertheless retaining its full general political and ideological guidance of the functioning of all state bodies.<sup>1</sup>

The CPSU Rules declare: "Party organisations must not act in place of government, trade union, cooperative or other public organisations of the working people; they must not allow either the merging of the functions of Party and other bodies or undue parallelism in work. . . ."<sup>2</sup>

A consistent and precise delimitation of the functions of Party and Soviet organs would, objectively, be rather difficult to undertake: it is practically impossible to single out any sector of Soviet activity that is isolated from the influence of Party organs. Clearly, the delimitation of functions must be attempted here not in terms of areas, but according to the actual content of the guidance, its forms and methods.

It is vitally important to note here that the functions of state organs are foreign to Party committees.

The practical experience of economic mana-

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<sup>1</sup> See V. I. Lenin, "Letter to V. M. Molotov for the Plenary Meeting of the C.C., R.C.P.(B.) with the Plan of the Political Report for the Eleventh Party Congress", *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 253.

<sup>2</sup> *The Road to Communism*, Moscow, 1962, p. 613.

gement showed long ago that the direct interference of Party organisations in day-to-day economic management, the duplication of managerial functions and actual assumption of control do not produce positive results. It removes responsibility from the managers and prevents them from assessing the position objectively and controlling it. What is more, Party organisations that do interfere expend their effort to no avail and so are unable to make full use of the means and opportunities that are available to them as organs of political guidance.

If the Party were to assume inappropriate managerial functions, i.e., if it really did substitute itself for the organs of state power, this could be damaging to the cause of communism.

The CPSU has refuted, both theoretically and practically, the idle anti-Soviet fictions once floated by Kautsky concerning the supposed "dictatorship of the Party" that occurred under Soviet rule.

The slogan of the "dictatorship of the Party", which meant in practice the demand that the functions of state power should be performed by Party organs, was voiced by Trotsky between 1919 and 1921, and was later taken up by the so-called "new" opposition.

The activity of the Soviets as organs of state power, and their full-bloodied functioning are inseparable from the guiding and directing role of the Party in a socialist society. Moreover, the Party pays particular attention to strengthening and developing the democratic principles of the organisation and func-

tioning of the Soviets of Working People's Deputies from the grass roots upwards. It is for this reason that constantly improving the activities of state organs is seen by the Party as an important means of strengthening its ties with the masses and as a necessary condition for enhancing their creative activity in communist construction.

In recent years the Party policy of enhancing the role of state bodies has been reflected in the CC CPSU resolutions "On Improving the Work of Rural and Community Soviets of Working People's Deputies" (1966) and "On Measures to Further Improve the Work of District and Town Soviets of Working People's Deputies (1971). These resolutions spelled out the measures that were necessary to improve the activities of Soviet representative organs.

In keeping with the CC CPSU resolutions, legislation affecting the Soviets was passed. Thus, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet adopted the decrees "On the Basic Rights and Obligations of Rural and Community Soviets of Working People's Deputies" (1968) and "On the Basic Rights and Obligations of Town and Town District Soviets of Working People's Deputies" (1971). Laws on district, town, town district, rural and community Soviets of Working People's Deputies were also passed in the republics.

Also important in strengthening these key links in the system of state bodies are the decrees of the USSR Council of Ministers "On Measures to Strengthen the Material and Financial Base of Rural and Community Soviets of Working People's Deputies" (1968)

and "On Measures to Strengthen the Material and Financial Base of Executive Committees of District and Town Soviets of Working People's Deputies" (1971).

In accordance with this legislation, the Soviets use the rights conferred on them by law to resolve all questions of local significance that arise in the localities assigned to them, proceeding from the interests of the state as a whole and from the interests of the working people of the village or community.

Rural and community Soviets have the right to supervise the work of their area's collective and state farms and local industrial enterprises, as well as enterprises, institutions and organisations that are the responsibility of higher authorities, as regards housing, town planning and the provision of amenities and services. The decisions and instructions of the rural or community Soviet are binding on all collective and state farms, enterprises, institutions and organisations situated in the Soviet's area, and also on all officials and citizens.

A considerable part of the work of rural and community Soviets has come to revolve around matters associated with the development of agriculture. The Soviets' participation in examining the long-term and annual plans for collective and state farms has now a substantial impact on agricultural production. The Soviets now play a stronger part in organising housing construction and in providing cultural facilities and every-day services.

Very important, too, has been the extension of local Soviets' rights as regards coordinating the work of the enterprises and economic

organisations sited on their territory. Formally, these duties had been assigned to local (e.g., regional) Soviets, but, lacking a proper material basis, qualified staff and clear-cut powers, they had tended to be duties that existed in theory rather than in practice. The situation has altered markedly as a result of the measures adopted.

The rights of district, town, rural and community Soviets have also been considerably extended in the budgetary and financial sphere, giving them a freer hand with their budgetary resources. The Soviets are also playing an increasing part in ensuring socialist legality, maintaining state and public order, and protecting civil rights. In particular, they have the right to suspend illegal orders and instructions issued by the heads of enterprises, institutions and organisations for which higher authorities are responsible in matters of land utilisation, the development of inhabited localities, town planning, housing and the construction of service facilities, the preservation of the environment and of cultural monuments, and the provision of cultural facilities and everyday services, and to inform higher bodies of the action taken. The list of offences for which rural and community Soviets can impose administrative sanctions had been extended. They are also responsible for directing the activities of the volunteer law-and-order squads and the Comrades' Courts.

The Party is constantly concerned to improve the functioning of the highest representative organs of the Soviet state. The 24th CPSU Congress pointed to the need to improve

the work of the Supreme Soviets in developing Soviet legislation and checking the implementations of laws, to see that their sessions examine a broader range of issues involved in economic, socio-cultural and state construction, and to activate the work of their deputies.

There has been a considerable activation in the legislative functions of the Supreme Soviets. This is shown mainly by comparative data on the overall number of laws passed by various sessions of the Supreme Soviet. The Third Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet adopted only 13 laws, whereas the figure rose to 67 during the Seventh Session. In the last few years alone the USSR Supreme Soviet approved such important documents as Fundamentals of the Legislation of the USSR and the Union Republics on Marriage and the Family, Fundamentals of the Land Legislation of the USSR and the Union Republics, Fundamentals of the Corrective-Labour Legislation of the USSR and the Union Republics, Fundamentals of the Public Health Legislation of the USSR and the Union Republics, Fundamentals of Labour Legislation and Fundamentals of Water Legislation. At the drafting stage are Fundamentals of Legislation on Mineral Resources and Mining, Fundamentals of Forestry Legislation, Fundamentals of Legislation on Administrative Responsibility, and others.

The Supreme Soviets and their standing commissions are playing an increasing part in exercising control over executive bodies. The chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet have set up a number of new commissions on the

main sectors of economic and socio-cultural construction, as well as on youth problems. There have also been substantial increases in the composition of old commissions.

The standing commissions involve the general public, specialists and scientists in their work, and are able to draft laws and other legislative documents at a considerably higher level, and to competently analyse and check the working of central and republican institutions.

The Party is always concerned to improve the functioning of the state administrative apparatus, to close down its superfluous sections and to make wider use of scientific methods of management and planning, involving modern data-processing and computer hardware, automatic control systems, and so on.

In 1968, the CC CPSU and the USSR Council of Ministers passed a decree on measures to further improve the functioning of court and public prosecutor's organs. The decree pointed out that these bodies do a great deal to protect the interests of the state and civil rights, strengthen law and order, combat crime and educate the Soviet people to implicitly observe the laws and rules of socialist society. The decree also emphasised that officials of the court and public prosecutor's office must act strictly in accordance with socialist legality, possess a highly developed sense of responsibility and carry out their duties impeccably.

The decisions of the 24th CPSU Congress spelled out measures aimed at ensuring the Soviets' fuller performance of their functions, the exerting of an effective influence by the

organs of popular power on the development of the economy and culture, an upsurge in the people's well-being, the improvement of social and every-day facilities, and the preservation of social order. The decisions further stressed the need for a more consistent implementation of the principles of the executive bodies being accountable to representative ones, and for enhancing the authority and activity of deputies and their responsibility to the electorate. The Law on the Status of Deputies has been passed and is now in force.

The new Constitution of the USSR contains a special chapter setting forth the basic principles governing the activity of the People's Deputy. It says that deputies are authorised representatives of the people in the Soviets of People's Deputies. In the Soviets they deal with matters of state construction and economic, social and cultural development, help to implement the decisions of the Soviets, and exercise control over the work of state organs, of enterprises, institutions and organisations. The Deputy takes guidance in the interests of the state, considers the needs and wishes of the people of his constituency, and furthers the implementation of the mandate of his electors.

The very nature of the Soviets as the foundation of the socialist state determines the political character of their activities. Party policy underlies the deliberations of state organs.

The question of the relationship between state power and the guiding role of the Party within the system of the political organisation of Soviet society is not exhausted by the sta-

tement that state bodies cannot be replaced in their activities by Party ones. In order to understand the specific nature of the state system, it is equally important to take into account the fact that "non-interference" by the Party in the workings of state bodies may have serious consequences and, above all else, may adversely affect the functioning of the state bodies themselves.

The role of the CPSU in guiding state organs comes under constant attack from revisionists of all persuasions. Right-wing revisionists, for instance, put forward the thesis of the "partyless democracy".

The aim of such concepts is not only to diminish the role of the Communist Party in guiding the socialist state, but also to distort the very essence of that guidance. The book *Between Ideal and Reality* by the Yugoslav sociologist Svetozar Stojanović is a case in point. The author takes up the bourgeois ideologists' provocative description of the Soviet system as "étatist". He goes on to say that under "étatisme" the state apparatus merges fully with the *apparat* of the Communist Party and the other political organisations that are its transmission belts. Stojanović regards the Soviet state as exploiting society.

Left-wing revisionists favour the subordination of state bodies to the Party and the establishment within both Party and state of dictatorial, military-bureaucratic methods of control. All this is fundamentally opposed to the Marxist-Leninist teaching on the Party and the state, and on their roles and mutual relationships.

All-embracing and total guidance by the Party on all aspects of socialist society is an objective law of historical development while socialism and communism are being built. As the leading force in socialist society and the kernel of its political machinery, the Party lays down the guidelines for society's socio-political, economic and cultural development, designs the state's domestic and foreign policies, as well as the content of the activities both of state organs and of public organisations, and ensures coordination and unity of action between all the links in the socialist political system.

Urgent questions concerning the life of the state are constantly scrutinised by the Party. At Party congresses and in plenary meetings of the Central Committee there is regular discussion of the Soviet state's domestic and foreign policies, and directives are adopted on the enactment of important legislation, the publication of other documents with the force of law, and the improvement of the structure and style of the work of the state apparatus. This is a practical embodiment of Lenin's statement that all activities of the socialist state are based on the directives of the Party. "Our Party is the government party," Lenin declared, "and the decision the Party Congress passes will be obligatory for the entire Republic."<sup>1</sup> There are no matters affecting life in society that lie outside the sphere of the constant attention and decisive influence of the ruling Marxist-Leninist party. It is the so-

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<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, "Tenth Congress of the R.C.P.(B.)", *Collected Works*, Vol. 32, p. 218.

cialist political system that forms the coordinated and smoothly functioning machinery which assures the Party of living communication with the masses and the implementation of its policies.

As it makes use of the state and public organisations as a means of communication with the masses, the Party bears in mind the specific nature of these organisations, their place and role in the political structure of society; it is concerned to reinforce their authority and independence and to boost their activity and responsibility, and strives constantly to see that they fulfil their social purpose as fully and as correctly as possible.

The development of socialist society is a complicated process embracing all spheres of the life of society. Success in guiding a socialist society can be achieved only if its inherent possibilities are fully revealed, if all aspects of public life develop smoothly and if the whole political system functions correctly and precisely. The constant need to improve the management of society arises objectively from the growth of the economy, the acceleration of scientific and technological progress, the social changes thus generated, and the growth in the political and creative activity of the working masses. "The scale and complexity of the tasks of communist construction enhance the role of the politically conscious, organising vanguard in the life of society," Leonid Brezhnev declared at the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in 1969. "This vanguard is the Communist Party, which founds all its activity on Marxism-Leninism, is intimately linked with the

people and imparts an organised and planned nature to all the work of building communism."<sup>1</sup> This gives rise to the objective need for the really scientific management of a socialist society that can be carried out only by a Marxist-Leninist party equipped with a sophisticated theory and creatively resolving the problems of social development.

The Communist Party's successful implementation of its ideas can be explained by the fact that it relies on the objective laws of social development and is able to convince the masses of the correctness of its policies. This ability to convince the masses is a characteristic and important feature of the Communist Party leadership. Communists turn their Party slogans into the slogans of millions of people.

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<sup>1</sup> *International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, Moscow 1969, Prague, 1969, p. 169.*

### 3. THE GROWTH IN THE PARTY'S GUIDING ROLE — AN OBJECTIVE LAW OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIALIST SOCIETY

The growth in the role and significance of the Party as the political vanguard of the Soviet people is an inevitable process occurring in socialist society, "closely connected with the whole of its development and reflecting its objective requirements".<sup>1</sup> The process originates primarily in the enhancement of the leading role played by the working class in the country's affairs.

It exercises its control of socialist society through the whole political system, the state and the mass public organisations being its important links. But it is through the Marxist-Leninist party that the working class most fully and consistently expresses and realises its position as the major social force in society.

As the highest form of the socio-political organisation of the working class—the leading force in the socialist system—the Party aims consciously, as Lenin put it, "to help the prole-

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<sup>1</sup> L. I. Brezhnev, *On the Pressing Issues of Party Life*, Moscow, 1973, p. 183 (in Russian).

tariat perform its function of educator, organizer and leader".<sup>1</sup>

The CPSU arose and triumphed as the leading force of the most revolutionary class of modern times—the proletariat.

It is the main driving force behind the revolutionary transformation of the world, and is irreconcilably opposed to the exploiter system.

The founders of Marxism-Leninism gave a scientific formulation to the proletariat's mission in world history. In Lenin's words, "The overthrow of bourgeois rule can be accomplished only by the proletariat, the particular class whose economic conditions of existence prepare it for this task and provide it with the possibility and the power to perform it. . . . Only the proletariat—by virtue of the economic role it plays in large-scale production—is capable of being the leader of *all* the working and exploited people, whom the bourgeoisie exploit, oppress and crush, often not less but more than they do the proletarians, but who are incapable of waging an *independent* struggle for their emancipation."<sup>2</sup>

The working class acts as the principal centre uniting all the oppressed and exploited masses, and so its role as the vanguard of today's revolutionary forces is greatly enhanced. Noting that the interests of the proletariat coincided with the interests of the nation as a whole, Lenin stressed that the working

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<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, "Speech Delivered at an All-Russia Conference of Political Education Workers of Gubernia and Uyezd Education Departments. November 3, 1920", *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 367.

<sup>2</sup> V. I. Lenin, "The State and Revolution", *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, pp. 403-404.

class in all decisive social matters "truly represents the whole nation, all live and honest people *in all classes*".<sup>1</sup>

The experience of the world revolutionary and national liberation movement fully confirms the Marxist-Leninist conclusion that the class which triumphs historically is the one that is able to secure the loyalty of the majority of the working people. The faulty, defeatist arguments produced by opportunist ideologists about a supposed weakening in the working class's revolutionary potential, and their flimsy attempts to set up the intelligentsia, the peasantry or the student body in opposition to the working class reveal their intention to subvert the working movement from within, or, as Mikhail Suslov, Member of the Politbureau of the CC CPSU, put it, "to 'integrate' it into the capitalist system".<sup>2</sup> Reality gives the lie to this slander. The working class's revolutionary potential continues to grow.

The leading role of the working class results primarily from its place in the system of productive forces and production relations. Employed in all vital spheres of production, the working class creates the basic material conditions of life in society. Since the working class is directly involved in industry, it produces the implements of labour determining the technical level and progress of all sectors in the economy. Lenin's comment that "*the*

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<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, "Can the Bolsheviks Retain State Power?", *Collected Works*, Vol. 26, p. 99.

<sup>2</sup> M. A. Suslov, "The CPSU—the Party of Creative Marxism", *The 24th CPSU Congress and the Development of Marxist-Leninist Theory*, p. 9 (in Russian).

*primary productive force of human society as a whole, is the workers, the working people*',<sup>1</sup> is still as meaningful as ever.

Nowadays the working class produces some three-quarters of the world's social product.

The international proletariat to which the founders of scientific communism addressed their *Communist Manifesto* over 125 years ago comprised some 10 million industrial workers. Today there are 150 million workers in the socialist countries alone. In the capitalist states the number of people performing physical or mental labour for wages and salaries stands at 250 million.

This gives an idea of the gigantic increase in the strength and importance of the working class in the modern world.

The triumph of the socialist revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat initiated immense social transformations that called for unprecedented activity on the part of the working class, a high degree of organisation and determination, and a clear programme of action. This was what Lenin saw as being the Communist Party's *raison d'être*.

He declared that "...only the political party of the working class, i.e., the Communist Party, is capable of uniting, training and organising a vanguard of the proletariat and of the whole mass of the working people that alone will be capable of withstanding the inevitable petty-bourgeois vacillations of this mass and the inevitable traditions and relapses of

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<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, "First All-Russia Congress on Adult Education", *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, p. 364.

narrow craft unionism or craft prejudices among the proletariat, and of guiding all the united activities of the whole of the proletariat, i.e., of leading it politically, and through it, the whole mass of the working people. Without this the dictatorship of the proletariat is impossible."<sup>1</sup>

A high degree of organisation and political awareness—both of them key qualities of the Soviet working class—were vividly demonstrated during the building of socialism, on both the military and home fronts during the Great Patriotic War (1941-45), and in the course of the postwar rehabilitation and development of the economy. They are still being manifested today, in the course of communist construction. The guiding role played by the working class and its vanguard, the Communist Party, has enabled outstanding successes to be achieved in the economic, political and cultural life of Soviet society.

The Party will continue to direct its efforts to securing the growth and strengthening the influence of the working class in all spheres of the life of our society and to making its activity and initiative more fruitful.

The CC CPSU Report to the 25th Party Congress declared: "Under developed socialism, when the Communist Party has become a party of the whole people, it has in no sense lost its class character. The CPSU has been and remains a party of the working class."<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, "Tenth Congress of the R.C.P.(B.)", *Collected Works*, Vol. 32, p. 246.

<sup>2</sup> *Documents and Resolutions. XXVth Congress of the CPSU*, p. 76.

During the transition from capitalism to socialism, the Communist Party, as the party of the working class, guided the whole system of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Lenin made it clear that in the working class the Party has a well-defined and strictly class basis. This statement of Lenin's is being consistently implemented.

