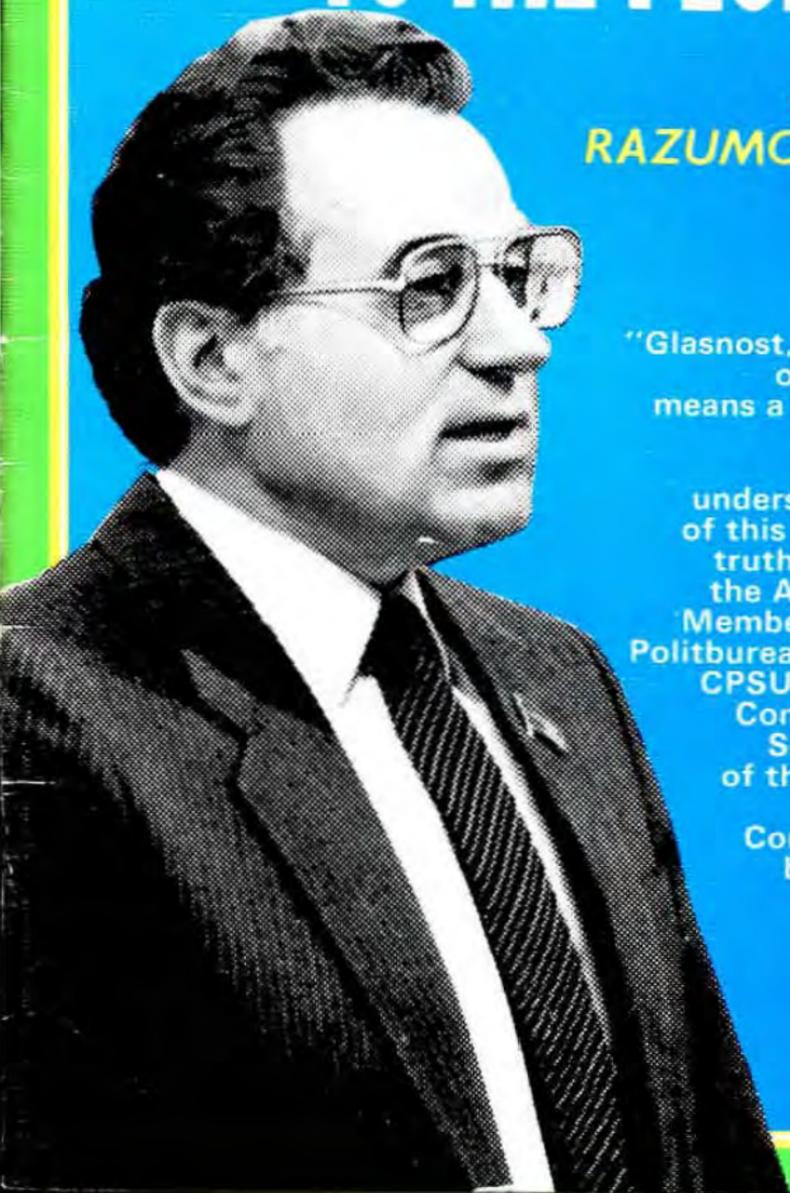


Expert Opinion

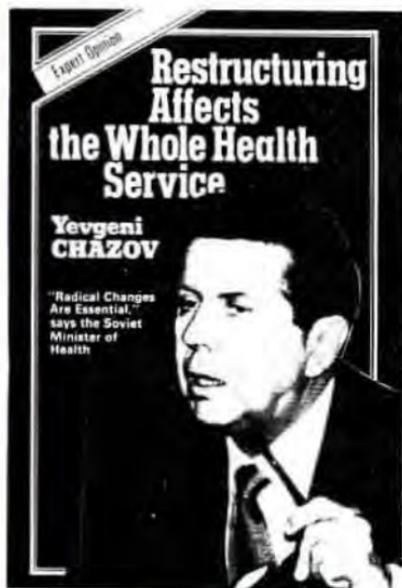
# THE PARTY IS ACCOUNTABLE TO THE PEOPLE

Georgi  
**RAZUMOVSKY**



"Glasnost, openness means a decisive turn to an understanding of this Leninist truth by all," the Alternate Member of the Politbureau of the CPSU Central Committee, Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee believes.

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## **THE FURTHER ENLIVENING OF THE WORK OF PARTY ORGANIZATIONS**

is the subject of the interview Georgi Razumovsky, Alternate Member of the Politbureau of the CPSU Central Committee, Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, granted to an APN correspondent.

The more far-reaching and extensive in character the process of restructuring, the more the success of the revolutionary updating in all spheres of society's life will depend on the energy, perseverance and inspiring example of the Leninist Party. The Party that has initiated these changes now numbers over 19 million members, which is one-tenth of the country's adult population. In this context the improvement of the work of party organizations and their leading bodies is now a top-priority task.

The preparations for and the holding of the 19th All-Union Party Conference are expected to give a major impetus to the Party in influencing the restructuring process. An important stage on the way to the conference were the reports about their work as leaders of the restructuring delivered by party committees and bureaus.



**The 19th All-Union Party Conference is due to meet in July 1988. What will it signify in the life of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union?**

The forthcoming All-Union Party Conference is a momentous political event for the Party and the country. It will make a comprehensive analysis of the progress achieved in implementing the decisions adopted by the 27th CPSU Congress, the main results of the first half of the twelfth five-year plan, the tasks of the party organizations in promoting the process of restructuring and also the measures to further democratize the life of the Party and society as a whole.

Party committees are endeavouring to use the preparations for the conference to raise the effectiveness of the work of party organizations and laying special emphasis on cementing the party ranks, consolidating the unity of the Party and the people and boosting the restructuring process.

As the CPSU sees it, one of its major tasks is to raise the political culture of the party cadres, to foster their ability to work efficiently, to lead people in the conditions of more extensive democracy, broad openness and their growing social and labour activity.

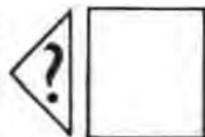


**What is the reason for elective party bodies reporting to Communists precisely now, during the preparations for the 19th All-Union Party Conference?**

The submission by party organs of reports about their work to the committees or meetings of Communists that elected them is one of the binding norms of party life and a specific expression of the collectivist and profoundly democratic nature of our Party. It follows from the fundamental principle upon which the organizational structure, life and work of

the Party is based—the principle of democratic centralism. This is how Lenin's thesis that "all officials, all leading bodies, and all institutions of the Party are subject to election, are responsible to their constituents, and are subject to recall" is being implemented. Being the core of the political system of Soviet society, the Party sets an example by strictly abiding by the principles of socialist democracy and organizing all its activities on a profoundly democratic foundation. This is one of the concrete ways in which its leading and guiding role is manifested. It will be recalled that the 27th CPSU Congress set the task of enhancing the role of collective bodies, i.e. plenary meetings of party committees, bureaus and party meetings, including in the matter of controlling the activities of leading cadres.