In 1956, workers accounted for 32 per cent of the total number of Communists, whereas in 1971 the figure rose to 40.1 per cent. Between the 19th and 20th Party congresses, workers accounted for 30 per cent of those accepted as probationary members of the CPSU, but they accounted for 40.6 per cent between the 22nd and 23rd congresses. The Party will continue to show concern for the growth of its worker nucleus, for this, as Lenin pointed out, is in accordance with the nature of the Communist Party and the place and role of the working class in Soviet society.

The CC CPSU Report to the 25th Party Congress published the following details: workers now account for 58 per cent of new Party members. Of those accepted as probationary members, some 9 per cent are foremen, shift engineers, section chiefs, agronomists, livestock specialists and others directly involved in the process of production. Thus, altogether almost 80 per cent of those joining the CPSU are men and women engaged in the sphere of material production, the decisive sphere in the life of society.

The Party's social composition is consciously regulated, as well as objectively conditioned. The Party's class nature is determined by its social make up, and also by the political char-

acter of the Party leadership. Speaking at the 2nd Congress of the Communist International, Lenin said that the proletarian nature of the Party "does not depend solely upon a membership of workers but also upon the men that lead it, and the content of its actions and its political tactics. Only this latter determines whether we really have before us a political party of the proletariat."<sup>1</sup>

Thus, the Party's proletarian class nature is fully determined by the growth in the numbers of the working class within the Party, on the one hand, and by the content of the Party's activities, on the other.

The Communist Party is an internationalist entity. All the Party's activities are directed towards strengthening the world socialist system, supporting revolutionary forces throughout the world and accomplishing its internationalist task, which consists, as Lenin said, in doing "the utmost possible in one country for the development, support and awakening of the revolution in all countries".<sup>2</sup> Speaking at the 25th CPSU Congress, the representatives of the world's Communist and Workers' Parties praised the contribution being made by the CPSU to the common revolutionary cause. Gus Hall, the General Secretary of the Communist Party of the USA, said: "Just as the building of socialism demonstrates, by the power of its example, the superiority of

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<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, "The Second Congress of the Communist International", *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, pp. 257-58.

<sup>2</sup> V. I. Lenin, "The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky", *Collected Works*, Vol. 28, p. 292.

socialism, so the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, by the power of its example, by its unwavering adherence to, its resourceful application of, and by the continuous development of the science of Marxism-Leninism, serves as the working pattern for the revolutionary movement throughout the world.

"At a moment when the struggles of the historic revolutionary transitions have become increasingly more complex, and the ideological pressures build up, at a moment when new strains of the virus of opportunism are being hatched, this power of the Leninist example is of a very special and great historic significance.

"It serves as a working model because the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, throughout its 78 years, has always zealously guarded the working class heart, the revolutionary essence of Marxism-Leninism."<sup>1</sup>

The Party is proletarian in nature through its declared aims, ideology and tactics. This explains why the progressive and most conscious section of the working class joins the Party. However, the Communist Party has never shut its doors to members of other social strata who accept its Programme and Rules and who also play an active part in its activities. Since it has been always a mass party in terms of its aims and links with the working people, the Communist Party is constantly developing as a mass party in terms of numbers too. This is eloquently shown by the following statistics. In October 1917 Party membership stood at 350,000; in 1941 there

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<sup>1</sup> *Our Friends Speak*, Moscow, 1976, p .231.

were over 2,490,000 full members and some 1,382,000 probationary members, while in 1945 the respective figures were more than 3,965,000 and some 1,795,000; in 1973 these figures had altered to some 14,331,000 and over 490,000. As of the beginning of 1976, CPSU membership stood at 15,694,000. Of these, 41.6 per cent were workers, 13.9 per cent collective farmers, some 20 per cent the technical intelligentsia, and over 24 per cent were employed in science, literature, art, education, the health service or administration, or served in the armed forces.

Through its activities, the Communist Party, as the highest form of the socio-political organisation of the working class and as the vanguard of the whole people, expresses the common, concentrated interests and requirements of communist progress. As Leonid Brezhnev points out, "We do not have and cannot have any political organisation other than the CPSU which would take into account the interests and the specific features of our classes and social groups, of all nations and nationalities, and of all generations and would embody these interests in its policy."<sup>1</sup>

Party guidance of socialist society, which is effected with due account being taken of the interests of all classes and social groups, inevitably takes on a political character.

It is through this Party guidance that the working class's leading role in the building of socialism and communism is enforced. The Communist Party accomplishes its guiding

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<sup>1</sup> L. I. Brezhnev, *Following Lenin's Course*, Moscow, 1972, p. 67.

activities in a socialist society on the basis of working-class ideals. As a result, Party guidance takes on a socio-class bias. From the standpoint of its aims and tasks, the content of its programme, its social composition and its practical activities, a Marxist-Leninist party preserves its class character and acts as the political organisation of the working class at all stages in its activities. With the construction of a developed socialist society, the Party also becomes the vanguard of the whole people, while retaining its class nature.

As experience shows, the working class can only fully play its leading role in the economy, politics and culture if the alliance between the workers and the peasants is strengthened and if all social strata participate more actively in communist construction. Speaking at the 15th Congress of the USSR Trade Unions, Leonid Brezhnev said: "At the present stage of communist construction the alliance of the working class, collective farmers and the working intellectuals is assuming ever greater importance. The cementing force of this great alliance is still the working class, which plays and will continue to play a leading role in the building of communism. It is on this basis that the further ideological, political and social consolidation of Soviet society and the drawing closer together of all the nations and nationalities of our country are taking place."<sup>1</sup>

The growth in the Communist Party's role is also linked with the expansion of democracy, the stepping up of the demands made on social

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<sup>1</sup> L. I. Brezhnev, *Following Lenin's Course*, Moscow, 1975, p. 21.

management, and the need to constantly improve communist instruction.<sup>1</sup>

The guiding role of the Party in socialist society is assured by its ideological, political and organisational unity and cohesion.

The most important documents issued by the CPSU and the international communist movement provide a scientific justification of the statement that it is objectively necessary for the Party to play the guiding role during the political supremacy of the proletariat, and declare that this applies to all countries that are steering a socialist course.

Experience of the development of the socialist system shows the need to strengthen the guiding role of the Marxist-Leninist party in socialist society, to improve the forms and methods of Party guidance, and to show a creative Marxist-Leninist approach towards resolving urgent problems that arise during the development of socialism.

The collective theoretical endeavours of the international communist movement have summed up world revolutionary experience and have concluded that guidance by Marxist-Leninist parties is a common law of the transition from capitalism to socialism in all countries. This view has been exhaustively tested by the working class and the working people in their fight against the bourgeoisie, counter-revolution and anti-socialist elements in a number of countries that are developing towards socialism and communism.

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<sup>1</sup> See M. A. Suslov, "The Social Sciences—an Effective Party Weapon in the Building of Communism", *Kommunist*, No. 1, 1972, p. 24 (in Russian).

The Final Document of the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties stresses that the Communist Party is the vanguard of the whole of socialist society. "Practice has shown that socialist transformations and the building of the new society are a long and complex process, and that the utilisation of the tremendous possibilities opened up by the new system depends on the Communist Parties in the leadership of the state, on their ability to resolve the problems of socialist development in the Marxist-Leninist way."<sup>1</sup> Tested by time, by the heat of class battles and at turning-points in history, the Marxist-Leninist doctrine of the guiding role of the Communist Party in socialist society has become a truth that is fully upheld by the whole process of modern revolutionary struggle. Now, as before, Marxists-Leninists have to struggle on two fronts over the Party's guiding role at different stages in the construction of socialism and communism—against revisionism and against dogmatism.

In their attempts to limit the functions of the Party in socialist society, revisionists propose that the Party should be viewed as just another public organisation, acting as an "equal partner" in relation to other organisations (trade unions, youth organisations, etc.). Accordingly, revisionists clamour relentlessly for "political pluralism" and "a pluralism of power" under socialism, meaning a political system that deprives the working class and its re-

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<sup>1</sup> *International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, Moscow 1969*, p. 22.

volutionary vanguard of their guiding role in society.

For instance, in order to denigrate Lenin's teaching about the guiding role of the Communist Party in building a new society, the well-known renegade Roger Garaudy claims that this doctrine was only suitable for an economically and socially backward Russia in which "the first industrial revolution had only just about managed to triumph. . . . In modern automated production complexes these methods of direction and management have become obsolete and are impeding further development."<sup>1</sup>

Revisionists preach that the development of socialism and communism does not have to be closely directed, and they downgrade the role of the Communist Party, reducing it essentially to an organisation whose purpose is to educate the masses rather than to lead them. Outdated notions of this kind are hopelessly in conflict with the revolutionary spirit of Marxism-Leninism.

Lenin's warning about the danger for the cause of revolution and the proletarian state of undervaluing the guiding role of the Party is as topical today as ever it was. Analysing the errors committed by the "Leftist" in the young Communist Parties of Western Europe, Lenin declared: "Let the 'Leftist' put themselves to a practical test on a national and international scale. Let them try to prepare for (and then implement) the dictatorship of the proletariat, without a rigorously centralised party

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<sup>1</sup> Roger Garaudy, *Le grand tournant du socialisme*, Gallimard, Paris, 1969, pp. 276, 277.

with iron discipline, without the ability to become masters of every sphere, every branch, and every variety of political and cultural work. Practical experience will soon teach them."<sup>1</sup>

Dogmatists, just like revisionists, ignore the significance of objective conditions in the activities of the Party and display a lack of ability and will-power to take account of the objective changes that are occurring in society as a result of socialist transformations. The role and significance of the Marxist-Leninist party in building socialism and communism are thereby diminished. Objectively, then, revisionism and dogmatism join forces against Marxism-Leninism, since they are hostile developments and are completely alien to it.

Any denial of Party spirit and Party discipline among the proletariat was seen by Lenin as being equivalent to "completely disarming the proletariat *in the interest of the bourgeoisie*. It all adds up to that petty-bourgeois diffuseness and instability, that incapacity for sustained effort, unity and organised action which, if encouraged, must inevitably destroy any proletarian revolutionary movement."<sup>2</sup>

Revisionist, opportunist attacks on the guiding role of the Marxist-Leninist party often take the form of criticism of its "monopolist" position in socialist society. The supporters of pluralism, who favour the setting up of political parties in opposition to the Communist Party, declare, for instance, that this is more

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<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, " 'Left-Wing' Communism—an Infantile Disorder", *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 107.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 44.

or less the basic and decisive condition for the exercising of power "along democratic lines". The leaders of the anti-socialist forces in Czechoslovakia in 1968, for example, who wished to paralyse the influence of the Communist Party and then put an end to the rule of the people, kept harping on the idea that control by a single party had proved disappointing, since it led to the bureaucratisation of Party and state, and the "deformation" of social development. Carrying out their subversive anti-socialist activities, Right-wing opportunist circles in Czechoslovakia publicised the idea of the "free play" of political forces, the "equal partnership" of different political parties, and the creation of a political opposition to the ruling Communist Party. Leonid Brezhnev said at the 24th CPSU Congress: "The Czechoslovak events showed very well how important it is constantly to strengthen the Party's leading role in socialist society, steadily to improve the forms and methods of Party leadership, and to display a creative Marxist-Leninist approach to the solution of pressing problems of socialist development."<sup>1</sup>

As history testifies, if the proletariat is to triumph, it must be united, and this can only be ensured by a single leadership, by one party. In all circumstances, the leading, guiding role must be assigned to the Communist Party, since it is the only consistently proletarian, Marxist-Leninist organisation. Communists do not rule out cooperation with other parties, but only on the condition that this cooperation is in the interests of the working class and of so-

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<sup>1</sup> *24th Congress of the CPSU*, p. 17.

cialist revolution, and if the independence and class nature of the proletarian party can be retained. Any attempt to cooperate with other parties, no matter what the cost or without any reservations, is out of the question for Marxist-Leninist parties as a matter of principle.

When opposing the leading role of the Communist Party, the advocates of "political pluralism" consider that the democratism of a social system is shown by the existence of a number of parties, including opposition parties, rather than by the class essence of the political set-up. In fact, the democratism of a social system and the degree of maturity attained by socialism are not at all determined by the play of "political forces" or by the number of parties. What the apologists of "pluralistic democracy" want to see is organisations that will oppose the Communist Party and so undermine the foundations of socialism.

In fact, socialist transformations remove any social basis for the proliferation of political parties. This should not be taken as implying any rejection of the principled Marxist-Leninist view that a multiparty system can exist in certain historically specific circumstances, in which the necessary objective preconditions have already taken shape, and its existence is likely to further the building and development of socialism.

It will be recalled that in some socialist countries (the USSR, Hungary, Rumania and Yugoslavia) the multiparty system of the early stages of socialist transformation eventually gave way to a one-party system, while in other countries (Bulgaria, the GDR, the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, the Korean People's Demo-

cratic Republic, Poland and Czechoslovakia) democratic non-proletarian parties form part of the political system in addition to the Communist (Workers') Party.

In Bulgaria, for instance, besides the Communist Party there is also the Bulgarian Agrarian People's Union. The political system of the GDR includes, in addition to the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the Christian Democratic Union, the Liberal Democratic Party, the National Democratic Party and the Democratic Peasants' Party. In Czechoslovakia, the Czechoslovak Socialist Party, the Czechoslovak People's Party, the Slovak Reconstruction Party and the Slovak Freedom Party all cooperate with the Communist Party within the same bloc.

In Poland the United Peasants' Party and the Democratic Party function in close contact with the Polish United Workers' Party.

In the Korean People's Democratic Republic the Peasants' Party (Chendoge) and the North Korean Democratic Party form a political bloc with the Workers' Party of Korea. In Vietnam, the Vietnam Workers' Party acts in concert with the Socialist and Democratic Parties.

Whether there is just one or several parties functioning within a socialist system is thus wholly determined by the objective historical conditions of the country's development.

Anti-communists deliberately falsify history by claiming that the Bolsheviki usurped power by using force to remove the other parties from the country's politics, and that they subsequently used the Soviets as a cover for their own party dictatorship. In a book called *The Soviet*

*Political System*, the British "Sovietologist" Robert Conquest claims, for example, that the Bolsheviks eliminated even parties and political groups that were supported by the working class.<sup>1</sup>

Historical facts reveal the falsity of such assertions. The Bolshevisation of the Soviets was well under way even before the October Revolution, enabling Lenin to declare: "We now have the majority behind us. Politically, the situation is fully ripe for taking power."<sup>2</sup>

During the preparation and carrying out of the socialist revolution, the Communist Party secured the right to assume the leading position in the state and thus become the ruling party not only owing to the balance of class forces, but also in juridical terms too. This is well attested by the party composition of the Second All-Russia Congress of Soviets, which actually assumed power. The Bolshevik Party commanded an absolute majority at the congress. Consequently, in accordance with democratic standards, that party alone had the right, and duty to the people, to form the Soviet Government. This right was further confirmed by the fact that only the Bolshevik Party came to the All-Russia Congress of Soviets with a detailed programme of urgent revolutionary transformations that were in accord with the fundamental interests and aspirations of the working masses. Nevertheless, bearing in mind the multiparty composition of the congress—the

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<sup>1</sup> Robert Conquest (Ed.), *The Soviet Political System*, London, 1968, p. 8.

<sup>2</sup> V. I. Lenin, "Meeting of the Central Committee of the R.S.D.L.P.(B.). October 10 (23), 1917", *Collected Works*, Vol. 26, p. 188.

highest constituent organ of Soviet rule—the Bolsheviks did not rule out the possibility that the other political parties which were represented at the congress of Soviets, where they were in the minority (Socialist-Revolutionaries, Mensheviks and other petty-bourgeois parties and groups) might participate in the government. As Lenin pointed out, however, this could only happen “provided that the minority loyally and honestly undertake to submit to the majority and carry out the programme, *approved by the whole* Second All-Russia Congress of Soviets, for gradual, but firm and undeviating steps towards socialism”.<sup>1</sup>

The government bloc formed between the Bolshevik Party and the Left-wing Socialist-Revolutionaries was short-lived. This happened because the petty-bourgeois parties were politically discredited in the eyes of the masses and were ideologically and organisationally decadent. “It is not our fault,” Lenin said, “that the Socialist-Revolutionaries and the Mensheviks have gone . . . because they were left in a minority . . . we wanted a coalition Soviet government. We did not exclude anyone from the Soviet. If they do not want to work with us, so much the worse for them.”<sup>2</sup>

The objective possibility of cooperation between the Communist Party and petty-bourgeois parties in carrying out socialist transformations is conditioned by the position and interests of the petty-bourgeois classes and strata

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<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, “From the Central Committee of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party (Bolsheviks)”, *Collected Works*, Vol. 26, p. 307.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 269-70.

in society. There are no fundamental divergences between the interests of the proletariat and those of the other working masses; like the workers, the masses in fact gain objectively from socialist transformations. This idea was emphasised in a letter Lenin wrote to *Pravda* on 18 November (1 December) 1917: "Touching on the question of an alliance between the Bolsheviki workers and the Left Socialist-Revolutionaries, whom many peasants at present trust, I argued in my speech that this alliance *can* be an 'honest coalition', an honest alliance, for there is *no* radical divergence of interests between the wage-workers and the working and exploited peasants. Socialism is *fully* able to meet the interests of both. *Only* socialism can meet their interests."<sup>1</sup> Consequently, honest and lasting cooperation between the Communist Party and petty-bourgeois parties during the building of socialism is an objective possibility.

The experience of the government bloc that was formed from Bolsheviks and Left-wing Socialist-Revolutionaries provided the first indication that it was theoretically possible to enforce the dictatorship of the proletariat in the context of a multiparty system, and with petty-bourgeois, as well as the proletarian, parties being involved in state administration, so long as the petty-bourgeois parties wished sincerely to cooperate with the vanguard of the working class in carrying out socialist transformations. In modern circumstances, this truth

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<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, "Alliance Between the Workers and the Working and Exploited Peasants", *Collected Works*, Vol. 26, p. 333.

has been upheld by the experience of a number of socialist countries in which the multiparty system has proved to be a vital political factor assisting socialist transformations.

The disappearance of individual parties and the multiparty system as a whole in the USSR did not result from a "communist plot", as anti-communist ideologists like to claim, but was the natural outcome of an objective historical process. Events followed a similar course in several other socialist countries, too.

Any attempt to revive the multiparty system in a situation in which it has long forfeited a socialist basis can have nothing in common with the interests of socialism and is no more than a counter-revolutionary manoeuvre. The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party put a stop to the sentiments favouring the rebirth of the bourgeois parties, which the organisers of the 1956 coup expected to pave the way to counter-revolution. Similar features were shown by the events in Czechoslovakia in 1968, when Right-wing forces did their utmost to restore the anti-communist parties that had long made their exit from the stage of history, and to set up new counter-revolutionary political organisations.