**What do you see as the most significant feature of the elective bodies' reports about their work in guiding the restructuring?**



Speaking of the reports heard at the end of 1987 and the beginning of 1988, I would like to stress that these were of special importance, because they came at a highly significant time for the Party and the country. The first stage of the restructuring, i.e. the elaboration of its ideological, theoretical and organizational platform and the choice of the directions and methods of work, has been completed in the main. The second stage has begun which involves wedding the Party's policy of restructuring to life and translating it into daily practice. At this stage the Party's multifaceted political, ideological and organizational activity acquires added importance and the responsibility devolving on all its links for the implementation of the programme for the revolutionary renovation of all spheres and aspects of our society increases. It is

vitaly important that the content and methods of work of party organizations, their leading bodies and the Party as a whole should fully conform to the character, scale and novelty of the tasks facing them.



**This process began in April 1985, didn't it?**

It is necessary to deepen and advance the positive processes launched after April 1985, to enhance the activity of all party members and its leading cadres, to give fresh impetus to the creative energy of the masses, to dispel the inertia and indifference to which many of them have succumbed. This is the substance of the next big step which we are to make now.

The political implications of the reports are determined by the need for invigorating the activity of all links and levels in the Party, and overcoming the lagging of a number of party committees behind the dynamic development of life. Without a steep activation of the life of all party organizations the restructuring cannot be accomplished.

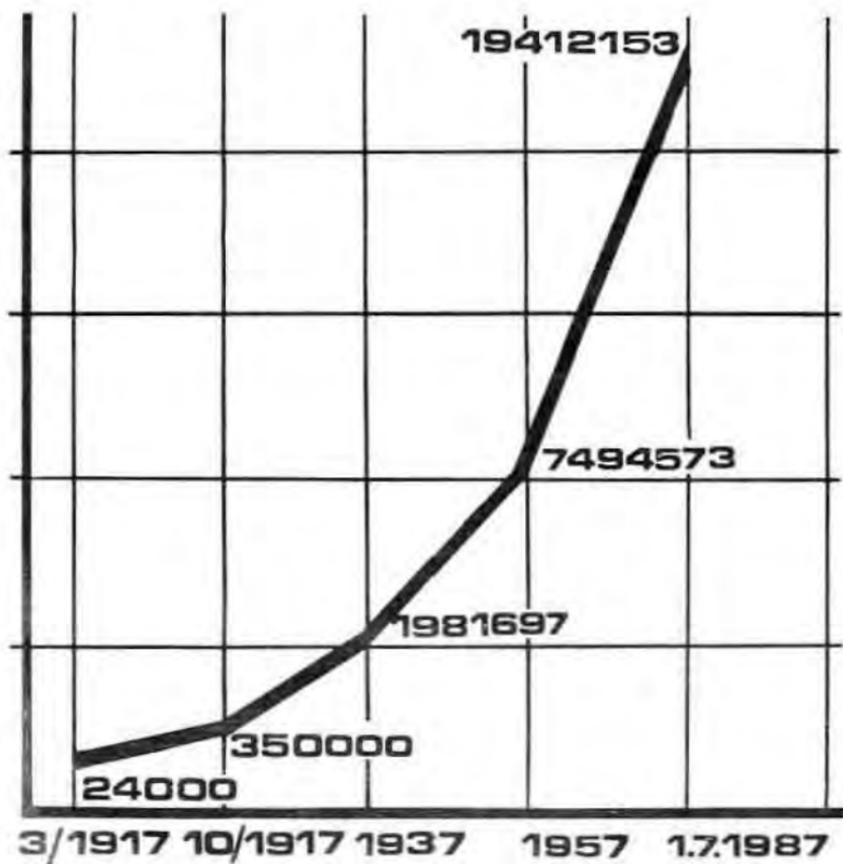
The success of the restructuring will hinge decisively on how quickly and deeply our cadres realize the need for revolutionary changes and how resolutely, energetically and competently they act. What is required of them now is creative activity, initiative, the ability to generate new ideas and approaches supported by a wealth of profound theoretical and practical knowledge.



**Could you draw any conclusions and identify the most salient features of the reports?**

There are grounds for saying that in the majority of areas this campaign was waged in the spirit of Bolshevik frankness, openness, constructive criticism and self-criticism, deep analysis of the activity of

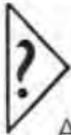
## Growth of CPSU Membership



leading party bodies and in general has well served the purpose outlined when the decision on hearing reports was adopted.

This was facilitated by the fact that the preparations for reports in the majority of organizations were made on a broad democratic foundation with the participation of many members of party committees and rank-and-file Communists. As a rule, special groups were formed from among them which studied various aspects of party work, the activity of members of elective bodies, the views of the broad public and also analyzed the letters sent to them. Many party committees started well in advance to circulate theses of reports throughout the localities, published them in the press and invited Communists and working people to make their remarks and proposals. Meetings with workers and collective farmers, party and labour veterans and specialists were held. Members of elective party bodies reported on their work at party organizations and in work collectives.

All this met with broad public response, fostered an appropriate mood in party organizations and drew the working people's attention to the preparations for plenums and meetings.



**How active were rank-and-file Communists in the discussions?**

As a rule, plenums and meetings were distinguished by the keen interest of their participants in the questions under discussion, by a principled stand in assessing the activity of elective bodies and their secretaries. Thus, 21 persons took the floor at the plenary session of the Moscow Regional Party Committee. None of them minced words in assessing the work of bureau members and spoke of what had to be done so that the restructuring develop along a

broad front and deeply penetrate all facets of life. It was an open and frank talk keyed by the concern for enhancing the efficiency of the regional party organization.

Significantly, the participants in the plenums and meetings concentrated on shortcomings and weak points in the activity of elective bodies. Hard-hitting criticism was levelled at those who have not discarded the old methods of work and who tolerate complacency, red tape, parasitism and levelling. There have been many fruitful attempts to relate the work of each member of a bureau or party committee to the progress of restructuring in the sector entrusted to him: whether tangible results have been achieved in the economic, social and cultural spheres and perceptible progress made in promoting democracy, strengthening order and discipline, attaining better working and living conditions for working people and improving their well-being. The criticisms made were concrete and personal. By way of example we could refer to the plenary session of the Rostov<sup>1</sup> Regional Party Committee. Its participants made many concrete and frank remarks about the work of secretaries and other members of the regional committee. Bureau secretary A. Tyaglivy, for instance, came under fire because in dealing with construction questions he had lost sight of the perspective, had tried to do too many things at once. When visiting the localities, he "reprimands and lectures people and holds out promises" but still things had been improving at a slow pace.

**What questions were taken up during the discussion of reports?**



The discussions centred on improving the style of

<sup>1</sup> Rostov-on-Don is a regional centre in the Russian Federation.

party work. At the plenary meeting of the Yaroslavl<sup>2</sup> Regional Committee of the CPSU it was pointed out, for example, that the regional committee bureau adopted many decisions but did far too little to see that they were carried out or efficiently organize their execution. Unfortunately, the long-held belief in the power of papers, conferences and meetings is a rather widespread shortcoming. This was also discussed at the plenary sessions of the Kiev, Kostroma and Kzyl-Orda<sup>3</sup> regional party committees and many other party committees.

The need for the earliest possible adoption of political methods of guidance was strongly emphasized, although, regrettably, not everywhere. It was pointed out that technocratic, command and pressure stances are being banished from practical party work with difficulty. The question put by tractor driver H. Nigmatullin from the Luch collective farm at the plenary session of the Bashkir<sup>4</sup> regional party committee was characteristic in this respect. He asked: "What will be the primary concern of the regional committee, its bureau and apparatus in dealing with agricultural questions? Will they, at long last, think of the man who lives and works in the countryside, pay attention to his anxieties and needs and assist him?" The dominant theme of many speeches was: the more we concern ourselves with people's education, with man's inner world and the affirmation of high morality, the more successful we shall be in boosting the economy and solving social problems.

This will definitely be one of the themes at the party conference.

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<sup>2</sup> A regional centre in the Russian Federation.

<sup>3</sup> Kiev is the capital of the Ukraine, Kostroma is a regional centre in the Russian Federation and Kzyl-Orda, a regional centre in Kazakhstan.

<sup>4</sup> Bashkir Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic is part of the Russian Federation, capital Ufa.

## Membership of Republican Party Organizations of the CPSU

	1947	1967	1977	1987
Communist Party of the Ukraine	560,718	2,044,191	2,685,902	3,231,360
Communist Party of Byelorussia	84,742	359,595	524,348	679,987
Communist Party of Uzbekistan	122,999	353,841	502,690	652,348
Communist Party of Kazakhstan	203,443	498,065	672,649	824,189
Communist Party of Georgia	152,224	265,730	324,571	389,273
Communist Party of Azerbaijan	105,475	221,694	296,169	384,096
Communist Party of Lithuania	16,202	99,379	150,826	202,413
Communist Party of Moldavia	17,207	99,024	141,831	193,640
Communist Party of Latvia	21,037	107,353	146,930	180,773
Communist Party of Kirghizia	39,568	95,291	111,742	147,381
Communist Party of Tajikistan	26,721	76,001	98,953	124,492
Communist Party of Armenia	56,438	114,535	147,460	191,753
Communist Party of Turkmenistan	31,208	62,679	80,490	111,914
Communist Party of Estonia	12,965	61,722	87,007	111,600



The decisions of the Central Committee pointed out the need for bringing the activity of all party committees up to the level needed to meet the requirements of the new stage in the restructuring. Does this mean that many elective party functionaries will have to cede their posts?

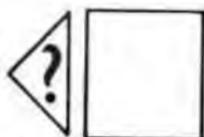
The task set by the CPSU Central Committee—to impart new strength to the Communists and party committees marching in the van of the restructuring and to name those who impede it—was received with profound understanding in the Party and is greatly influencing the course of the campaign. Communists are refusing to put up with passivity, irresponsibility and hollow rhetoric.

For each elective body and for each Communist member of it, this is in fact a test showing how far they are abreast of the times and the requirements of the restructuring, a test they have to take openly and honestly. Some have not survived this test. Here are some figures to illustrate this point. During the plenary sessions and meetings already held the work of the bureaus of a number of district party committees and 2,600 party committees and bureaus of primary organizations was pronounced unsatisfactory. About 200 functionaries who failed in their duties or discredited themselves were withdrawn from the bureaus of city and district committees. Over 57,000 members of party bureaus and committees in primary party organizations were replaced, including over 13,000 secretaries. New party organs were elected, for example, by the Communists of an integrated plant belonging to the Zaporozhstal<sup>5</sup> association, and

<sup>5</sup> S. Ordzhonikidze metallurgical plant in Zaporozhye, regional centre in the Ukraine.

the pilot plant of the Sistema research and production association in Daugavpils<sup>6</sup>. The plenary session of the Kalinin district party committee in Tashauz region of Turkmenistan<sup>7</sup> assessed the work of the bureau of the district committee as unsatisfactory. The first and second secretaries of the district party committee were withdrawn from the bureau and relieved of their posts for reliance on administrative methods in their work, figure juggling and nepotism in personnel selection. These and other examples bespeak shortcomings in the Party's personnel policy.

**Does the second stage of the restructuring impose any new demands on the business qualities of party workers?**



Certainly. Of foremost importance here is their ability to draw correct political conclusions from economic developments. In the economic fact—political conclusion—party solutions chain the central link is frequently missing. This explains the reliance on old forms in the new conditions, the adherence to methods of administration by injunction, paper-work and other cases of formalism. Considerable numbers of party workers fail to see the connection between new economic and political phenomena, but very quickly perceive the deceptive "efficacy" of outright commands and fall into technocraticism forgetting that our Party does not supplant economic management and government bodies.

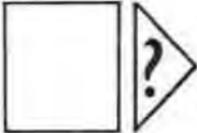
No less important for a party worker is his competence in political work among working people. This is necessitated by the extension of socialist democracy, by political self-government and the rule of the people. One proof of a party worker's competence is

<sup>6</sup> A city in the Latvian SSR.

<sup>7</sup> Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic, capital Ashkhabad.

his ability to educate working people ideologically and a desire to conduct ideological work.

One of the highlights of the present time is the intensive merging of ideological-political, legal, cultural and moral aspects in the education of our cadres. This is dictated by the growth of the political activity and general cultural standards of working people and the diversity of their requirements and interests. The Soviet people want to see their leaders as ideologically tempered fighters, highly cultured people, real exponents of socialist ethics.

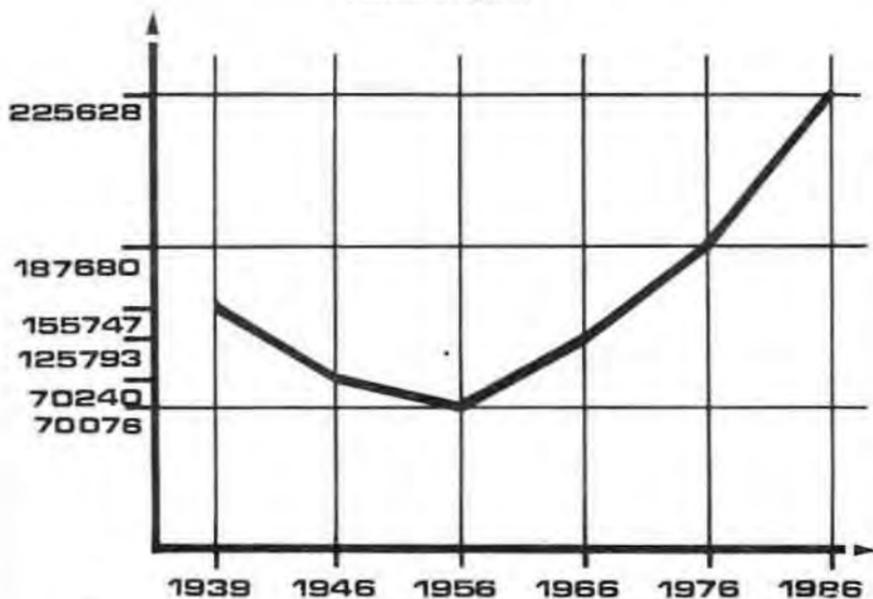


**We know that party work cannot be confined to any particular profession. On the other hand, when definite political functions are discharged continuously, this requires systematic knowledge and reliance on the collective experience of political work among the masses.**