Nor should it be forgotten that there is a fundamental difference between the multiparty system that exists in some socialist countries and the multiparty system in bourgeois society. The difference springs mainly from the specific nature of the social basis of capitalist and socialist society. The character of the multiparty system under capitalism is determined by the antagonistic class contradictions which are inherent in capitalist society and become more

bitter at the imperialist stage. But the elimination of the exploiter classes during the building of socialism puts an end to class antagonisms in society. Consequently, a multiparty system that is formed after the victory of a socialist revolution takes on new qualities. The political parties and other public organisations that form part of this system express the specific interests of the peasantry, the intelligentsia and other social groups; they do not constitute an opposition against the ruling party, but act as helpers in the common cause—the building of socialism.

Thus, the experience of the Soviet state and other socialist countries proves that under either system (one-party or multiparty) a democratic set-up takes on real significance only when the Marxist-Leninist party of the working class assumes the leading role in society.

Marxism-Leninism also rejects the ultra-leftist viewpoint, which amounts, by and large, to a denial of socialist democracy, and the application of military-administrative forms and methods of work to state bodies and public organisations.

Attacks by opportunists of all hues against the leading role of the Party in socialist construction share a common objective: to discredit socialist democracy and to undermine its vital foundations. "Our Party," as Leonid Brezhnev declared at the Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, "highly values the determined struggle which the Communists of fraternal countries wage against any attempts to weaken the leading role of the Communist Parties, replace socialist democracy with political

liberalism of the bourgeois type and erode the positions of socialism."<sup>1</sup>

The Party concentrates its main efforts on building the material and technical base of communism. It adopts a creative approach towards the problems involved here and scientifically plans the direction, dimensions and pace of economic development, the optimal structure and balance of the economy, the development of scientific and technological progress, and the growth in labour productivity. The Party's scientific guidance of the economy ensures vast successes.

Sufficient indication of this is provided by the fact that during the period covered by the Eighth Five-Year Plan the USSR's national income increased by 41 per cent, industrial output by 50 per cent, social labour productivity by 37 per cent, average yearly agricultural output by 21 per cent and the production of consumer goods by 49 per cent.<sup>2</sup>

The Party's efforts are currently directed towards accomplishing the key economic task—raising the efficiency of social production, intensifying it and systematically boosting labour productivity through widespread application of the advances of the scientific and technological revolution.

The tasks set by the five-year economic development plan for 1971-75 amounted to a new stage in developing and improving the economy. During the period 1976-80 the country's national income will rise by 24-28 per cent to

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<sup>1</sup> *International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, Moscow 1969*, p. 148.

<sup>2</sup> See *24th Congress of the CPSU*, pp. 41-43.

reach 457,500 million roubles, industrial output by 35-39 per cent to be in excess of 720,000 million roubles, and the average yearly output of agricultural produce by 14-17 per cent. The absolute increase in the output of the most important sectors of the economy will be considerably greater during the new five-year period than was the case over the past five years; every one per cent of growth will mean more. For instance, a one per cent growth in industrial output means an increase in its value of over 5,000 million roubles, or 40 per cent more than in the Ninth Five-Year Plan, and 110 per cent more than in the eighth.

The principal task of the Tenth Five-Year Plan is to consistently implement the Party's policy of raising the people's material and cultural standard by promoting the dynamic and balanced development of social production, boosting its efficiency, accelerating scientific and technological progress, increasing labour productivity and improving the quality of work in all sectors of the economy.

It is planned to give effect to a far-reaching programme of social measures, accelerate the pace of scientific and technological progress, drastically develop research and development and rapidly apply its findings to the economy.

The CPSU's leading role is manifested in its policies, and the firm basis of these policies is Marxist-Leninist theory. Marxist-Leninist doctrine is, in turn, developed by all the theoretical and practical activities of the Party.

The Party regards its theoretical work as a vital component in all its varied activities to bring about revolutionary transformation. The Party's vigorous theoretical work further

strengthens the ideological cohesion of Soviet society and enhances the status and influence of Marxist-Leninist ideology throughout the world. The further development of social sciences, the expansion of broad scientific investigation of the most important problems, and the strengthening of the links between research and development and its practical application are major conditions of successful communist construction.

"At the present stage in the country's development, the need for further creative elaboration of theory, far from diminishing, has, in fact, been growing," Leonid Brezhnev said. "Fresh opportunities for fruitful general theoretical, fundamental, and applied research arise in inter-disciplinary areas, notably in the natural and the social sciences. These should be fully used."<sup>1</sup>

The Party's activities embody the unity of revolutionary theory and practice that are based on a scientific analysis and generalisation of the newest tendencies in social development.

Communism does not arise spontaneously, but results from the conscious efforts of the whole people and from the constant search for the correct solution to the problems that life poses. Communism can only be built through the creativity of the working people themselves, guided by the Marxist-Leninist party. One should not ignore the constant and dynamic process whereby the creative activities of the masses and their experience in building a new

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<sup>1</sup> *Documents and Resolutions. XXVth Congress of the CPSU*, p.87.

society interact with Marxist-Leninist theory. On the one hand, the theory throws light on the path to be followed by the revolutionary creative activities of the masses, and acts as their guide as they consistently accomplish a growing number of social tasks. On the other hand, the theory is constantly enriched by the practical experience of the masses and developments in accordance with the new historical tasks.

As Lenin put it, "Marxism differs from all other socialist theories in the remarkable way it combines complete scientific sobriety in the analysis of the objective state of affairs and the objective course of evolution with the most emphatic recognition of the importance of the revolutionary energy, revolutionary creative genius, and revolutionary initiative of the masses—and also, of course, of individuals, groups, organisations, and parties that are able to discover and achieve contact with one or another class."<sup>1</sup>

The enhanced role of theory in the activities of Marxist-Leninist parties was illustrated by the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties held in June 1969. In its resolution "On the Results of the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties" a Plenary Meeting of the CC CPSU noted that it was essential to promote "the thorough-going development of scientific work on the theoretical generalisation, at a deeper level, of the current problems and of the general laws and features of the world revolutionary movement, and on the treatment of vital theoretical problems

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<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, "Against Boycott", *Collected Works*, Vol. 13. p. 36.

involved in the building of socialism and communism and in the struggle pursued against imperialism by the world communist and working class movement".<sup>1</sup>

The enhancement of the role of the Party is inseparable from the constant development and enrichment of Marxist-Leninist theory. As Mikhail Suslov has pointed out, the Party's drive to extend democracy and step up the requirements made of social management relies on scientific deductions, thorough use of the advantages of socialism, and the creative initiative of the working class and all the working people.<sup>2</sup>

The leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party in socialist society also reflects the fact that only such a party, armed with a revolutionary theory, can deal on a sound scientific basis with the complicated tasks posed by social transformations. As Lenin emphasised, "...the role of vanguard fighter can be fulfilled only by a party that is guided by the most advanced theory".<sup>3</sup>

The Party's theoretical work revolves around the analysis of the laws and fundamental problems of social development, the main conditions and methods for creating the material and technical base of communism, and the moulding of the corresponding socio-political relationships and the moral and spiritual qualities of the members of society.

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<sup>1</sup> *The Party Worker's Handbook*, Issue 10, Moscow, 1970, p. 12 (in Russian).

<sup>2</sup> See M. A. Suslov, "The Social Sciences—an Effective Party Weapon in the Building of Communism", *Kommunist*, No. 1, 1972, p. 24 (in Russian).

<sup>3</sup> V. I. Lenin, "What Is to Be Done?", *Collected Works*, Vol. 5, p. 370.

Recent years have seen more vigorous treatment of topical issues in philosophy and sociology, political economy and scientific communism, the history of the Party and Party organisation, law and other social sciences, and their role in the building of communism has been considerably enhanced. A Marxist-Leninist party is characterised by an understanding of the laws of social development, a dialectical-materialist approach towards the assessment and analysis of social phenomena, the creative development of Marxist theory through the generalisation of revolutionary practice, and the solving of new problems arising in the course of socialist and communist construction; all these traits also throw into relief the fact that the Party's social role is objectively conditioned. Speaking of the task of managing a socialist society, Leonid Brezhnev once commented: "Where is the key to this problem? This key is the correct functioning of the political system of society and, above all, the multifaceted activities of the Communist Party, based on science and rich practical experience."<sup>1</sup>

The enhancement of the Party's role in the course of communist construction also results from its internal development as the highest form of socio-political organisation, continuously growing and improving. The Party is entering more and more deeply into the country's political, economic and cultural life, and the guidance that it gives is increasingly rich and highly skilled.

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

In a developed socialist society this guidance assumes a new scale and content. The Party's work is directed towards fully revealing and utilising the advantages of socialism.

A brief, condensed description of the main conditions and reasons for the enhancement of the Party's leading role in Soviet society is given in the CPSU Programme:

– firstly, the growing scope and complexity of the tasks of communist construction, which call for a higher level of political and organisational leadership;

– secondly, the growth of the creative activity of the masses and the participation of fresh millions of working people in the administration of state affairs and of production;

– thirdly, the further development of socialist democracy, and the enhancement of the role of social organisations, the extension of the rights of the Union republics and local organisations;

– fourthly, the growing importance of the theory of scientific communism, of its creative development and propaganda, the necessity for improving the communist education of the working people and struggling to overcome the survivals of the past in the minds of people.<sup>1</sup>

The whole course of communist construction in the USSR proves that it is necessary to enhance the leading role of the Party in Soviet society until the complete victory of communism is achieved.

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<sup>1</sup> *The Road to Communism*, pp. 583-584.

#### 4. THE SOCIALIST STATE OF ALL THE PEOPLE— THE CHIEF INSTRUMENT IN THE BUILDING OF COMMUNISM

The state is the direct and strongest expression of political power, of which it is the concentrated material and organisational embodiment. The need for the establishment of authority arises owing to the conditions of production. Engels pointed out that "authority . . . subordination, are things which, independently of all social organisation, are imposed upon us together with the material conditions under which we produce and make products circulate".<sup>1</sup>

As an expression of material, ideological and psychological relationships, power takes on a completely new qualitative nature as soon as the state emerges in a class society. Power becomes concentrated in the hands of the economically dominant class, which uses organised force—the state apparatus—to engage in class oppression, crush the resistance of class opponents and manage society for its own benefit.

A fundamentally new type of state power comes into being with the triumph of a social-

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<sup>1</sup> K. Marx and F. Engels, "On Authority", *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, p. 378.

ist revolution. The hallmark of this type of power is the fact that, for the first time in history, it passes into the hands of the people—the working class and the working masses guided by it.

The founders of Marxism-Leninism proved, and the experience of the socialist states has upheld, the view that it is possible to resolve the contradictions arising during the period of transition from capitalism to socialism, and to ensure that all social relationships are structured in accordance with socialist principles, only if support is provided by the might and authority of the new type of state power. "The proletariat," Lenin said, "needs state power, a centralised organisation of force, an organisation of violence, both to crush the resistance of the exploiters and to *lead* the enormous mass of the population—the peasants, the petty bourgeoisie, and semi-proletarians—in the work of organising a socialist economy."<sup>1</sup> This statement not only sets out the objectives and the tasks that the new state has to accomplish, but also provides a scientific definition of the very concept of socialist state power.

Firstly, it is, in Lenin's view, the social force of the ruling class, in this case the proletariat. It is only the existence of this force that enables it to assert itself in society as the ruling class. This excludes the possibility that another, similar power or force might exist in society other than that of the class which is in direct control.

Secondly, as the concentrated expression of the force that is dominant in society, state

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<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, "The State and Revolution", *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, p. 404.

power must be properly organised: it should possess not just internal cohesion, but also specially created bodies, an apparatus.

The form of the organisation of the political power of the working masses led by the working class and its Party is the socialist state, which acts as the means whereby they are involved in running the country, and as the chief instrument in the building of socialism and communism.

It is a tenet of Marxism-Leninism that a state's essence is determined primarily by the economic basis of society. As Lenin put it, "every kind of democracy, as political superstructure in general (which must exist until classes have been abolished and a classless society established), serves production and is ultimately determined by the relations of production in a given society".<sup>1</sup> This scientific conclusion is equally fundamental for understanding the laws of the development of the socialist state, which reflects, in its organisation and activities, the profound processes that are taking place in the social and economic structure of society. The fact that, during the initial post-revolutionary period, the socialist state comes into being and functions as the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat is wholly determined by the features of socio-economic relationships during the transition from capitalism to socialism. Against the background of the bitter class struggle, class antagonisms and conflicts that mark the whole transitional period, the social-

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<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, "Once Again on the Trade Unions, the Current Situation and the Mistakes of Trotsky and Bukharin", *Collected Works*, Vol. 32, p. 81.

ist state, irrespective of the form taken, cannot be anything other than a revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat.

Lenin's teaching about the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat stems from its profoundly popular character and from the identity of the fundamental interests of the working class as the most progressive class in society and the working masses led by it, i.e., from the community of the fundamental interests of the whole people.

The victory of socialism radically alters the nature of a society, its class structure and the whole sphere of social relations. These changes affect primarily the very foundations of a society's economy, its basis. Complete socialist ownership of the instruments and means of production, and the establishment of a single, socialist economic system offer boundless scope to the development of productive forces and to the improvement of economic relationships. But the main point is that, once the exploiter classes have been eliminated, class antagonisms disappear too. A socialist society consists entirely of working people, among whom there can be no class conflicts or class struggle. This was inevitably reflected in the nature of the Soviet state, its tasks, functions and methods. With the total triumph of socialism, the state was transformed into a body expressing the will of the whole Soviet people as a new historical community. For this reason, the state of the developed socialist society is known as the state of all the people.

The need for the continued existence of the state in a socialist society does not persist because there is a need to suppress hostile classes

or to uphold the political domination of a particular class, since class antagonisms have been abolished. It persists because there is still the task of protecting public property and effecting control over the measure of labour and the measure of consumption.

Hence the groundless and politically damaging nature of revisionist claims that, after the transition period, the state should wither away so as to prevent the supposed "bureaucratic deformation of socialism".

In a developed socialist society the state does not assume a classless or supraclass nature, but remains a class organisation, acting as the state of the workers and peasants led by the working class. Throughout the period of existence of classes, the socialist state was and remains the instrument of the class leadership of society and of the implementation of the consistently revolutionary, proletarian programme of communist construction.

The socialist state of all the people is the state of the working people led by the working class, and so it retains not just a class character, but specifically a proletarian class character.

With the conversion of the dictatorship of the working class into an organisation of the state power of the whole people, the class nature of the Soviet state is acquiring an even richer content and is coming to express the unity of the class interests of the working class and all the working people.

Consequently, the state of all the people does not fundamentally differ in its class essence from the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat: the difference represents a development

of its class essence, rather than a change in it.

What has changed is the social base and the state's functions and methods of leadership. But the state of all the people marks a development of the class essence of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The historical continuity and the intrinsic link that exist between the state of the proletarian dictatorship and the state of all the people are shown by the fact that the historic tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat are still being carried out. In the state of all the people, the leading role also belongs to the working class as the most progressive, organised, experienced and battle-hardened class. The democratic features inherent in the socialist state ever since it made its appearance are now being thoroughly developed. In the developed socialist society the tasks and aims of the state of all the people are determined by its class essence as the state of the whole working people, headed by the working class.

With the complete and final triumph of socialism, the nature of the class relationships in society altered, and qualitative changes occurred within the working class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia. The people's socio-political and ideological unity came to be established. Nevertheless, there is both a working class and a collective-farm peasantry in the developed socialist society, and there are substantial differences between them arising from the existence of the two main forms of socialist property, as well as differences in their cultural and technical levels, and in the degree of their political maturity and organisation. The

developed socialist society also contains a social stratum—the intelligentsia—and considerable differences persist between mental and physical labour. Consequently, although the activities of the Soviet state under developed socialism benefit the whole people, they continue to ensure the leading role of the working class in communist construction and, at the same time, strengthen the cooperation between the two friendly classes. These activities will help to ultimately abolish class distinctions and establish a socially homogeneous society.

In the new Constitution building the classless communist society is set as the supreme aim of the Soviet state. At present, however, the Soviet state is pursuing a class policy in its international dealings and, as an organisation of class struggle, is continuing to oppose the capitalist world.

The new Constitution of the USSR contains a special chapter defining the foreign policy principles of the Soviet state of the whole people. It says (Article 28) that the Soviet state shall consistently pursue the Leninist policy of peace and stand for the consolidation of the security of peoples and broad international co-operation.

The foreign policy of the USSR shall be aimed at ensuring favourable international conditions for the building of communism in the USSR, at strengthening the positions of world socialism, supporting the struggle of peoples for national liberation and social progress, preventing wars of aggression and consistently implementing the principle of peaceful co-existence of states with different social systems.

The relations of the USSR with other states (Article 29) shall be based on the observance of the principle of mutual renunciation of the use or threat of force, and the principles of sovereign equality, inviolability of frontiers, territorial integrity of states, peaceful settlement of disputes, non-interference in internal affairs, respect for human rights and basic freedoms, equality and the right of peoples to decide their own destiny, co-operation between states, scrupulous fulfilment of commitments arising from universally recognised principles and norms of international law, and the international treaties signed by the USSR!

As part of the world socialist system, of the socialist community, the Soviet Union (Article 30) shall promote and strengthen friendship, co-operation and comradely mutual assistance with the other socialist countries on the basis of socialist internationalism, and shall actively participate in economic integration and in the international socialist division of labour.

The development of social homogeneity is a regular feature of a socialist society. As class distinctions are effaced and the unity of society is strengthened in the course of communist construction, the socialist state's essence—that of serving the whole people—will be enhanced. This process provides the basis for the strengthening and improvement of the socialist state, and for its gradual development into communist social self-administration.

The principle of democratic centralism, underlying the whole system of state organs generates the need for representative bodies to have a leading position.

They are created in direct response to the will of the electors, who form *in toto* the politically active section of the people. The Soviet electoral system is a vital factor in fashioning and strengthening the power of the working people, and is the condition for ensuring the citizens' right to vote and to be elected. The main features providing for the democratism of the Soviet electoral system can be easily singled out. The system relies on a broad social base—the bloc of Communists and non-Party members—and provides for the participation of all Soviet citizens in the electoral campaign. Furthermore, the electoral system envisages the leading and directing role of the Communist Party at all stages in the elections, enabling the fundamental interests of all the classes and social groups in Soviet society to be taken into account.

No other bodies can defy the representative institutions, which directly express the will of the people, nor can they overrule them.

In a capitalist society the rights of representative institutions are limited on pretexts of all kinds. This can be clearly seen in the general tendency to deprive the parliament and the representative institutions of their constitutional rights and to usurp the authority of the legislature by means of executive power.

The development of modern bourgeois statehood is marked by constant erosion of the role and significance of representative bodies (parliament) and by the growing concentration of power in the hands of the executive.

The unity and indivisibility of state power is directly reflected in the allocation of full power

to the Soviets—representative bodies which combine all forms of state activity.

The last few years have seen increasing control by the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Supreme Soviets of the Union republics over the functioning of ministries and government departments, and over the state of affairs in the main sectors of economic and cultural construction.

What is more, the immense power of the Soviets does not diminish the significance of the state bodies, whose activities form a kind of continuation of those of the people's representative organs.

The Constitution of the USSR sets out the following basic principle (Article 3): the Soviet state shall be organised and shall function in accordance with the principle of democratic centralism: electivity of all organs of state power from top to bottom, their accountability to the people, and mandatory fulfilment of the decisions of higher organs by lower organs. Democratic centralism shall combine single leadership with local initiative and creative activity, with the responsibility of each state organ and official for the work at hand.

Thanks to the principle of democratic centralism, the structural combination of the organs of state power and the state administration into the coherent organisation of the state sets up a precise and well-ordered system of vertical and horizontal subordination, general and special administration, collective and individual decision-taking, supervision and verification.

The tasks confronting a socialist state can only be successfully carried out if the state

apparatus functions in a precise and coordinated manner. The heightened demands that are being made of the state apparatus at present are associated with this requirement. The introduction of modern management techniques and methods paves the way for the more rational organisation of the administrative apparatus, lower staff expenses and a reduction in the numbers of staff employed. Measures to this end are already being put into effect, and they will be continued.

It is planned to extend the scale of work related to setting up and introducing automated systems for planning and managing whole industries, territorial organisations, associations and enterprises. The ultimate aim is to create a statewide automated data collection and processing system in order to handle the accounting, planning and management of the economy through a state system of computing centres and a nationwide integrated automatic communications network.

Improving the administrative apparatus also means raising the competence and efficiency of top executives. The Party is vitally concerned to resist bureaucratic distortions in the functioning of organs of Soviet power and to raise the effectiveness of the administrative apparatus.

The Soviets are representative bodies that are fundamentally opposed to those which gave rise to bourgeois parliamentarianism. Lenin pointed out that under the Soviet system parliamentary and representative institutions are replaced by "...Soviets of people's representatives (from various classes and professions,

or from various localities), functioning as both legislative and executive bodies".<sup>1</sup>

It is a principal feature of the Soviets that they combine within a single body the functions of both legislature and executive, i.e., they benefit from the advantages of parliamentarianism and of direct democracy. The opportunity to combine legislative functions with administration stems directly from the complete power wielded by the Soviets.

The theory and practice of socialist state construction repudiates the bourgeois theory of the "division of powers", although this has never meant a refusal to effect a precise delimitation of competence between the state administrative bodies.

By concentrating in their own hands both legislative and executive power, as well as law enforcement, the Soviets, firstly, ensure the completeness of state power and, secondly, create the necessary organisational and political conditions for the active involvement of the working people in performing legislative and administrative functions, which acts, in turn, as a major precondition for the completeness of state power.

The territorial-production formation of state bodies that derives directly from the principle of democratic centralism does much to foster the full power of the Soviets. Its consistent implementation opens up great opportunities for involving the working people in state management of society, and enables political, economic and cultural issues to be tackled with

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<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, "Materials Relating to the Revision of the Party Programme", *Collected Works*, Vol. 24, p. 461.

maximal determination and concentration. The present stage in the development of the Soviet state is marked by the broader and planned accomplishment of the tasks of communist construction, the creation of its material and technical base, the strengthening of the country's economic and defensive capacity, and the boosting of the people's material prosperity.

The following are set in the Constitution as priority objectives of the Soviet state of the whole people: building the material and technical basis of communism, continuously improving socialist social relations and ensuring their development into communist social relations, educating the man of communist society, raising the living standard and cultural level of the people, safeguarding the country's security, helping to consolidate peace and promote co-operation.

The Soviet state's chief function—that of organising the economy—is being further developed. The aim is to accomplish the main economic task—to build the material and technical base of communism, which presupposes the fulfilment of the gigantic complex of tasks associated with the development of industry and agriculture. The current development of the Soviet economy is characterised by its new, unprecedented scale. The production capacity of the Soviet state today includes some 50,000 plants, factories, mines, quarries, pits, power stations and other industrial enterprises; 34,000 collective and 15,000 state farms; and thousands of construction, transport and communications enterprises. In just one month the country produces as much industrial output as was produced during the last year before the war,

1940. A one per cent growth in today's Soviet industrial output is equivalent to a year's production in pre-revolutionary Russia. "The pivot of the Party's economic strategy both for the Tenth Five-Year Plan and for long-term development," the CC CPSU Report to the 25th Party Congress declares, "is a *further build-up of the country's economic might, an enlargement and basic renewal of production assets and the maintenance of a stable, balanced growth of the heavy industry as the foundation of the economy*".<sup>1</sup> Agriculture in the USSR is comprehensively developed and is highly productive. "We are realists," said Leonid Brezhnev at the 25th Party Congress, "and we are quite well aware that a qualitative reorganisation of agricultural production requires time, labour and huge investments, especially because for a number of mainly objective historical reasons we have only in the recent period begun to allocate large sums for this branch. Of the 320,000 million roubles invested in agriculture during the entire period of Soviet power, 213,000 million roubles were invested during the past two five-year periods."<sup>2</sup> During the past ten years the collective and state farms have received more than 3,000,000 tractors, 900,000 harvester combines, 1,800,000 trucks and special-purpose vehicles, and many thousand million roubles' worth of other farm machinery; the power-to-worker ratio in agriculture has doubled.

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<sup>1</sup> *Documents and Resolutions. XXVth Congress of the CPSU*, p. 50.

<sup>2</sup> *Documents and Resolutions. XXVth Congress of the CPSU*, p. 59.

Economic activity by the state in a socialist society is given its most complex embodiment in planned management of the economy. The state draws up long-term and current national economic plans, and carries out work to see that they are fulfilled.

A developed socialist society calls for long-term planning based on scientific forecasting. Work is currently in hand on the USSR's economic development plan to cover the period 1975-90. It is becoming particularly important in today's circumstances to strengthen the part played by centralisation in planning and management, and to overcome parochialist and departmental tendencies. The planning and whole organisation of capital construction call for substantial modification. Great losses to the economy are caused by the continuing dispersal of manpower and equipment over many building sites. It is extremely necessary, therefore, to concentrate on major projects that are of great significance to the national economy.

Of tremendous importance to the economic life of a socialist society is the state budget, which is the financial plan for the socialist economy. The state distributes the national income in the interests of the continuous growth and improvement of production through the best technology in order to constantly boost the people's prosperity.

The present stage of communist construction is characterised by the further deepening of the scientific approach to the management, organisation and planning of society's technological, economic and social progress.

The high rate at which productive forces are growing and the widespread introduction of the

mechanisation and automation of production processes call insistently for further improvements in the methods and forms of national economic management. Vigorous measures have been adopted in recent years to further concentrate, specialise and cooperate production.

Today the Party assigns priority in the country's economic development to ensuring economic growth and boosting production efficiency through high labour productivity, the acceleration of scientific and technological progress, the fuller use of existing production capacity and securing maximal returns from the capital invested.

The further improvement of production management and the optimisation of the conditions that would lead to a significant rise in its efficiency are becoming increasingly important in modern circumstances.

The decree "On Certain Measures to Further Improve Industrial Management", passed in April 1973 by the CC CPSU and the USSR Council of Ministers, provides for measures to enlarge enterprises, set up production associations (combines) and all-Union and republican industrial associations, bring economic management bodies closer to the production process, more precisely delimit the rights and duties of different branches of sectoral management and raise the efficiency and flexibility of administrative machinery.

The degree to which production is concentrated will be considerably increased under the new management structure. Economic complexes will comprise research, development and design organisations as well as enterprises, and this will enable scientific and technological pro-

gress and the pace of production development to be accelerated.

The decree specifies measures to remove some of the tiers of sectoral management. Most economic matters will be handled directly at the enterprises, combines and associations. The decree issued by the CC CPSU and the USSR Council of Ministers points out that administrative boundaries and departmental divisions should not impede the introduction of more efficient forms of management, the setting up of combines and associations, and the pruning of the administrative machinery.

Considerable successes have been chalked up in science and technology. The task of smoothly combining advances made during the scientific and technological revolution with the advantages of the socialist economic system is being successfully accomplished. In 1972 alone 4,000 new units of machinery, plant, instruments and other devices were created in the USSR, and 3,800 divisions, workshops and factories underwent comprehensive mechanisation or automation. Efficient organisational forms of combining science and production are taking shape—associations and combines, which ensure favourable conditions for the rapid application of new scientific and technological ideas.

Socialism has every opportunity to foster the planned development of science, to pursue a unified technological policy covering the whole of society, and to concentrate necessary manpower and resources at the growth points of science and technology.

The leading role of the state in directing socialist social production stems from the very nature of the economy, which can only be suc-

cessfully developed through centralised planned management, and from the socialist nature of the ownership of the instruments and means of production. Hence the decisive importance of the state's organisational function in the socialist transformation of the country's economy.

The creation of the necessary conditions for carrying through a broad programme of social measures features among the Soviet state's main tasks.

The USSR's increased economic potential enables the tasks involved in raising the people's living standard to be accomplished more fully. The tasks of the Tenth Five-Year Plan provide for further increasing the monetary income of the working people and the social consumption funds, expanding the construction of housing and satisfying the people's growing demand for food, consumer goods and services.

The Party proceeds from the view that the highest aim of social production under socialism is the fullest possible satisfaction of the working people's material and cultural requirements.

During the current five-year period the state will ensure a 16-18 per cent increase in the average earnings of factory and office workers. In 1980 they will amount to at least 170 roubles a month. The period covered by the Tenth Five-Year Plan will also see the completion of the process of raising the minimum wage together with the salaries of middle-income categories of people employed in the non-productive sphere. A new stage will begin in raising the minimum wages and salaries of factory and office workers. During this period the earnings of collective farmers from publicly owned land will go up by 24-27 per cent, with labour

remuneration on collective farms growing on the basis of productivity increases and being improved through guarantees of parity in the remuneration of labour of equal complexity, difficulty and intensity on both collective farms and state agricultural enterprises. Grants and benefits paid out of the social consumption funds will rise over the five years by 28-30 per cent and will reach at least 115,000 million roubles in 1980. These funds will be used to give effect to a number of new social measures: women will be granted partly paid leave so that they can look after a baby until it has reached the age of 12 months, there will be a rise in minimum pensions paid to factory workers, office staff and also collective farmers, and pensions will be instituted for the former members of collective farms who have a mixed work record, as well as supplements to the pensions paid to Group 1 invalids among farmers.

One of the principal tasks of the Party and state in raising the well-being of the people is to further improve the housing conditions of the working class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia. A total of 545-550 million square metres of floor space in residential blocks will be commissioned during the five years. It is planned to invest a total of about 100,000 million roubles in housing and public utility construction. Most housing accommodation will continue to be built at state expense.

Great importance attaches to the Soviet state's cultural and educative function, the principal task of which is to do everything possible to raise the people's cultural and educational standards and to inculcate a communist attitude towards labour, a high degree of social

awareness, organisation and discipline, and rejection of bourgeois ideology. The state's activities in the cultural and ideological sphere include moulding the new man, ensuring that the working people attain a high ideological standard, overcoming the vestiges of the past and bourgeois influence in people's minds and conduct, and creating a rich culture. These activities on the part of the Soviet state are intended to set up the ideological and cultural preconditions for moulding the man of communist society.

Through its material, technological, cultural and ideological achievements the Soviet state is helping to strengthen the unity of society, to bridge the gap between classes and social strata, and to develop contacts between the different nations in the USSR.

The state organisation of society presupposes the establishment of a ramified system of legal relationships.

State power determines the class-will element in law. As Lenin put it, "...a will, if it is the will of the state, must be expressed in the form of a *law* established by the *state*..."<sup>1</sup>

The conscious and purposeful interest of the ruling class that is expressed in the law is given its fullest and most effective realisation in the law. For precisely this reason, legal requirements are simultaneously political and legal rules that are strictly binding on everybody.

Socialist law differs fundamentally from that of earlier social formations in that, for the first

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<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, "A Contradictory Stand", *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, p. 90.

time in the development of a legal system, it eliminates the contradiction between the will expressed in the law and its binding force for the whole of society. It is also a feature of socialism that the general will of the working people, which is reflected and formalised in the law, is constantly being brought into closer accord with the compulsory force of the law.

In a socialist society, where the people itself is the direct vehicle of state power, the law and the system of the juridical regulation of social relations act as the chief means of expressing the sovereign will of the people and its implementation. Leonid Brezhnev once said: "In their generalised, concentrated form the Soviet laws express the people's will, the basic trends in the Party and state policy, ensure the advance of society along the set course."<sup>1</sup>

The supreme position of state power in society is inevitably realised thereby in the establishment and implementation of a legal system. The laws, firstly, are directly generated by state power and embody its policies; secondly, in their application, where necessary, they are backed up by the coercive power of the state; thirdly, they are binding on everyone, being applicable to society as a whole.

Acknowledgement of the active role of the "legal factor" in the organisation and functioning of state power does not, of course, mean the absolutisation of law. Marxist-Leninist theory views this specific phenomenon from a scientific class standpoint, in historically specific circumstances and in the dialectical inter-

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

connection between law and state power, and so rejects the bourgeois-liberal idea of the "legal state". Bourgeois ideologists consider that the power of such a state derives its authority exclusively from the law and that it is wholly bound by it in all its manifestations. Since its immediate aim is to mask the dictatorship of the ruling imperialist bourgeoisie, the idea of the "legal state" distorts the true nature of the bourgeois state. The real meaning of bourgeois legality, however, is well known, together with the imperialist circles' desire to evade the laws that they themselves created in order to realise their selfish class interests and aims.

Bourgeois ideologists do their utmost to represent Marxists-Leninists as the enemies of law and to attribute to them a negative attitude towards the role of law in society. Reference is frequently made here to Lenin's definitions of the dictatorship of the proletariat as the rule of the working people which is supposedly unbounded by any law. However, such sallies against the Marxist-Leninist position on law do not stand up to serious criticism. Essentially, the facts do not lend themselves to the use that is being made of them. Actually, the Leninist definition of the dictatorship of the proletariat expresses, on the one hand, the revolutionary act of rejecting a public authority imposed on the people and oppressing them, and the incompatibility between the new, proletarian power and the laws of the old régime; and, on the other hand, the nature of the new power, conditioned only by the will of the dominant class in society—the proletariat. It does not follow from Lenin's definition that the laws

adopted by the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat are not binding on the organs of that state, do not have to be observed by them, or can be broken if circumstances so require. Lenin's approach to law and the observance of law requires that the activities of all state bodies, officials, public organisations and citizens in a socialist state should be performed in strict accordance with the law. This requirement is the basis of the Leninist principle of socialist legality. As provided for in the Fundamental Law of the USSR (Article 4), "The Soviet state, all its organs, shall function on the basis of socialist legality, and assure the protection of law and order, the interests of society and the rights of citizens. State institutions, public organisations and officials shall observe the Constitution of the USSR and Soviet laws."

The socialist state and law are closely linked. On the one hand, state power is the creator of law and the machinery through which it is enforced and its fulfilment supervised, and in this sense it is not connected with law and is not limited by it. On the other hand, state power uses the possibilities of law for its own organisation, envelops its own actions in legal forms and so feels some effect of the law on itself. Consequently, some dependence of state power on law cannot be denied, since the state gives a strictly legal form to its organisation and activities.

Legal principles are the basis of the organisation and activities of all the organs of a socialist state. Each of these organs is set up in strict accordance with the legally established procedure and acts within the limits of the powers

conferred on it. Acting as the decisive means in the realisation of the tasks and functions of state power, law plays, in turn, a vital part in establishing and shaping state power itself and in creating all the necessary prerequisites and conditions for its normal functioning.

The meaning and fundamental social purpose of state power are precisely to establish and develop the order in social relations that is most desired by the dominant class (the whole of society). This is achieved primarily through lawmaking and the legal regulation of these relations.

It is always social relations of one kind or another that constitute the object of power, i.e., of legal regulation. There are, of course, no matters that state power might not potentially cover, but not all social relations are in need of legal regulation. Consequently, state power itself defines the bounds of its jurisdiction and establishes a group of relations that are in need of legal regulation.

The widespread use of law is an objective necessity of socialist society, mainly because it is only possible through law to achieve a high degree of organisation in public life, the comprehensive development of democracy, and the tangible provision of the working people's rights and liberties, without which socialism as a social formation is inconceivable.

Considerable efforts have been made in recent years, on the recommendation of Party bodies, to improve Soviet legislation. Criminal and civil legislation, and criminal and civil legal procedure have now been codified. The Fundamentals of Land, Labour and Water Legislation have been drawn up. Work is now in hand to

draft corresponding legislation in the Union republics, and in some of them a number of new laws have already been passed. Of great importance too is the work that is under way to systematise legislation and to prepare for publication a full collection of the laws and other legal enactments that are currently in force. It is planned in the next few years to draft a considerable number of codificational and other vital legislative acts and decrees of the Government, including a Law on National Economic Planning, a Law on Standardisation and Metrology, and a Law on Collective Farms. Leonid Brezhnev stated at the 25th Party Congress: "The framing by Party and Government organs and the adoption by the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Supreme Soviets of the republics of laws on some of the key problems concerning our life are of major socio-political importance. A considerable role in this effort has also been played by the standing commissions of the USSR Supreme Soviet, whose activity has in general been markedly invigorated in recent years.

"We have adjusted our legal regulations to the new level to which our society has risen. Legal provisions have been prepared for spheres of life which had earlier remained outside the framework of legal regulation, like protection of the environment, including bodies of water, the earth, the air, and so on. It is a very good thing that we now have well-rounded legislation making it possible to carry on purposeful work for the protection of nature.

"The Political Bureau recently instructed the appropriate agencies to prepare proposals for further improving labour and administrative

law and certain other laws in order to take account of the new phenomena in the life of our society.

"Much also remains to be done to improve the legal regulation of economic activity. Our laws in this sphere should more effectively secure the fulfilment of the tasks of improving output quality and ensuring economy. They should be more effective in countering cases of defrauding the state, doctoring accounts, theft of socialist property, undue zeal in giving priority to local interests, etc."<sup>1</sup>

The Party is concerned not only to improve legislation and to bring it into line with the level of social development now attained, but also to see that the laws are strictly enforced. The Party regards the strengthening of socialist legality as an important matter of policy and as an essential condition for the building of a communist society.

The Party is invariably guided by Lenin's assertion that legality is a vital condition for building communism. Soviet society cannot function smoothly and precisely without strict and implicit observance of Soviet laws.

The cohesion of socialist legality is maintained by the rigidly centralised system of procurator's offices, headed by the General Procurator's Office of the USSR, which is charged by the Constitution with the final responsibility for seeing that the laws are carried out precisely by all ministries and the institutions subject to them, as well as individual officials and ordinary citizens. In order to develop this con-

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<sup>1</sup> *Documents and Resolutions. XXVth Congress of the CPSU*, p. 99.

stitutional principle, the Statute on Procuratorial Supervision in the USSR declares that the General Procurator's Office and the local offices subordinate to it are obliged to see that the laws of the USSR and the Union and Autonomous republics are correctly and uniformly enforced irrespective of local differences and despite any local influences.