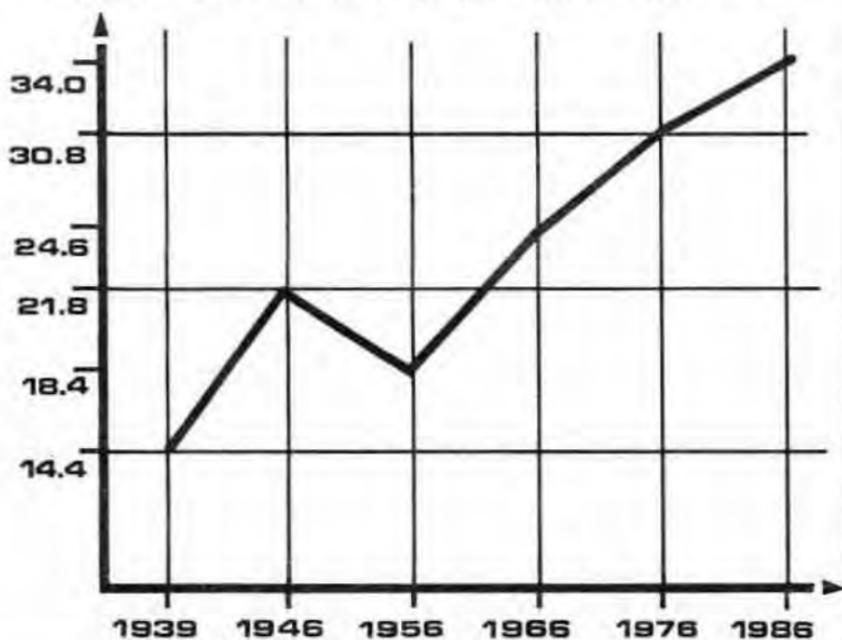
That's right. On the whole, a long-term approach will gain importance in the personnel policy of party committees. We should be able to make well-grounded forecasts about personnel training, to see the prospects for their growth and tendencies which attend it. One of the finest traditions of Leninism is the organized training, well in advance, of contingents of party fighters for revolutionary changes. "And for that very reason the *whole Party* must constantly, steadily and systematically *train* suitable persons for the central bodies, must see clearly, as in the palm of its hand, *all the activities* of every candidate for these high posts, must come to know even their personal characteristics, their strong and weak points, their victories and 'defeats'." This approach formulated by Lenin is still relevant today. Although the conditions of party work have changed tremendously, the substance of the matter is the same.

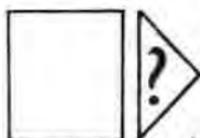
## Number of Women Joining the Party

Absolute figures



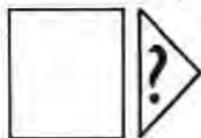
Per cent of the total number of newly admitted candidate members





**What do you expect will be the effect of the active involvement in work of each member of an elective body?**

It would not be an exaggeration to say that enlisting members of elective bodies in active work is one of the most important reserves we have for stepping up the activity of the Party. Indeed, the CPSU has 19.4 million Communists in its ranks. Of these 5.3 million of the most authoritative and experienced comrades are party group leaders, secretaries and members of bureaus of primary and shop party organizations, members of party committees at all levels—from primary organizations to the CPSU Central Committee, and members of the respective auditing commissions. Among them are front-rank workers and collective farmers (these make up 40.6 per cent of all elected activists), engineers and technicians, agricultural specialists, scientists, workers in education, culture and the health service, party and government functionaries and economic executives, and representatives of mass organizations of working people. The broad representation of members of elective party bodies with their diversified experience helps to establish closer ties with the masses and provides broad opportunities for the all-round and thorough examination of the fundamental questions of the life of party organizations, for competent decision-making and the organization of the implementation of the decisions reached.



**Would you say that the available opportunities are used everywhere?**

Regrettably, the role of members of elective bodies is now not properly appreciated. As Academician V. Semenikhin aptly commented at the plenum of the

Moscow City CPSU Committee, it frequently happens that they are assigned the role of "generals at a wedding party", i.e. figureheads. That members of party committees—scientists, specialists, workers or collective farmers—are not enlisted when questions in which they are competent are examined, are not invited to attend the sessions discussing such questions or are not familiarized with the relevant material is patently absurd. Characteristically, truck-driver G. Yermyshko of the Kamchatsky timber enterprise said at the plenary session of the Kamchatka<sup>a</sup> regional party committee: "I am not satisfied with my work as a member of the regional committee".

It has been shown in the reports how badly the practice of forming elective bodies on the principle of positions held rather than personal qualities, political maturity and social activism of those to be elected, tells on the work of these bodies. Meanwhile a leading party body needs active personalities and not just representatives as its members.

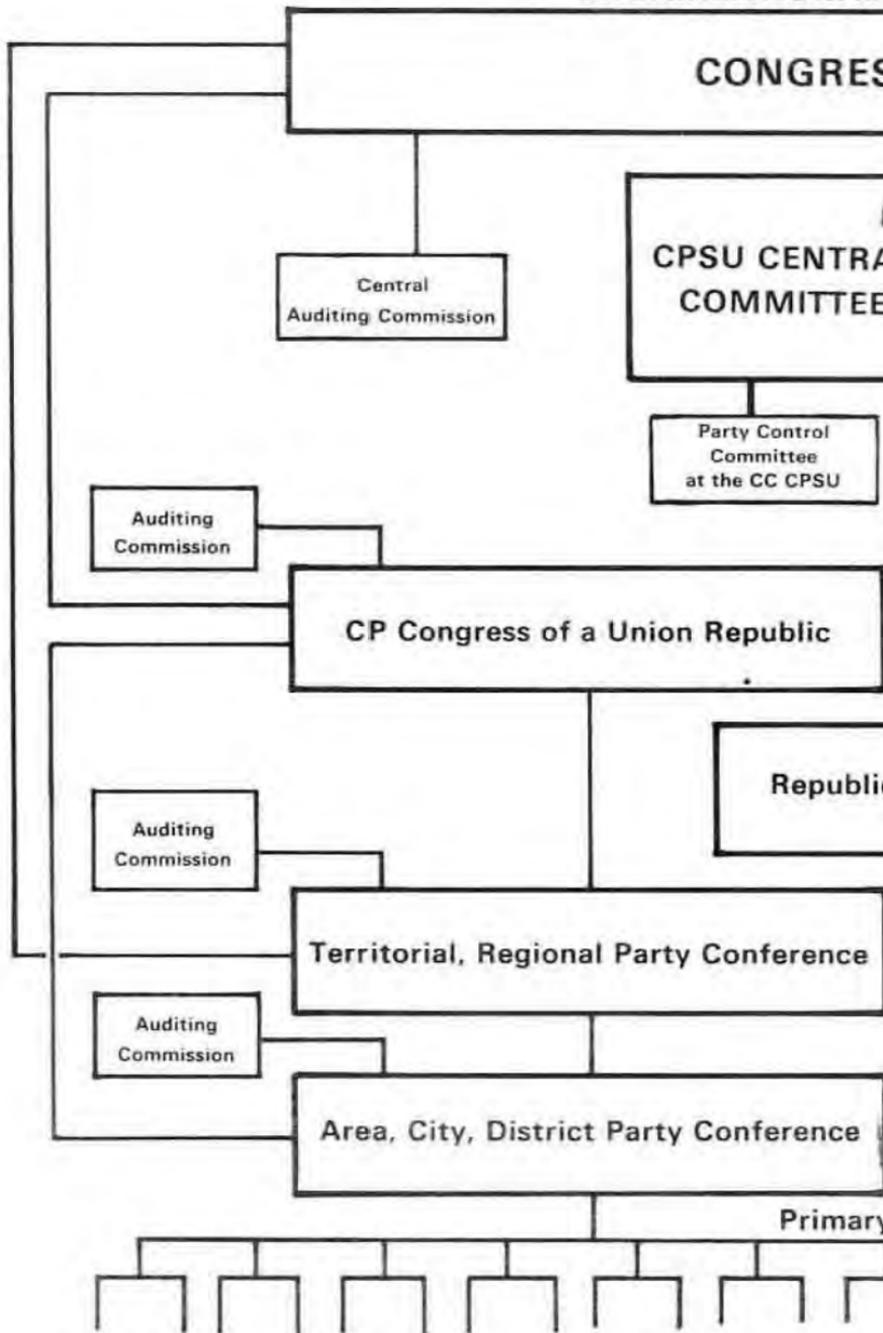
And it so happens that all basic matters are decided by a handful of people, while members of an elective body stand aside. This is a distortion of the fundamental principle of party guidance—collective decision-making, and this tells on the quality of party work. Not a committee attached to a bureau but a bureau fully accountable to a committee—such must be the pattern of relationships in party bodies. I would like to make this special point: a party committee is not a body permanently in session but an acting body. The daily communication of the bureau and secretaries with members of the party committee, regular meetings with them, the fulfilment of the