The sphere of legal regulation will diminish as socialist social relations mature and develop into communist relations. In the historical perspective, law will be replaced by qualitatively different standards of social regulation, but this process, which is profoundly dialectical in nature, takes place not through the weakening of the legal factor, but through its comprehensive development and improvement.

Under developed socialism popular law exists as a new and higher stage of socialist law. Its strength lies in Soviet citizens' consciousness and self-discipline. The evolution of Soviet law is characterised by the development of its deeply popular content, the strengthening of the conscious base and the inevitable narrowing of the sphere of coercion. It is a regular feature of popular law that it comes closer and closer to the standards of communist morality in all the spheres of public life that are simultaneously regulated by both law and morality. This process of bridging the gap between socialist law and communist morality results in the gradual formation and development of uniform rules for life in a communist society, the observance of which will, with time, become habitual to all members of society. But even in a developed socialist society the development of moral principles in the life of society manifests

itself in the strengthening of the conscious and voluntary observance of laws and the enhancement of the role of public opinion and socio-moral measures in the maintenance of law and order.

The development of the state in a mature socialist society is characterised by further enrichment of the content of the major traditional fields of its activity—its economic, organisational, cultural, educative, and other internal and external functions—and a change in the importance of each of them relative to one another. However, as new tasks appear in the developed socialist society, this process also leads to the emergence of new functions for the state of all the people, characterising the substantial growth of its role in the sphere of social conditions, in stimulating scientific and technological progress, and in protecting the environment. These fields of the activities of the state of all the people gradually become its main functions.

It will be recalled that Lenin referred to the socialist state as a "semi-state", not a state as such.<sup>1</sup> He thereby emphasised the principal difference between the socialist state and exploiter-type states, as well as the genuine democratism of the state power of the working people, and he scientifically determined the historical prospect of the conversion of statehood into communist social self-administration. However, Lenin saw the dialectic of the onward development of the socialist state as lying not in the debilitation of the state, not in its gradual transformation into a weakening public

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<sup>1</sup> See V. I. Lenin, "The State and Revolution", *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, p. 402.

entity, but in the strengthening of it and in the improvement of the functioning of all its bodies.

A socialist state differs fundamentally from all the earlier historical types of state in that it no longer towers above society, but serves it as a piece of machinery that ensures the functioning of the whole social system.

The strength and power of the Soviet state are constantly growing, since its economic, social and political foundations are being continuously strengthened, substantial class and social differences are being constantly eroded, the dual process of the flourishing and drawing together of nations and nationalities is under way, and socialist democracy is being developed and improved; and it is on this basis that the moral, political and ideological unity and cohesion of the Soviet people are growing stronger.

At the current stage of development, the strengthening of the state is required both by internal matters (the building of communism) and by external questions—the pursuit of a consistent policy favouring peace, fraternal cooperation with other socialist countries, and the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems; active support for the revolutionary struggle of the international working class and national liberation movement; and the development of the countries that have freed themselves of colonial oppression.

The new Constitution of the USSR, which consolidates and clearly defines the Soviet state's leading objective, namely the building of communist society, reflects the changes that have taken place since the Second World War

both in the life of the Soviet people and in the international sphere. In accord with instructions formulated by the 25th CPSU Congress the Constitution specifies the basic features of developed socialist society, its political organization, and the leading objectives of its external and internal policies as well as the general principles that govern the socialist system and express the class essence of the Soviet state. It emphasises the humanistic nature of the socialist state and determines the means for the further consolidation and development of socialist democracy.

## 5. THE IMPROVEMENT OF SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY— THE DECISIVE CONDITION FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SOCIALIST POLITICAL SYSTEM

The problems involved in developing Soviet socialist democracy are the focal point of the Party's attention. This stems from the essence and objective requirements of the establishment of the communist formation. The successful development of socialism is inconceivable without democracy as a means of involving the working people in socialist and communist construction, and in the management of society.

Democracy was always regarded by the founders of Marxism-Leninism as a class phenomenon, possible only in a class society and having a precise meaning. "... 'Pure democracy'," Lenin stated, "is not only an *ignorant* phrase, revealing a lack of understanding both of the class struggle and of the nature of the state, but also a thrice-empty phrase, since in communist society, democracy will *wither away* in the process of changing and becoming a habit, but will never be 'pure' democracy."<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, "The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky", *Collected Works*, Vol. 28, p. 242.

The social nature of a society is the criterion for judging whether a particular type of democracy is genuine. The extent of the masses' participation in state administration, and the citizens' actual possession of democratic rights and freedoms depend on who owns the means of production and controls the power of the state. The victory of the proletarian revolution brought about the creation of the objective social preconditions for establishing and developing genuine democratism, and its expansion and deepening are coming, in turn, to be the vital condition for society's further advance along the road of socialism and communism.

Pointing to the indissoluble link between democracy and socialism, Lenin said: "... socialism is impossible without democracy because: (1) the proletariat cannot perform the socialist revolution unless it prepares for it by the struggle for democracy; (2) victorious socialism cannot consolidate its victory and bring humanity to the withering away of the state without implementing full democracy."<sup>1</sup>

Bourgeois democracy reflects and perpetuates the relations of domination and subordination, and the division of society into antagonistic classes, and serves the selfish interests of the exploiters. Capitalists stand up for bourgeois-democratic freedoms and legality only to the extent that they benefit from them. As soon as the masses step up their use of bourgeois-democratic institutions, the bourgeoisie turns away from them, goes over to the offensive against

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<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, "A Caricature of Marxism and Imperialist Economism", *Collected Works*, Vol. 23, p. 74.

democracy, foments reaction and causes the breakdown of law and order. Depending on the concrete situation—the balance of class forces at home and abroad, the extent of the class struggle, and other circumstances—the imperialist bourgeoisie either breaks completely with the traditional institutions of bourgeois democracy, or maintains a semblance of them, skilfully tailored to suit its own ends.

Socialist democracy did not grow out of a vacuum. It is the legitimate inheritor and successor of the democratic forms that make up common human values, particularly the democratic institutions gained from the bourgeoisie by the working class. While rejecting bourgeois democracy, socialist democracy absorbs all the best that was created by the experience of mankind and by the struggle of the masses for their social, economic and national emancipation over many centuries.

The progressive nature of socialist democracy is of universal significance. Socialist democracy ensures the transition to the highest historical type of society, in the economic, social and political sense; the involvement of the whole people in active participation in the management of socialist society and in state administration; and the creation of more perfect political forms and institutions of social organisation. Democracy does not lose its class nature under socialism. Unlike other class formations, socialist society is organically linked with socialist democracy. Although the transition from capitalism to socialism in different countries may present a variety of forms, any of these forms can exist so long as it gives effect to socialist democracy. Lenin frequently emphasised that

“there can be no victorious socialism that does not practise full democracy”.<sup>1</sup>

The enemies of socialism have made frequent attempts to oppose democracy to the dictatorship of the proletariat, claiming that democracy is incompatible with the dictatorship of the proletariat, which, it is said, excludes any kind of democratism.

In his work *The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky* Lenin proved that such claims were ridiculous and that it was wrong to see an opposition between dictatorship and democracy. The dialectical connection between dictatorship and democracy can only be scientifically elucidated from the class viewpoint of the proletariat, since the interests of the proletariat objectively reflect the interests and needs of progressive social development.

The dictatorship of the proletariat cannot exist, function or develop without involving the masses in state administration or without genuine democracy.

The complete power of the people during the transition from capitalism to socialism and the exercise of this power through the dictatorship of the proletariat are governed by the laws of history and occur in all socialist countries. The popular character of the states in the other socialist countries has been clearly apparent ever since they were first set up. The very fact that these countries called themselves people's democracies indicated that the building of socialism and communism was unthinkable without the consistent implementation of democracy.

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<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, “The Socialist Revolution and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination”, *Collected Works*, Vol. 22, p. 144.

The state of the dictatorship of the proletariat was both democratic and dictatorial in a new way. Ever since it first appeared, it has shown itself to be acting in the interests of the people as a whole, for it has deprived the exploiter classes of economic and political power, has abolished their privileges and has established a dictatorship over them. It is a state that serves the working people, expresses their will and is governed by them. Consequently, while firmly establishing the right of the working people to freedom and equality, and acting as an accelerator of progress, proletarian democracy as the form of this state does not mean democracy for all. It means democracy for the working people and only for them, for the promotion of their interests. It ensures real rights and freedoms for the working class and its allies, guaranteeing these rights juridically and materially. Socialist democracy draws the working masses and the administrative apparatus closer together, combines legislative and executive power and places the activities of the state under the people's control.

As was first shown by the experience of the Soviet state, the democratic essence of the dictatorship of the working class is that it represents a special form of class alliance between the proletariat and the numerous non-proletarian strata of the working people. Depending on the historical circumstances, the extent of this alliance can vary, but it is this class alliance that determines the essence of proletarian dictatorship. That is why, ever since it first arose, the socialist state has expressed the will and interests of the overwhelming majority in society, led by the working class.

This is what constitutes the foundations for the development of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat into the state of all the people.

The dictatorship of the proletariat implies organising people's power for a whole historical period—the period that concludes with the complete and final triumph of socialism.

The very emergence of the political organisation of socialist society and its successful development were made possible by the people's exercise of its complete power, i.e., by the sovereignty of the people.

The people is both a social and historically specific concept. It reflects the objective relationships and the substantial ties existing between social groups, or classes. In an antagonistic society the people is a collection of different classes and social strata that arose in order to achieve certain objectives and realise certain interests, and so it is temporary in nature and acts *vis-à-vis* the whole of society as a part in relation to the whole. But class contradictions within the people remain.

Opposing the attempts of bourgeois ideologists to conceal the class distinctions and contradictions of the exploiter society, Lenin demanded that the word "people" should not be used to cover a lack of understanding of class antagonisms within the people.

The unity of the Soviet people has been a feature of all stages in the development of the socialist state. Yet the very concept of the people has not remained unchanged. The social groups and classes forming the Soviet people have undergone certain changes in their qualitative and quantitative development. In each

specific period, however, the people continued to form a united whole consisting of friendly classes.

The triumph of socialism has produced changes in the social structure of Soviet society. The friendly classes and social groups are united by their common economic, socio-political and ideological interests. The social basis of the socialist state has broadened. Its class nature is also shown by the fact that the leading role continues to belong to the working class as the major force in socialist society, and its most progressive and organised section.

Throughout the whole historical period during which socialist society has been developing, the absolute power belonging to the Soviet people has remained unaltered, although its social structure has, of course, changed. It is the sovereignty of the people and their possession of the totality of political power in society that basically differentiate the socialist, truly popular system from the capitalist system, the essence of which is the economic and political enslavement and exploitation of the working masses.

The idea of the people's sovereignty, which was proclaimed in the past by the ideologists of the ascendant bourgeoisie, could not, of course, be turned into reality. In an exploiter society, torn by bitter conflict, political power is in the hands of a ruling class whose real interests are fundamentally at variance with those of the people, and its supremacy is directed against the masses. The sovereignty of the people that is proclaimed by a number of bourgeois constitutions is one of the devices of social demagoguery designed to camouflage the anti-

popular, exploiter essence of the capitalist system.

The development of socialist democracy is aimed at ensuring that the people have complete sovereignty.

The development of the state of the proletarian dictatorship into the state of all the people does not indicate a change in the nature of the socialist state, which has always been popular, but points rather to the expansion of its social base engendered by the appearance of a historically new social community—the Soviet people.

The essence and nature of democracy in a developed socialist society are conveyed by the fact that democracy is, firstly, the democracy of the working people and expresses the interests of all the socialist classes and social groups; secondly, it is led by the working class and the CPSU, whose aim is to build a communist society; thirdly, it educates and involves all working people in communist construction and paves the way for society's transition towards communist self-administration. The democracy of all the people continues the cause started by proletarian democracy, but in a different, more favourable situation. It is not a new type of democracy, but the same socialist democracy at a new stage of maturity.

Thus, the democracy of all the people is the same type of democracy as the proletarian variety, but differs from it in that it designates a new and more perfect stage in the development of socialist democracy. It also differs in the forms and means of accomplishing the tasks facing society.

It is only in socialist conditions that democracy is given full scope for development, just

as socialism reveals its advantages with the help of democracy and through its development.

At the stage of communist construction, the democracy of all the people and its tasks and functions are inseparable from the tasks of the state of all the people, i.e., the tasks involved in building communism. The democracy of all the people is markedly political in nature, and its scope is determined by the struggle between the capitalist and socialist systems. It also remains political because it is functioning in conditions where society still consists of classes and social groups.

Since it places citizens' rights on an equal footing with their duties, the democracy of all the people operates in a situation in which persuasion is an increasing factor, although steps are still taken to put a stop to hostile and anti-social acts on the part of individuals. With all the strength of principle, the democracy of all the people champions the interests of the working people, creating the most favourable conditions possible for communist construction.

The comprehensive development of democracy at the new stage of communist construction forms a law-governed feature, conditioned by the objective and subjective factors of the onward advance.

The economic base and the social structure of society constitute the objective factors that make for the internal cohesion of the whole socialist political system, while the guiding and leading role of the Communist Party is the vital subjective factor that firmly cements this internal cohesion through the comprehensive development of socialist democracy. It is for this

reason that the development of socialist democracy and the perfection of the political system of Soviet society are linked with the enhancement of the leading role of the Communist Party.

Accomplishing the gigantic tasks of communist construction means involving in this process the whole force of the state and the socio-political and self-activating organisations of the working people, and indeed the people in its entirety. As Leonid Brezhnev has said, "The development of socialist democracy implies extensive day-to-day practical work in many directions. It includes stimulating and improving the work of all organisations which unite the masses, primarily, of the Soviets of Working People's Deputies, trade unions and the Kom-somol. It also presupposes improving the fundamental legislative principles of our democracy. Further, we attach great significance to developing democratic principles directly where the main mass of the population is concentrated—at factories, offices and collective farms."<sup>1</sup>

The essence and creative role of democracy is directly dependent on the class nature and functions of the state. Great importance is, consequently, attached to the direct juridical expression and constitutional formalisation of such features of democracy as the recognition of the people's will as the source of power, and the political freedom and equality of citizens.

Under developed socialism there is constant enhancement of the role of the legal institutions that ensure that more and more working people

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<sup>1</sup> *International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, Moscow 1969*, p. 168.

are involved in permanent and active participation in social management and in popular supervision of the functioning of state bodies. Citizens' rights and freedoms and their juridical guarantees are consistently extended, and this goes hand in hand with the working people's increased responsibility and discipline when discharging their obligations to society and the state.

Lenin saw the content of socialist democracy as lying in the direct and close contact with the essence of Soviet power, emphasising moreover that the mass organisation of the classes that had previously been persecuted by capitalism formed the permanent and single foundation for the whole of state power and the state apparatus.<sup>1</sup> The Soviets are the form of state power, discovered by Lenin, that reliably ensures close and indissoluble contact, always easily tested and renewed, with the popular masses.

Many of Lenin's formulations are immensely important for understanding the profound dialectical interconnection between democracy and state power.

Lenin thoroughly explored the internal connections that ensure the organic cohesion and unity of socialist democracy and the socialist form of state power. "The democratism of Soviet power and its socialist nature," he wrote, "are expressed in the fact . . . that the supreme state authority is vested in the Soviets which are made up of representatives of the working people (workers, soldiers and peasants), freely

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<sup>1</sup> See V. I. Lenin, "First Congress of the Communist International", *Collected Works*, Vol. 28, p. 465.

elected and removable at any time by the masses hitherto oppressed by capital." Furthermore, "The Soviets concentrate in their hands not only the legislative power and supervision of law enforcement, but direct enforcement of the laws through all the members of the Soviets with a view to a gradual transition to the performance of legislative functions and state administration by the whole working population."<sup>1</sup>

Two fundamental principles emerge from Lenin's remarks on the democratism of Soviet power: firstly, the Soviets are organs of socialist power and are thus a form of the total unity of the people and express their fundamental interests and will; secondly, the Soviets combine legislative power, supervision and the direct enforcement of the laws and so are bodies ensuring the fullness of state power.

In an electoral address on 12 June, 1970 Leonid Brezhnev emphasised once again the organic interrelationship and unity of the concepts of socialist democracy and state power: "The Party views the development of socialist democracy as a necessary condition for advancing towards communism. It is this principle that underlies the practical measures taken by the Party and Government to improve the state apparatus and the entire system of the organs of power and management."<sup>2</sup>

The socialist state is the main instrument of social transformation and is the fundamental,

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<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, "The Democratism and Socialist Nature of Soviet Power", *Collected Works*, Vol. 42, p. 100.

<sup>2</sup> L. I. Brezhnev, *Following Lenin's Course*, Vol. 3, p. 48 (in Russian).

leading form of popular power. It is for this reason that the development of socialist democracy and the strengthening of the socialist state form a single process.

The sovereign power of the people under socialism is most fully embodied in state power. The direct eliciting of the people's will and the imparting of state and legal force to it are carried out by the representative organs of power—the Soviets.

Unlike bourgeois democracy, in which the will of the masses is either suppressed or falsified by the class dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, Soviet democracy proceeds from the view that the will of the masses must be elicited as fully as possible.

Lenin made the point that the will of millions of people is expressed via the Soviets, i.e., mainly through the active participation of increasing numbers of citizens in running the state.

The importance of the Soviets is that they are the people's organisations that have the greatest mass character. The number of deputies in the total system of Soviets is in excess of 2 million. Through them a large number of people are involved in the management of state affairs.

Lenin saw the Soviets as bodies in which "the *entire* population is learning the art of administration. . .".<sup>1</sup> The Soviet representative system is founded on the basis of a harmonious combination with such institutions as electoral meetings, deputies' reports, the electorate's in-

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<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, "The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government", *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, p. 272.

structions to them, the right of the electorate to recall its deputy, and so on. All this helps not only to elicit the people's will, but also to mould it; it develops in every Soviet citizen the feeling of being the master in his country, as well as a sense of civic responsibility.

The Soviets' advantage over any other system of state power was seen by Lenin to lie in the fact that they combine "the advantages of the parliamentary system with those of immediate and direct democracy".<sup>1</sup> The content and the forms of the Soviets' activity and their policies show socialist democracy to be both representative and direct.

The prospects for further developing socialist democracy are associated primarily with enhancing the role of the principal link in the machinery of state—the Soviets of Working People's Deputies, which form the basis of the socialist state and the fullest embodiment of its democratic nature. The activities of the Soviet representative organs are an expression of the direct creative effort of the working masses. The whole adult population of the country takes part in forming the Soviets of Working People's Deputies and in electing them. Working people themselves are directly involved in the functioning of the Soviets at all levels.