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<sup>a</sup> Kamchatka is a peninsula in the northeast of the USSR. With the adjoining mainland territory it constitutes the Kamchatka region of the Russian Federation. Petropavlovsk-Kamchatsky is the centre of the region.

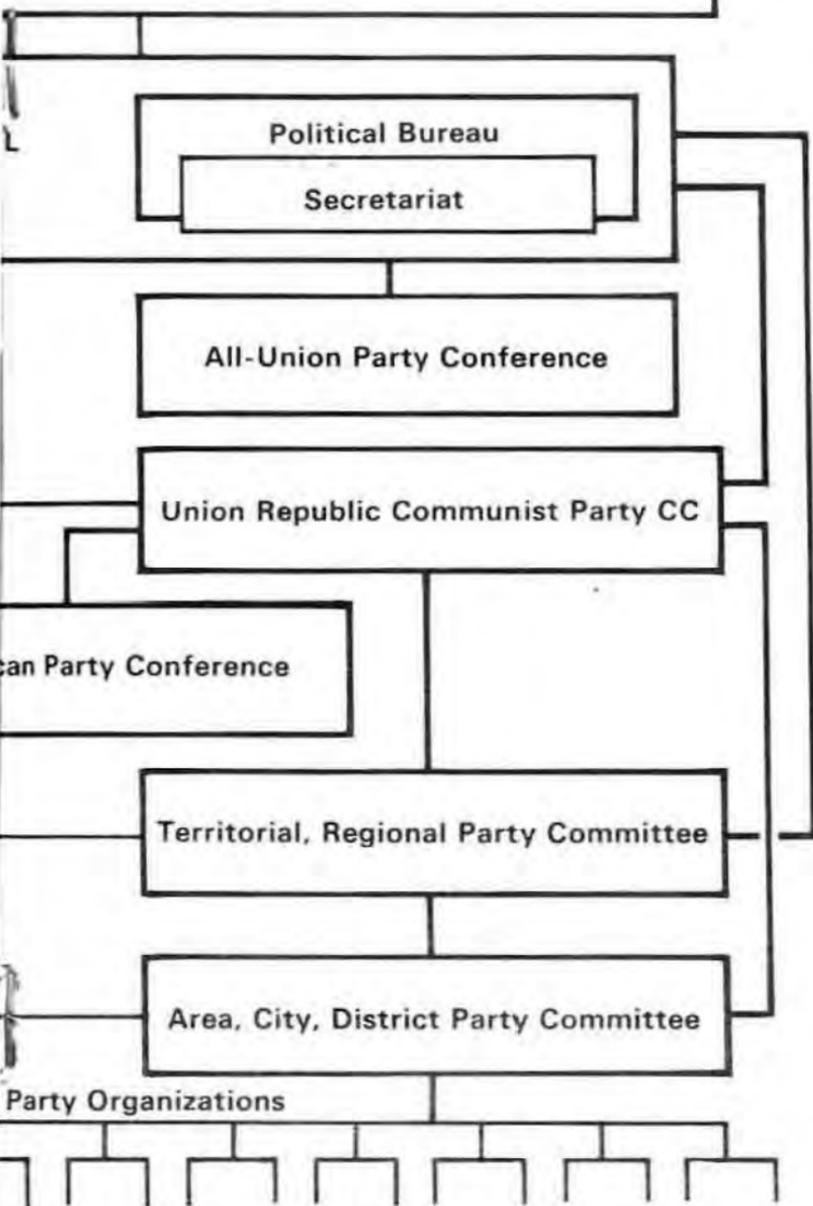
ORGANIZATIONAL

CONGRES



# STRUCTURE OF THE CPSU

## ORGANIZATION OF THE CPSU



concrete assignments of the committee by members of an elective body and their direct participation in the work of summing up the experience of party work and drafting proposals must become a standard part of the work of party committees.



**Can it be said that the local party organizations are guiding the democratization process and the implementation of the radical economic reform?**

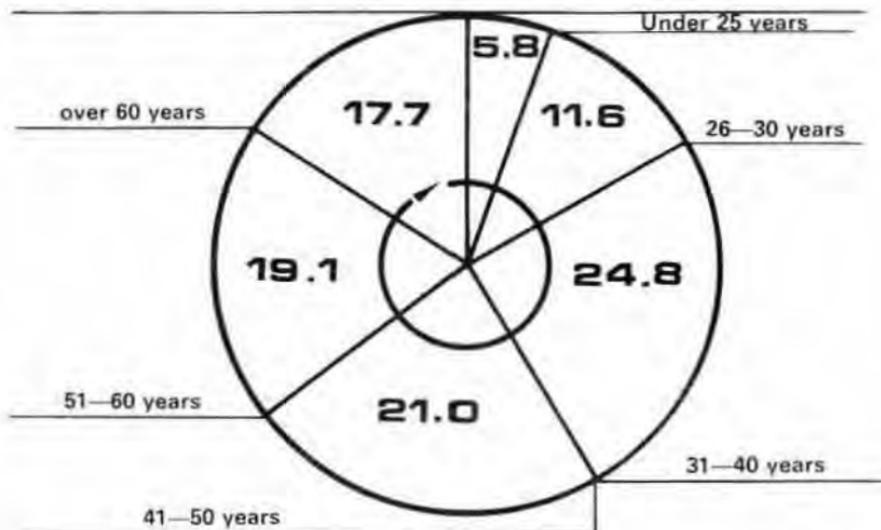
I would like first of all to note with satisfaction that the majority of party organizations realize the complexity of these problems and the extent of their responsibility for their solution. At plenary sessions and meetings in the Leningrad, Belgorod, Voronezh, Irkutsk, Tula and Kharkov<sup>9</sup> regional and other party organizations it was stressed that the developing processes of democratization, the introduction of new methods of running the economy require different approaches to the organization of party work.