Soviets everywhere rely on a broad force of activists and the voluntary organisations of the working people, and strengthen their ties with the masses. A significant part in the system of socialist democracy is played by the deputies of Soviets at all levels, who manage the affairs

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<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, "Can the Bolsheviks Retain State Power?", *Collected Works*, Vol. 26, p. 103-04.

of the whole socialist state from the grass roots upwards. They are helped at the Soviets by an army of 25 million activists—dedicated voluntary assistants.

The USSR Supreme Soviet's adoption on 20 September, 1972 of the law "On the Status of Deputies to the Soviets of Working People's Deputies in the USSR" was a new and important step in the development of socialist democracy. A legal definition was thus provided of the status of deputies to the Soviets at all levels, their powers and rights, and also the obligations of officials *vis-à-vis* deputies.

The law gives effect to the Leninist principles for the organisation and activities of Soviet representative organs and contains a number of new provisions increasing the powers of deputies in accordance with the immense tasks facing the Soviets in today's conditions. For instance, deputies to the Supreme Soviets of Union and Autonomous republics have been given the right to require information not only from the governments of these republics, ministers and the heads of other administrative bodies set up by the Supreme Soviets, but also from the heads of local enterprises, institutions and organisations that do not come under local jurisdiction, in matters assigned to republican control.

The law gives a detailed description of the forms of activity to be undertaken by deputies, and their powers, and also draws particular attention to their accountability to the electorate and their responsibility for fulfilling the instructions of the working people.

The law on the status of Soviet deputies is a further manifestation of the Communist Party's concern for the people's elected representatives

and for enhancing the role of the Soviets as sovereign representative bodies.

Yet concern for the development and strengthening of the Soviets as the principal form of popular power does not imply any diminution of the role of public organisations.

The essence of socialist democratism is that it provides for the participation of Soviet citizens in state and public administration at all levels. As Leonid Brezhnev put it, "we see the meaning and content of socialist democracy in the increasingly broader participation of the masses in the administration of state and social affairs. In our country the entire political system of society and the steadily growing initiative of the people serve the building of communism."<sup>1</sup>

The energetic use of various public forms of the activity of the working people characterises the profound democratism of the political organisation of socialist society.

The sovereign will of the people is expressed in the establishment of well-defined legislation and a system of legal norms. However, the people's will can also be manifested directly, by means, for example, of a referendum, which approves or disapproves a draft state decision by popular vote. Although they are one of the manifestations of direct democracy, such forms of expressing the people's will have no special authority that is different from, or higher than, that of the state, but any decision that is adopted by referendum is binding on all state and public bodies.

Direct democracy includes not only forms in

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<sup>1</sup> *24th Congress of the CPSU*, p. 99.

which the solution of some state issue by the citizens themselves is expressed, but also consultative forms of direct democracy, e. g., the initiative and spontaneous activity of the working people in posing questions that call for state decisions, and discussions of important draft laws by the whole people.

The Party regards the active participation of all citizens in managing the affairs of society as one of the principal directions for the development of statehood as well as for the communist instruction of the working people. Lenin spoke of the need for "systematically drawing an ever greater number of citizens, and subsequently *each and every* citizen, into direct and *daily* performance of their share of the burdens of administering the state".<sup>1</sup>

The comprehensive improvement of socialist democracy, the class essence of which expresses the fundamental interests of the working class and the whole Soviet people, the development of the creative initiative of the masses, and the expansion of their participation in state and public administration form the main political line for the advance of Soviet society towards communism.

The system of the organisation and functioning of the state and the whole socialist political system is based on the granting of extensive rights and freedoms to the citizens and working people's associations, and the creating of conditions for their effective exercise and for the involvement of the masses in active socio-political endeavour. Socialist democratism is also

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<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, "Extraordinary Seventh Congress of the R.C.P.(B.)", *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, p. 156.

the direct expression of the economic and political essence of socialist society. Consequently, it is a vital feature of socialist democracy that it extends to all spheres of public life.

The position of the individual in the USSR is determined by the whole socio-economic system and is inseparably linked with the political organisation of society, which furthers the development of the working people's activity.

Under socialism the sphere of contact between the mutual interests of the individual and society, the citizen and the state is extremely broad. These interests are concretely expressed in the ramified system of rights and duties that are formalised in law and, above all, in the Constitution.

The most important relationships between socialist society and its members are recorded in the rights and duties of Soviet citizens who possess a wide range of political, ownership, labour, family and other rights which enable them to take an active part in the political, economic and cultural life of socialist society.

The defence of citizens' freedoms and rights is one of the main tasks of the socialist state, and its actual accomplishment is ensured by a far-reaching system of economic, political and juridical guarantees. Only under socialism, in which material guarantees complement the system of political and juridical guarantees of socialist democracy in the interests of the working people, are real opportunities created for the use of the rights and freedoms proclaimed by Soviet power. However, their realisation depends directly on the successes achieved in socialist and communist construction, on the development of social production and on the

level of economic and cultural construction. During the period of transition from capitalism to socialism proletarian democracy did not, of course, possess these opportunities, which opened up before socialist democracy as a result of the complete and final victory of socialism in the USSR.

The range and real content of the rights and freedoms of the members of socialist society will constantly grow with the increase in social wealth and in the country's economic and cultural progress. At the same time, as communist construction develops, as the machinery for directing social processes becomes more complicated, as the scientific and technological revolution advances, and as the culture and political awareness of citizens grow, so their social responsibility to society will also continue to rise.

Only socialism is able to ensure real freedom for man. The freeing of man from exploitation and from the economic and political oppression of capital, and his involvement in the sphere of public and state affairs signify the real freedom of the individual.

Under socialism, an indissoluble unity exists between the public and personal interests of the working people. The successes of socialist society form the basis for the individual's harmonious development. In turn, the development of the individual, the perfection of his cultural and social make-up and the thorough revelation of individual abilities constitute the decisive condition for the further development of society. The unity of the interests of the individual and society is a constantly developing two-sided process. Under the socialist system this

unity is ensured both by the whole activity of society to satisfy the constantly growing needs of the individual, and by the activity of every person to discharge his social obligations.

In Soviet society there is a fundamental correspondence between the system of political relationships and the material (economic) relationships. All this guarantees the full realisation of political freedoms for all citizens and ensures their political equality.

The broad participation of the working people in controlling the various aspects of society's economic life and in managing and planning production was viewed by Lenin as a vital condition for their absolute power, which was, moreover, political power, for, as he said, "Full power means power over all the land, over all the banks, over all the factories".<sup>1</sup>

One of the Party's major tasks in directing the process of communist construction is the broader involvement of the working masses in managing the economy. "We have immense possibilities for this," Leonid Brezhnev said. "The people's participation in economic management is not confined to resolving economic tasks in individual production collectives. A broader approach has to be adopted to this, in view of the role which our Party and the Soviet state play in economic management. Their policy, including their economic policy, is dictated by the basic interests of the working people. It is charted by representatives of the working people in the elective organs, with the masses participating broadly in the discussion of major

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<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, "Can the Bolsheviks Retain State Power?", *Collected Works*, Vol. 26, p. 116.

plans and decisions. The working people also actively take part in the control of the fulfilment of these decisions. The Party will continue to promote all these forms of socialist democracy."<sup>1</sup>

The Soviet state controls the main means of production on behalf of the working people, and it distributes material and cultural wealth for their benefit. It is for this reason, as Marx, Engels and Lenin emphasised, that the socialist organisation of state power takes the form of a social republic, a republic of labour.<sup>2</sup>

One of the important indicators of the democratism of the Soviet system is the direct participation of the working people in the running of enterprises. The economic measures implemented in the country add up to a substantial stimulus to the development of democracy. Raising the working man's interest in the results of his labour and that of the whole enterprise stimulates at one and the same time both his economic and his political activity. This form of direct democracy is intended to ensure the successful working of the enterprise or building site, the fulfilment of the production plan, the fullest possible use of spare capacity, the development of socialist emulation, the raising of labour productivity, and the dissemination of the experience gained by innovators and leading workers. As socialist emulation develops, millions of working people are involved in the process of state planning. The draft production plans of enterprises, building

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<sup>1</sup> *24th Congress of the CPSU*, p. 85.

<sup>2</sup> See K. Marx and F. Engels, "The Civil War in France", *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, pp. 222-23.

sites and state farms are discussed at general staff meetings.

The participation of the working people in economic management through the production conferences elected at general assemblies at enterprises is an effective form of direct democracy. These conferences are intended to stimulate creative initiative and activity in the collectives, to support new developments in production organisation, to combat bureaucracy, to help strengthen state and work discipline, to be concerned for the protection and multiplication of socialist property, and to inculcate a communist attitude towards work. Unless challenged by the management, the decisions of production conferences become binding and are put into effect.

At all stages, socialist democracy develops through a smooth combination of representative and direct democracy. Both kinds of democracy contain limitless opportunities for activity on the part of the masses and for their direct involvement in the accomplishment of state and social tasks. Under socialism, democracy primarily takes the form of political power, and so the variety of democratic forms should not have the effect of diminishing the objective necessity and importance of state and legal democratic institutions. The Party correctly and skilfully combines the forms of representative and direct democracy, makes full use of the advantages possessed by each of these forms, and finds the optimal balance between them at each stage in the development of Soviet society.

The view, current in the fairly recent past, that the development of socialist statehood into communist social self-administration is a pro-

cess whereby the functions of state bodies are gradually transferred to public organisations must be acknowledged to be fundamentally wrong. Such a view represents the socialist state and its organs as being opposed to the public organisations of the working people. In actual fact, the process is associated with the gradual development of both state and other social forms of control into communist social self-administration. The basic meaning of the development of social principles in the functioning of the Soviets lies, consequently, not in reducing the state organs' sphere of activity, but in thoroughly democratising it and in involving increasing numbers of working people in its operation, as a result of which their role in managing all economic and socio-cultural processes should be enhanced. A correct balance must be found between state and social forms of democracy. The starting point, moreover, must be Lenin's stipulation that the socialist state plays the decisive part in the building of communism.

Socialist democracy is the democracy of a highly organised society. While offering broad scope for developing the initiative and spontaneous activity of all citizens, it requires them to strictly observe the laws that safeguard their rights and freedoms, strengthen labour discipline, look after public property and discharge other obligations. Socialist democracy has nothing in common with petty-bourgeois laxity, indiscipline and contempt for the interests of society as a whole.

One of the crucial means ensuring the successful functioning of the system of socialist democracy is strict observance of the Leninist

principle of socialist legality. It is a vital condition of the exercise of political power, the democratic management of society and the state, and the protection of citizens' democratic rights and freedoms, and is the means of ensuring and developing socialist democracy.

"Critics abroad frequently seek to distort the meaning of the measures taken by the Soviet state for the purpose of consolidating our legality and law and order," said Leonid Brezhnev in the CC CPSU Report to the 25th Party Congress. "Any reference to the need to tighten up discipline and enhance responsibility of citizens to society is depicted over there as a violation of democracy. What can one say about this?"

"Indeed, in our concern for the all-round development of the individual and of the rights of citizens, we have also given due attention to the problems of strengthening social discipline and fulfilment by all citizens of their duties to society. After all, democracy is inconceivable without discipline and a sound public order. It is a responsible approach by every citizen to his duties and to the people's interests that constitutes the only reliable basis for the fullest embodiment of the principles of socialist democracy and true freedom for the individual."<sup>1</sup>

Socialist democratism ensures the establishment of truly democratic legislation, its constant improvement and the use of effective forms and methods of enforcing the law. It is a

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<sup>1</sup> *Documents and Resolutions, XXVth Congress of the CPSU*, p. 101.

crucial means of involving citizens in active supervision to see that the laws are carried out.

Socialist democracy has developed forms and smoothly functioning machinery.

Its formation and development are determined by deep-rooted social processes. The Soviet people are blazing the trail, enriching the arsenal of democratic forms and institutions. A particular part here is being played by Soviet democracy, which took the first step into the uncharted world of social relationships and which has facilitated the democratic path of development for peoples in other countries. This is the source of the great attraction that Soviet democracy has for progressives the world over.

In the world of today the problems of socialist democracy have acquired enormous importance. This arises, on the one hand, from the attraction of socialist ideas and their revolutionising effect on world social development. On the other hand, anti-communist ideologists and opportunists of all hues are doing their utmost to distort and corrupt the theory and practice of socialist democracy and to diminish the historic importance of the new, socialist democracy. As part of this process, bourgeois ideologists attempt to make political capital out of issues such as the freedom of the individual, the electoral system and "political pluralism", deliberately blurring the distinction between false bourgeois democracy and socialist democracy. Analysis of the class nature of democracy and of its role as a political instrument is replaced at every step by distortions of all kinds.

The desire to misrepresent and discredit the Marxist-Leninist teaching on socialist democracy is particularly characteristic of modern revisionism. Right-wing opportunist ideologists are doing their best to remove the class content from socialist democracy, to divorce socialist democracy from the conditions and tasks of social transformation and to replace it with apparently abstract but actually blatantly non-socialist socio-political forms which reproduce the corresponding institutions of bourgeois democracy. Particular zeal is displayed in the attempts to justify the idea that state policy should be formulated in isolation, "independently" of the Party and without reference to its decisions. For many years now the champions of "democratic socialism", for instance, have been trying to undermine the prestige of Soviet democracy by criticising it as "étatisme", "bureaucratic socialism", and so on.

The "Left-wing" opponents of Leninism, on the other hand, by and large deny the need for democratic forms of political, economic and cultural life and for far-reaching guaranteed rights and freedoms for citizens in socialist society, and claim that all questions of social development should be settled through force and management by decree.

The struggle against the Right and "Left-wing" destroyers of socialist democracy is a vital ideological and political task facing Communists today.

The correct understanding of the essence and problems of the development of socialist democracy is extremely important in the determined struggle against anti-communist ideologists and opportunists of all hues.

The consistent democratism of the socialist social and state system lies in the fact that it offers solid economic, political and organisational guarantees of the decisive participation in political and state life by the majority and subsequently by all members of society, i.e., it ensures genuine rule by the people. Thinking in terms of the broad social base of a socialist state, the founders of Marxism-Leninism declared that, as it develops and grows stronger, socialist statehood will totally exhaust its functions as a special political organisation and will be transformed into the communist self-administration of society. In Marx's words, "the reverse absorption of the state power by society"<sup>1</sup> will occur.

With the triumph of communism, both the sovereign power of the people and democracy will forfeit their political nature.

But in the communist classless society too, the function of managing society will remain, and the forms both of the direct and the representative participation of the people in running the affairs of society will attain their maximal development.

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<sup>1</sup> Marx/Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 17, S. 543.

## 6. THE LENINIST POLICY OF THE CPSU FOR NATIONAL AND STATE CONSTRUCTION

The formation and development of the USSR are indissolubly linked with the guiding political and organisational activity of the Communist Party, which is multinational in composition and profoundly internationalist in essence. The ideological and organisational unity of the Party has become the decisive force unifying the Soviet people and the working people of all the nations and nationalities.

As Leonid Brezhnev has made clear, "The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is the living embodiment of the Leninist ideas of proletarian internationalism, the friendship and fraternity of the peoples. The finest sons and daughters of the 131 nations and nationalities of our country are represented in it. We take pride in the fact that all the national contingents of our Party merge, like the waters of the rivers in a huge ocean, in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, a union of like-minded Leninists, united in will, in purpose and in ideology."<sup>1</sup>

Recognition of the federal organisation of the

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<sup>1</sup> *23rd Congress of the CPSU, Moscow 1966, p. 150.*

multinational Soviet state has never implied the transfer of the federal principle to the organisational structure of the Party. The Communist Party has been structured from the very outset as the revolutionary vanguard of all the national contingents of the working class, possessing a single Programme and a single set of Rules, and characterised by the unity of the aims and actions of all its organisations.

When describing the USSR as a federal state, one should point out, first and foremost, that it is structured in accordance with the national principle. The Soviet Union was the world's first socialist federation to take shape. It constitutes a form of the resolution of the nationalities question in a multinational socialist state.

It is common knowledge that bourgeois federations are generally built up by territorial amalgamation, with the criterion of nationality being totally ignored. The United States of America, for instance, which, in terms of its state system, is a federation, does not reflect the interests of nationalities either in the structure of the states or in the legislative bodies of the states or federal institutions. The second chamber of the American Congress (the Senate) is designed according to the principle of state representation, but it does not deal with the nationality problems of the state as a whole, which are now particularly intense. A similar situation is to be found in other bourgeois states of the federal type.

The Soviet state comprises 15 Union and 20 Autonomous republics, 8 Autonomous regions and 10 Autonomous areas. This wealth of forms of national statehood within the framework of

a single federation resulted from the implementation of the Communist Party policy on the nationality question—the right of nations to self-determination up to and including secession and the formation of independent states. Such forms of national statehood as the Union republic, autonomous republic, autonomous region and national area arose because the right of nations to self-determination was expressed in different forms in each case, depending on specific historical, economic and political reasons and conditions.

The Soviet state tackled the nationalities question with reference to the different stages of economic, political and cultural development attained by each nation or nationality.

All the forms of national statehood in the USSR have been set up as a result of the freely expressed will of each nation or nationality, and their creative endeavour in state construction.

In all these forms the necessary conditions are created for the development of the national culture, language and economy, and for the active participation of the working people in running the state. It is for this reason that each of the forms of national statehood has proved to be an effective means of resolving the nationalities question in the USSR.

One of the conditions for the successful development of the Soviet federation is the flexibility of its forms. It will be recalled that a number of the Union republics came into being via transformation from Autonomous republics in accordance with the sovereign will of the nations involved.

The Soviet state is based on the voluntary principle. Lenin and the Party always attached immense importance to this principle. In 1919, when the independent republics were considering what form of state and legal relations to have with the Russian Federation, Lenin clearly brought out the main point when he wrote: "We want a *voluntary* union of nations—a union which precludes any coercion of one nation by another—a union founded on complete confidence, on a clear recognition of brotherly unity, on absolutely voluntary consent."<sup>1</sup>

The voluntary principle in forming a federation and the right to secede from it do not exist in bourgeois federal states. In a number of cases, some parts of a bourgeois federation were incorporated into it either through purchase (e. g., the states of Louisiana, Florida and Alaska in the USA) or through seizure (Texas, New Mexico, California and Arizona). In neither case were the people of the purchased or captured territories ever asked whether they wished to join the USA. There have also been cases in which federations were created artificially and were forced on peoples under strong outside pressure rather than being the voluntary expression of their will.

The voluntary nature of the association of the Union republics to form the federal state is ensured and guaranteed by their right to freely leave the Union, which must not be confused with the question of the expediency of such a

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<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, "Letter to the Workers and Peasants of the Ukraine Apropos of the Victories over Denikin", *Collected Works*, Vol. 30, p. 293.

move. This right was first formulated in the treaty on the creation of the USSR. During the public discussion of the draft Constitution of the USSR (1936), it was proposed that the secession article should be deleted. The authors of this amendment took the view that the provision had no practical significance, since the history of the Soviet state had not known a single case in which a Union republic had wished to secede from the USSR. The proposal was rejected by the Extraordinary 8th All-Union Congress of Soviets on the grounds that the Union republics' right to freely leave the Union was a vital political and legal guarantee ensuring that membership of the Union was voluntary and that the Union republics had equal rights.