This is easier said than done. The transfer of enterprises to operation on the principles of full profit-and-loss accounting and self-financing is very complicated. It is important to teach people to work successfully in these conditions, to make sure that each worker knows perfectly well what is required of him and of the collective he works in, and competently solves the tasks confronting him. However, these matters are not always treated in a responsible way. People resent it when their counsel is not sought and their legitimate requests are ignored. This

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<sup>9</sup> Leningrad is a regional centre in the Russian Federation. Second in importance after Moscow as an industrial, scientific and cultural centre in the country. Belgorod, Voronezh, Irkutsk and Tula are regional centres in the Russian Federation. Kharkov is a regional centre in the Ukraine.

**Age Composition of Full and  
Candidate Party Members  
(As of January 1, 1987) (Percentage of the total)**



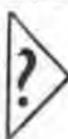
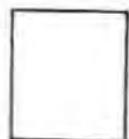
was the case, for example, at the Yaroslavl motor works where the executives approved the time-table of the work of some shops without the participation of the collective. At the Aktyubinskselemash<sup>10</sup> plant 40 per cent of workers polled before the party meeting pointed out that nothing had been done in their shops to prepare them for work in the new conditions. A. Bogdan, engine driver of the Makhachkala<sup>11</sup> locomotive depot, said at a plenary session of the Daghestan<sup>12</sup> regional party committee: "So far we have no idea of how our enterprise is going to be transferred to operation on the principles of full profit-and-loss accounting and self-financing."

<sup>10</sup> Agricultural machinery plant in Aktyubinsk (regional centre in Kazakhstan).

<sup>11</sup> The capital of the Daghestan ASSR.

<sup>12</sup> Daghestan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, part of the Russian Federation.

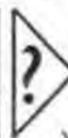
All this causes concern, especially considering the fact that the enterprises producing 60 per cent of industrial output have been operating in the new way since the beginning of this year. In these circumstances there must be no excuse for complacency and care-free attitudes.



**It seems that a large part of the blame for this situation must lie with executives...**

The reports show that although the policy of democratization has universal support, there are many party workers who cannot communicate with people and persuade them and who continue to issue orders and bans. A speaker at the plenary session of the Kiev City Party Committee was right when he said that if a party worker does not have a natural inclination for meeting people and visiting primary party organizations, he should be transferred to a different job.

Some people, misled by splurges of demagogy and attempts to use the atmosphere of openness for aims alien to our society, lose their bearings and begin to doubt the need for the further democratization of social life. Party organizations must take this into account in their work with people, foster high political awareness among them, a proper understanding of the essence of socialist democracy and the ability to counter any instances of anti-social conduct. We must vigorously expose those who act in an unseemly way and seize on any difficulties to discredit the restructuring.

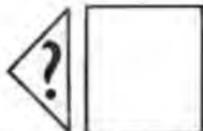


**In this matter a great deal depends on the position of party organizations and Communists.**

You are right. At many plenary sessions and meetings it has been correctly stressed that special re-

sponsibility for promoting democratic principles in our life, and a high level of organization and discipline rests with Communists. We cannot but agree with the idea expressed by I. Il'nitskaya, a senior controller at the State Ball-Bearing Plant in Saratov:<sup>13</sup> "Our prestige will not grow if we merely criticize all and sundry. People must see that Communists demand more of themselves than of others."

**What else has come to light in the course of the report campaign?**



Regrettably, the plenary sessions and meetings were not conducted at a proper level everywhere. This is true of the district and, especially, primary party organizations. What worries us here? First of all, the fact that some party workers are definitely unable to shake off the established stereotypes and clichés. They are still bent on excessive organization and overregulation in everything. This leaves a bureaucratic stamp on even well planned undertakings. Thus, in Orenburg<sup>14</sup> region the report campaign in the primary party organizations took barely one month. Who needed this haste? No wonder many reports did not have any tangible effect.

Or take this fact. The plenary session of the Sanchursk district party committee in Kirov region<sup>15</sup> heard a report of the bureau and adopted a relevant decision. All seemed to be right and proper. But it turned out that the discussion was superficial, the main speaker and those taking part in the debates had not spotlighted serious shortcomings and failings in the work of the bureau of the district committee and

<sup>13</sup> Saratov is a regional centre in the Russian Federation.

<sup>14</sup> Orenburg is a regional centre in the Russian Federation.

<sup>15</sup> Kirov is a regional centre in the Russian Federation.

the district party organization as a whole and had not given a proper assessment of them. A new plenary session had to be called. This time the discussion was principled and frank. The first secretary of the district party committee was demoted and the second secretary of the district committee, the chairman of the district executive committee and the chairman of the district agro-industrial association were severely punished.

The level of criticism at many plenary sessions and meetings is a source of anxiety too. As before, it was now and again "sparing". This is how the work of bureau members was assessed in the theses of the report of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Tajikistan<sup>16</sup> published on the eve of its plenary session: one Central Committee secretary "is a generator of many ideas and proposals", another secretary "is well versed in the problems of the agro-industrial complex he supervises", still another "has a wealth of experience and a good knowledge of the state of the national economy in the republic". But criticisms of their work (if they can be called criticisms at all) were put in this way: "his participation might be more active...", "he would do well to be more persistent", etc. The passion for self-praise and rank worship, the fear of "offending" any one by criticism is obviously tenacious. And what can be said of those who "organize" criticism of themselves, which is superficial, of course, and is utterly pointless? There were also instances when at the plenary sessions of some party committees the bureau did not give account of its work but, instead, called others, including committee members, to account.

Defects such as the absence in many reports and

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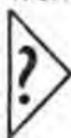
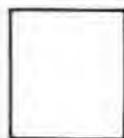
<sup>16</sup> Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic, capital Dushanbe.

## Communists' Breakdown by Education (as of January 1 of the respective year)

	1967	1977	1987
<b>Total</b>	12,684,133	15,994,476	19,267,715
<b>including those with:</b>			
<b>higher education</b>	2,097,055	4,008,986	6,284,588
%	16.5	25.1	32.6
<b>incomplete higher education</b>	325,985	380,349	395,581
%	2.6	2.4	2.0
<b>secondary education</b>	3,993,119	6,268,336	8,633,322
%	31.5	39.2	44.8
<b>incomplete secondary education</b>	3,417,251	3,154,362	2,520,697
%	26.9	19.7	13.1
<b>primary education</b>	2,850,723	2,182,443	1,433,527
%	22.5	13.6	7.5

speeches of any proper analysis of the state of organizational and ideological party work are also being slowly overcome. Here is a typical example. In the Ashkhabad<sup>17</sup> regional party organization the ideological sphere was least affected by the restructuring. Grave shortcomings are to be seen in the internationalist, patriotic education of the population. Atheist work is conducted most unsatisfactorily and feudal survivals are tenacious. And yet, in its report the bureau of the regional party committee did not even mention this. The speakers, too, did not bring in the subject. The bureau of the regional committee as a whole is responsible for these shortcomings, but there are people who are personally in charge of this sector. Unfortunately, the plenary session did not call them to account.