The USSR is founded on the principle of its members' equality, which is directly derived from unequivocal recognition of the sovereignty of the nation.

Of fundamental significance is the fact that the equality of the republics in the USSR has as its most important socio-political basis the genuine equality of the socialist nations and nationalities.

In his report on the 50th anniversary of the formation of the USSR, Leonid Brezhnev said: "... the solution of the nationalities question and the overcoming of the backwardness of the once oppressed nations are regarded by the Soviet people as an ordinary thing, something to be taken for granted. We have to recall the scale and the complexity of the work that has been done in order to appreciate not only the wisdom, but also the courage and the consistent effort of the Bolshevik Party, which set itself

this goal and achieved it."<sup>1</sup> The principle of equality is concretely expressed in the fact that each Union republic has the selfsame rights as the other republics. Irrespective of the size of its territory and population, every Union republic elects an equal number of deputies to the Soviet of Nationalities—one of the chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet. There are also other guarantees of equality.

Thus, all 15 chairmen of the Presidia of the Supreme Soviets of the Union republics are deputy chairmen of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet. The membership of the Presidium of the USSR also contains representatives of the Autonomous republics and Autonomous regions.

The Government—the USSR Council of Ministers—comprises the chairmen of the Councils of Ministers of the Union republics, and the USSR Supreme Court includes the chairmen of the Supreme Courts of the Union republics.

In the USSR Supreme Soviet the interests of the electorate, belonging to all the different nationalities, are represented by the deputies to the Soviet of the Union. The second of the two equal chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet—the Soviet of Nationalities—is formed from the representatives of the Union and Autonomous republics, the Autonomous regions and the National areas. Both chambers assemble and function simultaneously. The deputies have equal rights and opportunities during the discussion of state and social matters, and in the passing of laws.

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<sup>1</sup> L. I. Brezhnev, *Following Lenin's Course*, Moscow, 1975, p. 62.

Even the smallest nationalities are represented in the USSR Supreme Soviet and in the Supreme Soviets of the Union and Autonomous republics. This unprecedented representation of Soviet working people of all nationalities in the highest state organs is the living embodiment of Lenin's idea of a multinational Soviet socialist state.

Statistics show that the 15 nations of the USSR which have given their names to the Union republics constitute 90 per cent of the country's population. But it also shows that, despite their small numbers, the 100 or so nationalities enjoy absolutely equal rights in the family of fraternal peoples, are fully respected and are given every opportunity for their further development. This is fully applicable both to the 20 nationalities of the Far North, which account for 0.06 per cent of the country's population, and to the nationalities of Daghestan, which make up 0.45 per cent of the population, not to mention those nationalities that developed as nations and gained national autonomy during the Soviet period. Sufficient indication is provided by the fact that the population of six Autonomous Soviet republics—the Buryat, Kabardino-Balkar, Kalmyk, Tuva, Yakut and Karakalpak ASSRs—adds up to slightly over 3 million people as against the USSR's total population of 250 million. Nevertheless, in the USSR Supreme Soviet's Soviet of the Union these Autonomous republics are represented by 66 of the 750 deputies elected to the chamber. In the USSR Supreme Soviet's Soviet of Nationalities 8.8 per cent of the deputies represent these six republics, which contain less than 1.5 per cent of the country's population.

It is an important feature of the USSR as a federal socialist state that both the USSR as a whole and its constituent Union republics possess sovereignty.

Under a socialist system that is founded on the Leninist principles of brotherhood and friendship between the peoples, the voluntary amalgamation of equal sovereign republics to form a multinational federal state cannot result in any loss or restriction of their sovereignty. After all, the whole point of amalgamating to form a single state union was to employ joint efforts and the advantages of centralisation so as to ensure the most effective development of the economy, science and culture of each republic and of the Union as a whole.

When they voluntarily united to form a state, the sovereign republics, which at first existed separately but later set up federal relations between themselves, began to impose limitations on their own rights by transferring some of their powers to the Union so as to receive the greatest political and socio-economic benefits accruing from participation in a democratically centralised federal state. The formation of a single federal Soviet state gave rise to a qualitatively new stage in the community and joint endeavour of the peoples living in the Soviet republics in all fields of state and public life.

A state's sovereignty is inseparable from the totality of its power. The totality of the power of each of the Union republics is determined by the fact that, firstly, within the limits of the rights conferred on them, each republic exercises state power fully and independently;

– secondly, the totality of a Union republic's power is also realised in the category of powers

that are exercised jointly by the USSR and by the Union republics;

– thirdly, the totality of Union republics' power is accomplished through their participation in the workings of the highest state and administrative bodies of the USSR and also the USSR Supreme Court.

The relationship between the sovereignty of the USSR and the sovereignty of the Union republics is basically characterised by the fact that they are not opposed to each other; they do not exist in isolation from one another, but interact without restricting or absorbing each other.

The sovereignty of the USSR and the sovereignty of the Union republics are united within the Soviet state. This unity results from the single economic and political organisation of socialist society and from the single system of state power—from higher bodies to lower ones. Moreover, the unity of Soviet state power is underpinned by single economic, political, ideological, state and legal principles of socialism.

The combination of the interests of the republics with those of the Union as a whole is ensured primarily by wholesome Party leadership. It is a favourite device of modern anti-communists to depict Party leadership in the Soviet Union as if it were suppressing the independence of the national republics. The Sovietologist Boris Meissner claims that, under centralised Party leadership, federalism is non-existent and the Soviet Union is a "corporate state dressed up in federal attire".<sup>1</sup> The same

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<sup>1</sup> Boris Meissner, *Sowjetunion und Selbstbestimmungsrecht*, Köln, 1962, S. 60.

idea is echoed by Richard Pipes: "... only a corresponding decentralization of the Communist Party would have made the establishment of genuine federal relations possible."<sup>1</sup>

These claims are totally unfounded. The Communist Party carries out its work in strict accordance with the Constitution of the USSR and with the constitutions of the Union republics, which formalise the federal principle of the Soviet state system. The principle of democratic centralism presupposes the combination of centralised leadership with the far-reaching democracy and independence of the republics.

As is shown by the historical experience of the development of the multinational Soviet state, Party leadership is the crucial source of its power, the smoothly functioning nature of its machinery, and the close interaction of Union and republican bodies.

In his work "The Question of Nationalities or 'Autonomisation'" Lenin thought it necessary to dwell on the question of the significance of the leading role of the Communist Party for ensuring unity within a federal state.

Discrepancies in the working of republican People's Commissariats and the centre could be overcome by Party authority, Lenin said, so long as it was employed with sufficient circumspection and impartiality.<sup>2</sup>

The crucial guarantees of the Union republics' sovereignty are rooted in the fundamental principles underlying the Soviet system.

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<sup>1</sup> Richard Pipes, *The Formation of the Soviet Union. Communism and Nationalism. 1917-1923*, Cambridge, Mass., 1964, p. 246.

<sup>2</sup> See V. I. Lenin, "The Question of Nationalities or 'Autonomisation'", *Collected Works*, Vol. 36, p. 610.

These guarantees are the triumph of socialism and the elimination of the exploiting classes, which are the vehicles of nationalism and chauvinism; the peoples' complete equality and indestructible friendship; the unity of the Soviet nations' aims and Marxist-Leninist ideology; the principles of proletarian internationalism and democratic centralism; the exchange of material and spiritual wealth between the socialist nations; and the leading role of the Communist Party, which pursues a policy of correctly combining centralised leadership with safeguarding the rights of the Union republics.

Membership of a socialist federal state is one of the main guarantees of the independence and all-round development of each nation and nationality. This is given state and legal embodiment in the system of the constitutional guarantees of the sovereignty of the Union republics.

The inaugural acts of the USSR are still in force. They are the Treaty on the Formation of the USSR and the Declaration on the Formation of the USSR, adopted by the 1st All-Union Congress of Soviets, as well as the Constitution of the USSR and the constitutions of the Union republics. A Union republic cannot be eliminated at the wish of bodies of the USSR or other republics, nor can it in any way be expelled from the USSR.

The USSR preserves the interests and sovereign rights of the Union republics.

This purpose is also served by the constitutional system of Soviet state bodies—the two-chamber structure of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the broad representation of the Union republics in the two chambers, in their standing commissions, in the Presidium of the USSR Supreme

Soviet, in the USSR Council of Ministers and in the USSR Supreme Court, and the existence of different kinds of ministries (all-Union, Union-republican and republican).

The sovereignty of a Union republic is guaranteed by its right to demand the convening of an extraordinary session of the USSR Supreme Soviet or the holding of a referendum on draft all-Union legislation, and also by the fact that the USSR Supreme Soviet and its Presidium are obliged to annul any ruling issued by an all-Union body if it infringes a Union republic's sovereign rights.

The federation's single legal system is also an effective means of ensuring the cohesion of state power in the Soviet state.

The system of Soviet legal norms includes standards that are laid down both by the organs of the USSR and by the organs of the Union republics. The jurisdiction of the USSR and that of the Union republics are thus combined in the law-making field.

Cohesion in the legal system can be ensured only if the jurisdiction of both the USSR and the Union republics is strictly observed. The features of the different periods in the development of the Soviet state either extend or limit the range of questions assigned to the jurisdiction of the republics, and, as a result, either extend or limit their powers as regards the making of laws. The correlation in the total number of legal standards established by the USSR and by the republics changes accordingly.

In the general system designed to ensure the uniformity of Soviet law, priority is assigned to the promulgation of all-Union laws, since it is all-Union legislation that underlies repub-

lican legislation. This situation gives special significance to Article 36 of the Constitution, which proclaims that the USSR has the exclusive right to promulgate all-Union laws.

Uniformity in the Soviet state's legal system is also ensured constitutionally by the power of the USSR to draw up Fundamentals of Legislation of the USSR and the Union Republics in the various legal fields.

The Fundamentals of Legislation adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet are intended to establish basic positions in the legal regulation of a particular range of issues. While reproducing the appropriate general principles, republican laws make them concrete and add the details, thus establishing new laws on all the matters fully entrusted to the republics' jurisdiction.

In accordance with the principle of democratic centralism, the legislation of the Union republics actively realises the opportunity for the complete and unhindered development, as Lenin put it, "not only of specific local features, but also of local inventiveness, local initiative, of diverse ways, methods and means of progress of the common goal".<sup>1</sup>

The internal harmony and uniformity of the legal standards forming the Soviet legal system are made possible by the effect of a number of constitutional principles.

According to the Constitution, the USSR has the right to supervise the observance of the Constitution of the USSR and to ensure that the constitutions of the Union republics are in

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<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, "Original Version of the Article 'The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government'", *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, p. 208.

keeping with the Constitution of the USSR, which formalises the Union's leading role in establishing and maintaining the cohesion of the whole legal system. The legislation and other legal enactments of the Union republics must not contradict all-Union laws.

Whenever the competent authorities of a Union republic fail to bring an enactment they have passed into line with all-Union legislation, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet is obliged to adopt a special resolution on the question.

The cohesion of the legal system of the Soviet federal state has as its most important constitutional guarantee the principle, embedded in the Constitution of the USSR, that the constitution of a Union republic must be in full accord with the Union Constitution.

The principle of the precedence of an all-Union law over a republican one, established by the Constitution of the USSR, says that the laws of the USSR have equal force throughout the Union republics, and, if the law of a Union republic diverges from the all-Union one, then the all-Union law is the only one valid.

According to the Constitution, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet has the right to annul decrees and instructions issued by the Councils of Ministers of the Union republics if they deviate from the law. The USSR Council of Ministers is empowered to cancel decrees and instructions issued by the Councils of Ministers of the Union republics applying to administrative sectors and enterprises that come under the jurisdiction of the USSR.

Union-republican ministries of the USSR have the right to annul orders and instructions

issued by Union-republican ministries of the same name in the Union republics if they contradict the laws of the Union or the orders and instructions issued by the Union-republican ministries of the USSR and are not based on the laws of a Union republic or on the unconditional order of its Council of Ministers.

The principle of the uniformity of socialist legality is extremely important. Pointing to the importance of this principle, Lenin said: ". . . law cannot be Kaluga law or Kazan law . . . it must be uniform all-Russia law, and even uniform for the entire federation of Soviet Republic. . .".<sup>1</sup>

A vital aspect of the Soviet state system is the constant and comprehensive strengthening of the USSR. It is determined by the common interests of the federal state and takes account of the conditions for each republic's development. The strengthening and improvement of the Soviet state system, and the organisation of the management of society's socio-political, economic and cultural life inevitably raise the issue of centralisation. The possibilities inherent in both the centralisation of administration and the extension of the Union republics' rights constitute two aspects of the Party's concerted efforts to improve state administration.

The modern economy of the USSR is a vast complex within which the economies of all the Union republics are combined by stable and constantly expanding mutual economic ties. It is developing according to a unified state plan

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<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, "'Dual' Subordination and Legality", *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 364.

for the benefit of the Union as a whole and each republic individually.

The management of the USSR's economy is based on the rational distribution of duties among the territorial and sectoral central organs. This ensures the more balanced development of the economy as a whole.

The Tenth Five-Year Plan (1976-80) marks a new and important stage in the further economic and cultural development of the multinational Soviet state. The plan provides for a continued high rate of economic development in all the Soviet Republics.

In the Russian Federation engineering and the chemical, oil and gas industries are developing at an accelerated pace, in the Ukraine the same goes for electric power development, engineering and the chemical and manufacturing industries, and in the Kazakh SSR this is true of ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy, the coal, oil and food industries, and light industry, and so on. Within the framework of the USSR's unified economy, the economic ties between the Union republics and the different regions in the country will become considerably more stable during the tenth five-year period, there will be an increase in the effectiveness of the territorial division of labour, and the contribution made by each republic and each region towards accomplishing the tasks of the state as a whole will grow impressively.

During the years covered by the Tenth Five-Year Plan, industrial output in the following areas will grow as shown:

RSFSR	35-39%	
Ukrainian SSR	30-34%	Moldavian SSR 45-49%

Byelorussian SSR	39-43 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>	Latvian SSR	26-30 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>
Uzbek SSR	35-39 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>	Kirghiz SSR	33-37 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>
Kazakh SSR	39-43 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>	Tajik SSR	38-42 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>
Georgian SSR	37-41 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>	Armenian SSR	43-47 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>
Azerbaijan SSR	37-41 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>	Turkmen SSR	30-34 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>
Lithuanian SSR	32-36 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>	Estonian SSR	22-26 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>

The further equalisation of the levels of development attained in the republics will continue during the tenth five-year-plan period thanks to the cohesion of the planned socialist economy and to the republics' own far-reaching initiative.

This is a vivid testimony to the internationalist nature of the CPSU's Leninist nationalities policy and to its enormous role in strengthening the friendship between the peoples as a powerful driving force in the development of a socialist society.

The scale of the modern economy is such that planning is impossible without a thorough and profound study of the various factors involved—economic, political, national, demographic, geographical and so on. The comprehensive approach to planning and the adoption of major national-economic decisions acquire ever greater importance. The very nature of the tasks confronting Soviet society is such that their fulfilment calls for concerted effort by many branches and economic areas, and includes implementation of a whole system of diverse measures.

The creation of a single multinational state—the USSR—was crucial in resolving a vital problem in national relations—that of the nations' real equality.

The Soviet state concentrated vast material resources and provided an enormous amount of

assistance to the people living in the backward national areas.

It is sufficient to say that the budgets of a number of Union republics were covered for many years, as far as their outlays were concerned, mainly by subsidies from the all-Union budget. People living in the most deprived republics and regions were, for a number of years, either completely or partly exempted from agricultural and general taxation. On the other hand, the state purchase prices for agricultural produce were made high enough to assist the development of their economies.

An enormous amount of assistance was given to Union republics for the purpose of cultural development, boosting education and training qualified staff.

All these measures undertaken by the Union ensured the accelerated pace at which the economy and culture developed in the previously backward national areas, as well as the rapid levelling up of the socio-economic, cultural and political development of all the peoples.

Lenin once said: "Look at the map of the RSFSR. There is room for dozens of large civilised states in those vast areas which lie to the north of Vologda, the south-east of Rostov-on-Don and Saratov, the south of Orenburg and Omsk, and the north of Tomsk. They are a realm of patriarchalism, and semi- and downright barbarism."<sup>1</sup>

The formerly backward national periphery has now changed beyond recognition. National republics, highly developed economically and

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<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, "The Tax in Kind", *Collected Works*, Vol. 32, p. 349-50.

culturally, have now sprung up and are contributing to the development of the economy and culture of the country as a whole.

Among the peoples of the Soviet Union that made the gigantic leap from backwardness to progress some 30 million people moved on to socialism, by-passing the capitalist stage. Nationalities that were previously at a low stage of historical development, ignorant or nearly ignorant of mechanised production, now possess a modern industry and a substantial, productive agriculture.

Breathtaking changes have occurred in the lives of the minority peoples of Siberia and the Soviet Far East. In 1922-23 there was no industry at all in the national regions of the Far North, the Upper Altai and Khakassia, and in the Buryat and Yakut ASSRs there was a total of eight rudimentary enterprises. Today, however, all the Autonomous republics and regions are industrial areas. Some 200 major industrial enterprises, equipped with modern technology, are operating in ten national areas alone. As a result of the triumph of socialism and with the help, first and foremost, of the Russian working class, the Buryats, Yakuts, Tuvins, Khakassians, Evenks, Koryaks, Nentsy, Chukchi, Nivkhs, Khanty and other nationalities accomplished the leap from backwardness to socialist progress, from a natural economy to large-scale production.

Every Soviet nation, large or small, makes a worthy contribution towards creating the material and technical base of communism and the cultural values of socialism. The enormous socio-economic gains of the country as a whole and of each of its republics have been achieved

thanks to the internationalist cooperation and the constant mutual assistance of all the peoples of the USSR.

Industry in the Russian Federation now possesses all the modern sectors of production. It accounts for roughly half of the Union's production of pig iron, steel, rolled metal, coal, gas, mineral fertiliser, metal-cutting lathes and sulphuric acid, and for some two-thirds of its electrical power, chemical plant, cement and so on. For some types of output, the republic's contribution goes even higher.

The RSFSR consists of ten economic regions, and in each of them a large-scale multisectoral economy has been set up.

The Ukrainian SSR is a vital fuel and metallurgical base for the country. It is a major area for engineering of all kinds, for the chemical and food industries, and for light industry. The republic produces almost half the metallurgical plant and a large quantity of metal-cutting lathes, road vehicles, tractors, and electrical and other equipment.

One Soviet tractor in five, one metal-cutting lathe in eight, over 40 per cent of the country's potash fertiliser and one metre in ten of its linen fabric are produced in Byelorussia. The republic's industry is a major producer of computers, radio and television sets, and synthetic fibre.