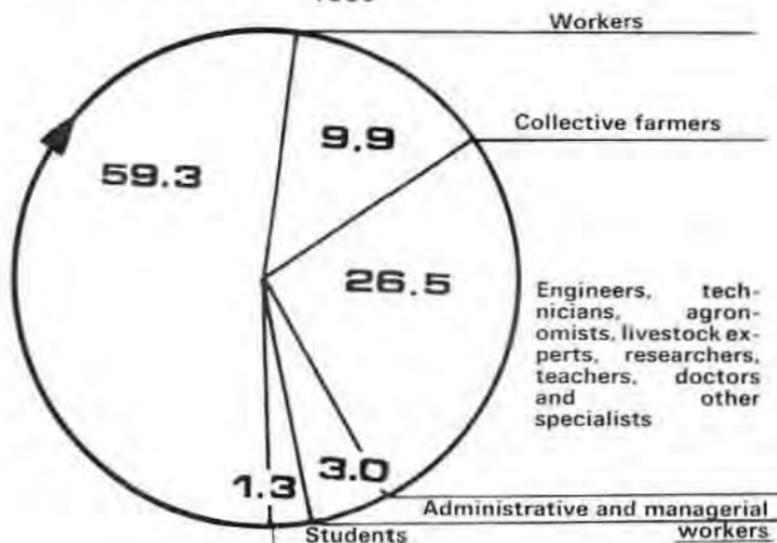
Also disturbing is the fact that at the plenary sessions of many party committees no proper attention was given to the questions of improving the guidance of primary party organizations and giving them assistance. Yet it is here that the forward line of the struggle for the restructuring and the centre of gravity of the work of the district and city party committees and their apparatuses is. Revolutionary transformations cannot be effected from office, it is necessary to be in the thick of people and to organize work on the spot.



**Why do you think that primary organizations need such energetic aid?**

This needs to be said because the situation in many primary party organizations is worrying. They

Professional Breakdown of Newly Admitted  
Candidate Members of the CPSU  
1986



have not yet created the atmosphere of adherence to principle and intolerance of shortcomings. Many such party organizations are to be found at scientific institutions, creative workers' unions, enterprises and service establishments and, especially regrettably, in some ministries and other central departments. Recently the party committee of the Ministry of the USSR Gas Industry reported on its work to its party organization. The report delivered by the party committee secretary was amorphous in form and streamlined; he sidestepped sharp points and did not criticize anyone. Many of the speeches were made in the same vein. Two questions arise: when will the Communists of this and some other ministries throw the window open to let in the refreshing wind of the time and when will they stop succumbing to the spell of hierarchy?

## The Structure of Party Bodies (As of January 1 of the respective year)

	1937	1947	1957	1967	1977	1987
CC of the communist parties of Union Republics	10	15	14	14	14	14
Territorial committees	5	6	6	6	6	6
Regional committees	73	155	148	133	150	153
Area committees	35	24	10	10	10	10
City committees	173	507	567	743	820	890
Town district committees	211	531	426	413	576	663
Rural district committees	3,276	4,214	4,039	2,726	2,851	2,886

It cannot be tolerated that a party organization is not up to the mark and is behind the people's mood in assessing the situation in a collective and in the degree of reacting to shortcomings. On the right track are those party committees which take a principled stand on such matters. Thus, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania<sup>18</sup> and the city and district party committees in the republic, having analysed the meetings already held, found that in more than 340 party organizations these had not reached the set aim and consequently proposed holding them again. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Byelorussia<sup>19</sup>, the Khabarovsk<sup>20</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Lithuanian SSR, capital Vilnius.

<sup>19</sup> Byelorussian SSR, capital Minsk.

<sup>20</sup> Khabarovsk is a territorial centre in the Russian Federation.

## National Composition of the CPSU Uniting Representatives of More Than 100 Nations and Nationalities (As of January 1, 1987)

	Absolute figures	%
Total number of full and candidate members	19,267,715	100.0
of them:		
Russians	11,370,434	59.0
Ukrainians	3,082,731	16.0
Byelorussians	738,793	3.8
Uzbeks	475,981	2.5
Kazakhs	397,037	2.1
Georgians	327,529	1.7
Azerbaijanians	347,301	1.8
Lithuanians	151,144	0.8
Moldavians	114,537	0.6
Latvians	79,440	0.4
Kirghiz	80,494	0.4
Tajiks	89,604	0.5
Armenians	296,953	1.5
Turkmen	78,731	0.4
Estonians	62,280	0.3
Other nations and nationalities	1,574,726	8.2

Territorial Committee, the Kalinin<sup>21</sup> and Kiev regional committees and some other party committees, uncovering cases of haste and formalism in holding party meetings and, here and there, misunderstanding of the substance and character of reports, suspended them.

<sup>21</sup> Kalinin is a regional centre in the Russian Federation.

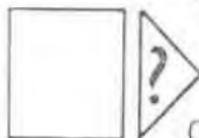


Party reports were given unprecedented coverage in the press, on the radio and television. They published and broadcast both good and bad things. It is no secret that such openness to society at large is unpalatable to some party members. What do you think of it?

To put it in a nutshell, without openness party work is simply unthinkable in the present conditions. And it is good that most of party organizations have realized this. I have already mentioned how much the course of the report campaign was influenced by the appeal of the party committees directly to Communists and to the public.

But it is too early to say that openness has been accepted everywhere. There is much evidence that it is not at all easy for many party workers to step into the world of openness. Nor should we close our eyes to the fact that party work is still affected by bureaucratic practices.

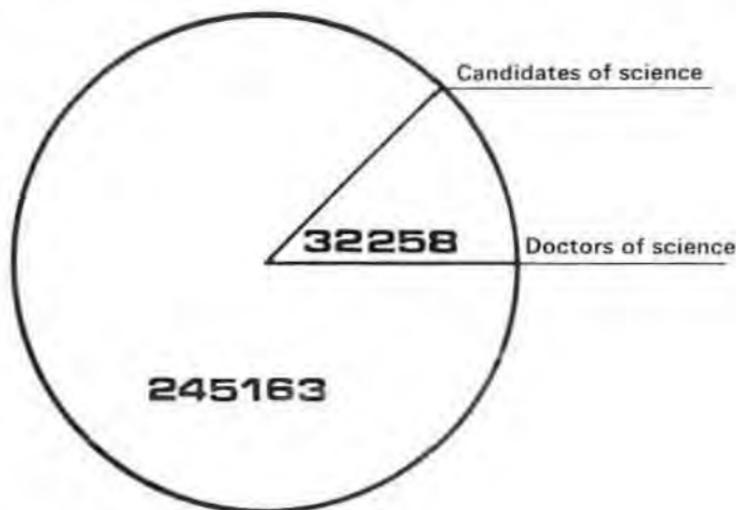
As is frequently and justifiably reported in the press, some members of party committees vociferously support the slogans of the time but in practice resist wholesome changes, including the extension of openness, in every possible way. There are also those who believe that the masses are not supposed to know everything and that, by virtue of their status, they alone are the repositories of true wisdom and knowledge. They do not care about the objective reality. As is said in such cases, they are prepared to break the thermometer so as not to see what the temperature is.



Many have got used to these things during the years of stagnation when such practices were common...

Openness means a resolute turn to the understanding of the truth expressed by Lenin: the Party is

Number of Communists with a Scientific Degree  
(as of January 1, 1987)



accountable to the people. Many people have ceased to think and act in accordance with this truth and its re-establishment requires a lot of energetic work.

The mass media are instrumental in promoting openness just as the general struggle for the restructuring. They are giving broad coverage to the preparations of elective bodies for reporting on their work and to the proceedings of plenary sessions and party meetings. But there are also some weak points in the coverage of these issues. In a number of cases it smacks of stereotypes and a perfunctory grasp of the subject.

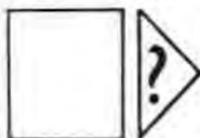
Local party bodies are cautioned against this. The ability to guide and help a periodical and maintain daily working contacts with it is an important criterion of the political standards of the work of a party committee and its leaders. It must be admitted that not all party workers have such cultural standards.



**In the course of the report campaign many speakers came up with constructive proposals...**

That's true. At plenary sessions and meetings interesting ideas were expressed about the ways of enhancing the role of the Party in society's life, promoting the processes of democratization and openness, and invigorating the political, organizational and ideological work. Amongst the topics discussed were: bringing the style, forms and methods of work of party organizations and their leading bodies as quickly as possible into line with the requirements of the new stage in the restructuring and avoiding duplication in the work of party committees and government bodies, trade unions and other public organizations. It was proposed adjusting the functions of party committees somewhat and providing additional safeguards in the Party Rules to keep persons who fail in their duties out of leading posts and to preclude abuses of power. The proposals to make it a rule that party committees and bureaus should periodically, say, not less than once between conferences, report on their work are, in my view, noteworthy.

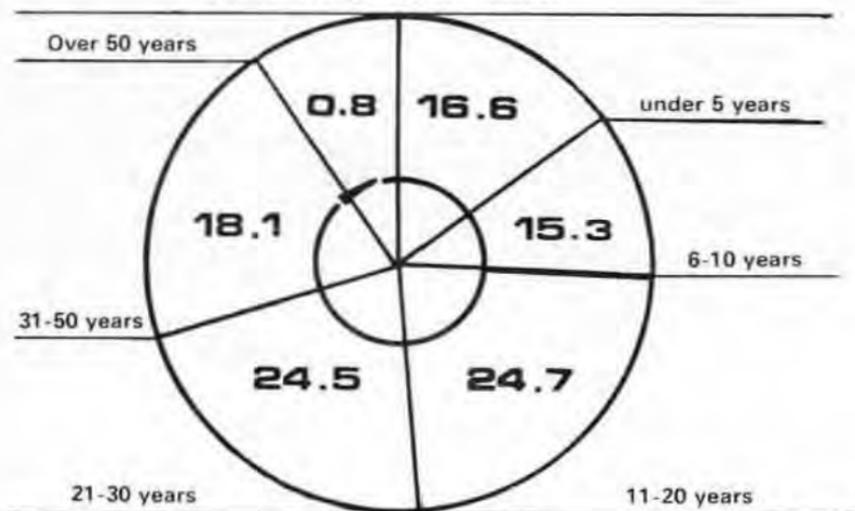
All proposals are being carefully studied and summed up and many of them will doubtlessly come up for discussion at the All-Union Party Conference.



**What has changed in the work of party organizations?**

As a result of the present campaign party organizations have undoubtedly risen to a higher stage as regards the principled stand and activeness of Communists and a keenness of their reaction to shortcomings. And from this stage they must advance

**CPSU Composition by the Length of Membership**  
(As of January 1, 1987)  
Percentage of the total



further. The exacting, critical and self-critical discussions held at the plenary sessions and meetings must not be an episode but a rule in the daily life and work of party organizations. The atmosphere of frankness, openness, humaneness and genuine party comradeship must pervade all their activities.

All party workers have to seriously work on their self-education in order to translate the criticisms, remarks and proposals made during the elective bodies' reports into their own convictions and actions. It is also necessary to organize studies for the newly elected comrades, to help them learn more quickly the methods of conducting political work among the masses. It is time to change from ABCs in philosophy to the cultivation of the ability for scientific, philosophical generalization of reality among the leading cadres. It would be a good idea at a later date to hear accounts of the Communists who had come

under particularly sharp criticism at the plenary sessions or meetings.

Summing up, I would like to stress that elective party bodies and Communists who have had the honour of being elected to them should set an example of dedication and activism and even passion in promoting the course for restructuring. This is the most important condition for invigorating the activity of the entire Party and the guarantee of success.

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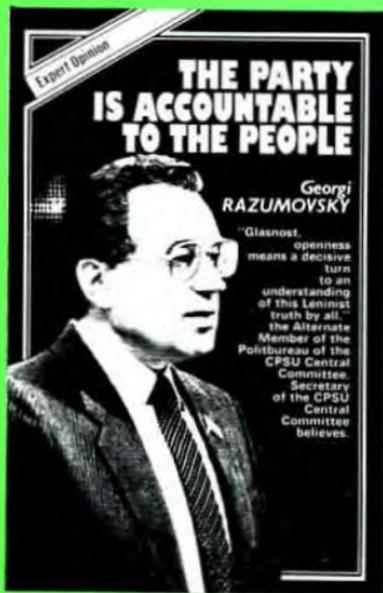
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## Georgi RAZUMOVSKY

Born January 19, 1936. Graduated from the Kuban Agricultural Institute in 1958. In 1958-59 worked as an agronomist at the Kuban collective farm in Krasnodar Territory. In 1959-61—First Secretary of the Vyselki YCL District Committee, in 1961-64—instructor and sector head at the Krasnodar CPSU Territorial Committee, in 1964-65—Party Committee Secretary at the Korenovsk production collective and state farm association, in 1965-67—First Secretary of the Korenovsk CPSU Regional Committee, in 1967-71—department head at the Krasnodar CPSU Territorial Committee, in 1971-73—in the apparatus of the CPSU Central Committee. In 1973-81—chairman of the Krasnodar Territorial Executive Committee. In 1981-83—sector head at the Business Administration Department of the USSR Council of Ministers. In 1983-85—First Secretary of the Krasnodar Territorial Party Committee. In May 1985—sector head at the CPSU Central Committee and in March 1986—Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. Elected Alternate Member of the Politbureau of the CPSU Central Committee at the February (1988) Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee.



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