Kazakhstan has become one of the country's most highly developed industrial centres. It now comes third in the USSR (after the RSFSR and the Ukraine) in terms of industrial output. Since the time when the USSR was formed, Kazakhstan's industrial output has grown by a factor of 600.

Kazakhstan's immense natural resources have led to the creation of major centres of ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy, and to the rapid development of power engineering and the oil, chemical and petrochemical industry. Kazakhstan is the country's third largest producer of coal (after the Donbas and the Kuzbas).

The Kirghiz SSR has become a republic with a multisectoral industry. It produces oil, gas, coal, non-ferrous metals, electric motors, metal-cutting lathes, agricultural machinery and equipment. The republic's output is exported to more than 70 countries.

Before the Revolution Uzbekistan was a remote and backward province of tsarist Russia, but today it is a gigantic textile mill, an area with a rapidly growing chemical industry, and a highly developed engineering centre. The Uzbek SSR contains major fuel and energy resources, and is known for its ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy and its chemical, petrochemical and engineering industries. The republic generates over seven times more electrical energy than the whole of tsarist Russia produced in 1913. The exploitation of the Gaziya, Jarkak, etc., gas deposits has turned Uzbekistan into a major supplier of natural gas.

Equally striking changes have occurred in the cultural field. Today in Uzbekistan there are more specialists with a higher or secondary specialised education than there were at the end of the twenties in the whole of the Soviet Union.

In Turkmenia there were just a few dozen cottage workshops before the Revolution. An oil-processing, a chemical and a petrochemical industries have been set up in the Turkmen

SSR during the Soviet period, and natural gas and cement are also produced. The production of oil, gas, sulphur, sodium sulphate and cotton fibre is of national importance.

Tajikistan has made gigantic economic strides. The republic generates over 3,000 million kilowatt-hours of electrical power every year. One of the largest hydroelectric power stations in the USSR, with a capacity of 2.7 million kilowatts, is being built here at Nurek. The production of various kinds of machinery and equipment, cement, fabric and food products has been considerably developed in the republic. Tajikistan comes second in the USSR in terms of cotton production.

In his report on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the USSR Leonid Brezhnev said: "Look at Central Asia and Kazakhstan today! You will find more than first-class cotton fields in Uzbekistan and Turkmenia, the once fallow lands of the Kazakhs under crop, and flowering orchards and new livestock farms in Kirghizia and Tajikistan. Today, these republics are famed for a host of large, modern, beautiful cities, such as Tashkent, Alma-Ata, Dushanbe, Frunze and Ashkhabad. There you will find large centres of metallurgy, mining and heavy industry, such as Jezkazgan and Karaganda, Pavlodar and Navoi and first-rate hydraulic engineering, such as the Nurek Hydroelectric Power Station and the Karakum Canal. Central Asia and Kazakhstan have become major producers of oil and gas, chemicals and modern machines."<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> L. I. Brezhnev, *Following Lenin's Course*, Moscow, 1975, p. 65.

Modern Azerbaijan is a republic not only of oil and gas, but also of highly developed ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy, the chemical and petrochemical industries, oil engineering and the electrical engineering and instrument-making industries.

In the Georgian SSR ferrous metallurgy, various kinds of engineering, the chemical and petrochemical industries and a number of other sectors have all been developed. The republic's engineering enterprises produce mainline electric locomotives, lorries, instruments, metal-cutting lathes and other plant. One Soviet mainline electric locomotive in three is built in Georgia. One ton in four of the country's manganese ore comes from Georgian mines.

A high level of development has been achieved by industry, agriculture, science and culture in Moldavia, Armenia, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania.

The fusion of the economic possibilities and resources of all the republics accelerates the development of each of them—both the smallest and the largest. One can only talk of the economic development of a particular republic as an independent factor if one bears in mind, firstly, that the economies of the various republics are an integral part of the economy of the whole country and, secondly, that in the development of any sector of the republics' economies (or even of each individual enterprise) a part, in one form or another, is played by many other peoples.

The all-Union division of labour causes the economies of the individual republics to specialise in the direction of the best possible use of natural resources, manpower and the skills of

available staff. But, on the other hand, the policy of levelling up the economic development of the individual republics of the USSR calls for a comprehensive approach towards developing the economies of the republics and economic regions.

All-Union management and planning have made it possible to adopt a rational approach towards the siting of productive forces and to ensure economic leeway, and have enabled co-operation and specialisation to be deepened, giving rise to an overall benefit that is far in excess of just the sum of its parts (the efforts of each republic, region and district).

While contributing as much as it can to the country's common development fund, each republic receives everything it needs to ensure its own progress. The Ukraine, for instance, sends other republics a considerable proportion of the ferrous rolled metal, coal, iron ore, machinery and assorted plant that it produces. In return, it receives from the other republics the bulk of the oil products and timber material that it requires, many kinds of engineering products, instruments and so on.

Enterprises situated in Byelorussia send other republics 90 per cent of the mineral fertiliser, machine tools, motorcycles, scooters, transformers and chemical fibre that they produce, as well as 75 per cent of their tractors, road vehicles and bearings. But the Byelorussian economy itself could not develop if it were not supplied with metal and coal from the Ukraine, oil products from Azerbaijan and Tataria, and many kinds of machinery and electrical equipment from the RSFSR and the Baltic republics, and so on.

Recent years have seen a growing contribution from the Central Asian republics as regards supplying the country with natural gas. Uzbekistan, for example, sends the bulk of the gas it produces to other republics through five pipelines, including the world's largest—the pipelines running from Bukhara to the Urals and from Central Asia to the Central Region. Tajikistan sends the other republics 80-90 per cent of cotton, silk fabrics, concentrated non-ferrous metal ore, tinned fruit and vegetables, wine and so on.

The deepening of the peoples' fraternal co-operation is closely linked with their selfless mutual assistance.

The inequality of the different people that was inherited from the past was eliminated in the course of socialist construction through the implementation of the Leninist nationalities policy. The levelling up of the economic development of the different nations and nationalities was a powerful factor for the socio-political progress of the socialist society.

The policy of an accelerated economic, cultural and socio-political development for the outlying national areas was adopted by the Party at the initiative of Lenin. As Leonid Brezhnev has commented, "The Party was aware that this task could be successfully carried out only if massive, all-round assistance were given to the once oppressed nations and nationalities by the more advanced parts of the country, above all, by the Russian people and its working class.

"Such assistance, the readiness to put in a great effort and even, putting it plainly, to make sacrifices so as to overcome the backwardness

of the outlying national areas and help them to develop faster was the behest that Lenin required the proletariat of Russia to perform as a prime internationalist duty. The Russian working class and the Russian people have fulfilled this duty with honour. This was, in effect, a great achievement by a whole class, a whole people, performed in the name of internationalism. This heroic exploit will never be forgotten by the peoples of our country."<sup>1</sup>

The enormous strides in economic development that have occurred through the successful fulfilment of the five-year plans have paved the way for a fundamental improvement in the siting of the country's productive forces. This enables the untold natural wealth of the eastern regions to be utilised rationally, and assists the further levelling up of the economic development of individual regions in the country.

Side by side with the Soviet republics' enormous economic successes goes the comprehensive development of national cultures. For example, in 1906 of every 1,000 people living in Kazakhstan less than 20 could read and write. The pre-revolutionary journal *Vestnik Vospitaniya* (Educational Herald) predicted that it would take 4,600 years to end illiteracy in the area. The socialist system enabled the Kazakh people to attain universal literacy in just a few decades. In pre-revolutionary Kazakhstan there was not a single institute, while nowadays the republic has more than 40 higher educational establishments and some 180 secondary special-

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<sup>1</sup> L. I. Brezhnev, *Following Lenin's Course*, Moscow, 1975, p. 63.

ised training centres with a total of more than 350,000 students. The republic's economy now employs 2½ times as many specialists with a higher education than there were in the whole of tsarist Russia in 1913. Academies of sciences with many research institutes and skilled staff are doing research in the Union republics. Books, magazines and newspapers are produced in massive printings in 89 languages of the USSR, including 43 languages spoken by peoples and nationalities who had no system of writing before the Revolution.

The development of culture in the Union republics is taking place on the fruitful basis of mutual enrichment. This progressive process helps all that is remarkable, vigorous and colourful in national creativity to become the common, internationalist birthright of all the fraternal peoples. There is a growing need for a profound study of world culture and of the achievements of the national cultures of the peoples of the USSR.

As Leonid Brezhnev has said, "Summing up the heroic accomplishments of the past half-century, we have every reason to say that the national question, as it came down to us from the past, has been settled completely, finally and for good. This is an accomplishment which may rightly be ranked with such victories in building the new society in the USSR as industrialisation, collectivisation and the cultural revolution."<sup>1</sup>

In the socio-political field, this meant the complete elimination of class and national op-

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<sup>1</sup> L. I. Brezhnev, *Following Lenin's Course*, Moscow, 1975, p. 62.

pression, the equality of the peoples in all spheres of social life, the nations' exercise of their right to self-determination, the formation of new, socialist nations, and the welding of them into a powerful and indissoluble alliance—the USSR.

In the economic field, the chief result was the formation of an interconnected complex that includes the economies of the republics and is developing according to a unified state plan for the benefit of the whole country and each republic individually. All the republics have a highly developed industry and a large-scale mechanised agriculture, and so the former economic inequality existing between the nations has been ended.

As regards culture and intellectual life, unprecedented progress has been achieved in the education, science and culture of working people belonging to all the nationalities. Soviet culture, socialist in content, national in form and internationalist in spirit, has taken shape and blossomed in the USSR. It incorporates the most valuable features and traditions of the culture and way of life of each of the peoples in the country. At the same time, none of the Soviet national cultures draws entirely on its own native resources; they also draw on the spiritual wealth of the other peoples, influencing and enriching them, in turn. Common, internationalist features are becoming more and more apparent in the variety of national forms taken by Soviet socialist culture. It is thus an organic fusion of the spiritual wealth created by all the peoples. Russian has become the *lingua franca* of all the nations and nationalities living in the Soviet Union.

In the ideological field, the Marxist-Leninist world outlook and the ideas of the friendship of peoples have been totally victorious against chauvinist and nationalist ideas. The friendship of working people, united, irrespective of nationality, by their common class interests and aims, is a product of socialist society and has grown stronger. Unprecedented relations have taken shape—relations that can only be called friendship between peoples. This is a priceless possession. It is one of the most remarkable gains of socialism and is infinitely cherished by every citizen of the Soviet Union.

Speaking about national relationships in a mature socialist society, Leonid Brezhnev pointed out, in his report marking the 50th anniversary of the USSR, that the selection of the correct paths of development for individual nations and nationalities, and the correct combination of the interests of each of them with the common interests of the Soviet people as a whole was one of the objective problems raised by the development of Soviet society.

The appearance of new industrial centres, the discovery and exploitation of natural resources, the ploughing up of the virgin lands, and the development of all forms of transport—all increase the mobility of the population, help to boost communication between the peoples of the Soviet Union, bridge the gaps between the socialist nations and make them more socially homogeneous. The expansion of mutual communication between the nations and their further drawing closer together are objectively bringing about a situation in which the population of the Soviet republics is becoming increasingly multinational. Between 1959 and

1970, for example, the proportion of the indigenous nationality in the population declined and the proportion of other nationalities increased in the RSFSR, the Ukraine, Moldavia, Latvia and Estonia. At present, the proportion of the indigenous nationality is less than 70 per cent in Uzbekistan, Georgia, Moldavia, Turkmenia and Estonia; less than 60 per cent in Tajikistan and Latvia; less than half in Kirghizia, and less than a third in Kazakhstan.

The borders between the Union republics in the USSR are coming to mean less and less, since all the nations have equal rights and their lives are built on a single socialist basis. Soviet people of different nationalities are united by common features in their spiritual make-up, which have been generated by the new type of social relationship and which have embodied the best traditions of the peoples of the USSR. Joint work, the struggle for socialism and battles to defend it have given rise to new, harmonious relations between classes and social groups, nations and nationalities—relations of friendship and cooperation.

The current stage in the development of Soviet society is marked by close and multilateral cooperation between the peoples and by the strengthening of the indissoluble bonds of friendship and brotherhood. Even in a developed socialist society national relations are a reality that is constantly evolving and posing fresh problems and tasks. Consequently, the Party focuses constant attention on matters affecting national relations and promptly resolves any problems for the benefit of the whole country and each individual republic, and in the interests of communist construction.

When accomplishing these tasks, the Party is guided fully by Lenin's advice that it is essential to devote maximal attention to the development of each nation and to its interests.

The CPSU struggles resolutely against all manifestations of nationalist tendencies, which are frequently intertwined with parochial attitudes.

It also exposes bourgeois propaganda attempts to exaggerate and encourage survivals of nationalism from the past.

Problems affecting national relations which arise in the course of communist construction are resolved in the Soviet state from the standpoint of proletarian internationalism and on the basis of the strict implementation of Lenin's nationalities policy. This policy proceeds from the view that the progress of the Soviet nations is ensured not only by the fullest development of the creative resources of each of them individually, but also by the all-round use of the fraternal assistance and experience of the other peoples.

Profound internationalism and patriotism, respect for national dignity, and a feeling of friendship and brotherhood are inherent in Soviet people, who are all workers in a single multinational socialist society.

The resolution of the nationalities question in the USSR is an inspiring example for all peoples throughout the world. The experience of the Soviet Union offers visual evidence of the fact that only socialism brings genuine equality and freedom to large and small nations and nationalities.

The successful implementation of Lenin's nationalities policy played the decisive role in the

formation of that new historical community—the Soviet people.

This community is not a new ethnic formation, but represents a unique socio-class and internationalist integration of the members of a developed socialist society.

The unique feature of the new historical community is the organic combination of the internationalist and the national in mutual relations between the nations and nationalities. Moreover, the historical features of the development of nations and nationalities do not disappear. Continuity with all that is progressive in a particular nation or nationality's history is maintained, while all that is obsolete and reactionary is rejected. Specific national interests are carefully borne in mind and are smoothly combined with the internationalist interests of all the peoples.

Since the Soviet Union is a single multinational state, the friendship and cooperation between its nations have given rise to broad possibilities for the development and consolidation of common internationalist features among the whole Soviet people.

The further drawing together of the nations and nationalities in the USSR is an objective process.

As Leonid Brezhnev has emphasised, "The Party is against hastening the process: there is no need for that, since it is dictated by the entire course of our Soviet life. At the same time, the Party rules out any attempt to hold it up, to impede it on some pretext, or to give undue emphasis to national distinctiveness, because this would go against the general line of development of our society, the internation-

alist ideals and the ideology of Communists, the interests of communist construction."<sup>1</sup>

The Communist Party is unswervingly pursuing Lenin's policy of strengthening the USSR and all forms of Soviet national statehood, and is doing everything that is necessary to further strengthen the internationalist unity of the Soviet peoples.

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The communist future of mankind is a socio-economic entity that is not divided by national and state borders. Its foundations are being laid today, in the course of socialist and communist construction and in the relations between the countries of the world socialist community.

"The socialist movement," Lenin said, "cannot triumph within the old framework of the fatherland. It creates new and superior forms of human society, in which the legitimate needs and progressive aspirations of the working masses of *each* nationality will, for the first time, be met through international unity, provided existing national partitions are removed."<sup>2</sup>

History has fully confirmed the vitality of these Marxist-Leninist principles for interstate relations of a new type, which entirely meet the objective requirements of the times and derive from the conditions of socialist construction in each country and from the development of the world socialist community as a whole. The development and improvement of cooperation

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<sup>1</sup> L. I. Brezhnev, *Following Lenin's Course*, p. 77.

<sup>2</sup> V. I. Lenin, "The Position and Tasks of the Socialist International", *Collected Works*, Vol. 21, pp. 38-39.

between the socialist countries are being conducted in strict accordance with the principles of socialist internationalism and on the basis of respect and scrupulous observance of the sovereignty, independence and international interests of each country, complete equality and comradely mutual assistance.

The cohesion of the socialist states' national and internationalist interests is embodied in the organic interaction of the objective development and drawing together of individual national economies, in the deepening of the international socialist division of labour, and in the combination of the international specialisation of production and the comprehensive, multilateral development of the economies of individual socialist countries.

The struggle to consolidate world socialism and to ensure peace and international security accords with the vital interests and aspirations of the masses and provides powerful backing to the world's revolutionary and progressive forces. The growing influence of the whole socialist community on the course of human development is expressed in the socialist states' peace-loving foreign policy.

This policy has a class and internationalist character. It greatly assists the cohesion and the consolidation of the positions of the world socialist system, the international working movement and the national liberation movement. As Leonid Brezhnev puts it, "The successful development of our socialist community as a whole and of each socialist country individually is, of course, the main prerequisite for the effectiveness of our class international policy. The cohesion of the socialist countries and close

cooperation lie at the bedrock of everything that has been achieved by us in the field of easing tensions.

"Concern for the development of friendship and cooperation with the fraternal countries has been a permanent organic part of all the activities of our Party."<sup>1</sup>

The current international situation is marked by substantial positive changes. Thanks to the active policies and initiative of the CPSU and the Communist and Workers' Parties in the fraternal socialist countries, the world is turning away from the cold war towards détente, and the principles of the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems are becoming ever more firmly established. Favourable conditions have taken shape for developing broad cooperation between the states of Europe. The socialist states wish the results of the European Conference to reliably ensure the security of all the countries in Europe and to help to extend their peaceful economic, scientific, technological and cultural cooperation and to resolve the various human problems. The system of interstate relations in Europe can and must set an example of peaceful coexistence. There are growing prospects for the establishment of lasting peace in Asia. The Soviet Union was the first country to propose a collective security system for the region.

A vital factor in changes in the international situation has always been the Leninist foreign policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state. As Leonid Brezhnev says, "From the first foreign-

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<sup>1</sup> L. I. Brezhnev, *Our Course: Peace and Socialism*, Moscow, 1974, p. 118.

policy act of Soviet power—the Decree on Peace—to the Peace Programme of the 24th Congress of the CPSU, our Party and state have steadily adhered to the main guidelines of struggle for peace and for the freedom and security of the peoples.”<sup>1</sup>

A great part in relaxing international tension and in strengthening world peace and security has been played by the visits paid by CC CPSU General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev to France, West Germany, the USA and India, the talks he had there, and his personal contribution to the international struggle for peace, democracy and social progress.

A just and universal peace will be consolidated through the joint efforts of the socialist countries and all progressive forces, and further successes will be gained in the struggle to safeguard the vital interests of the peoples.

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<sup>1</sup> L. I. Brezhnev, *Following Lenin's Course*, Moscow, 1975, p. 80.

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**This book by V. S. Shevtsov (Doctor of Law) traces the growth of the CPSU's guiding role in the developed socialist society and examines vital aspects of the political organisation of Soviet society, the place occupied in it by the Communist Party and the state, and the various issues involved in expanding socialist democracy and in national and state development.**