

Note.—The Office of Guardians has the right pending the decision of the court to issue orders to take the children away from their parents or from other persons in whose custody they are, if the continuance of their stay with these persons constitutes a menace to the children.

47. In the event of the court issuing a decree depriving parents of their parental rights, the Office of Guardians and Trustees must allow parents to see their children except in cases where such meetings may prove injurious to the children.

48. The duty to support children rests upon both parents; the extent of their contributions towards their support depends upon their respective means.

49. Children must support their needy incapacitated parents.

50. When parents are unwilling to support their children, or children their parents, in the cases provided for in Sections 42 and 49 of the present code, the persons entitled to support may sue for such support in court.

Note.—In case of any change in the material position of the parents or children, the court decree may be modified by instituting a lawsuit in the usual way.

51. The deprivation of parental rights does not relieve parents of the duty to support their children.

52. Persons who are jointly liable to contribute support are liable in equal shares, except where the court in view of the unequal means of the persons liable to contribute or in view of the absence of one of them, or for some other cogent reason, finds it necessary to fix other ratios for the discharge of this duty.

53. The rights of parents and children with regard to the property of a peasant household (*Dvor*) are determined by the pertinent sections of the Land Code.

54. Needy brothers and sisters, if minors, are entitled to obtain support from their brothers and sisters who possess efficient means if the former brothers and sisters are unable to obtain alimony from their parents because the parents are not a party to the action or because they are impecunious.

55. A needy, incapacitated grandfather or grandmother is entitled to alimony from his or her grandchildren if the latter possess sufficient means, provided such alimony cannot be obtained from the conjugal partner or the children. Similarly needy grandchildren who are either under age or incapacitated are entitled to alimony from their grandfather or grandmother who possess sufficient means, provided they are unable to obtain such alimony from their parents.

56. Children born of members of a peasant household (*Dvor*) are recognized as members of the *Dvor* to which their father or mother belongs, irrespective of whether their parents are married with or without registration.

Where parents belong to different peasant households, their children may be registered as members of one of these households at the option of the parent with whom the children are living.

Disputes concerning the place where a child is to be recorded as a member of a peasant household are decided by the court which is guided by the interests of the child. . . .

56 (1) Where the fatherhood of a member of a peasant household (*Dvor*) has been established, the court fixes at the same time the quantity of food products which the *Dvor* of the father must contribute to the support of the child.

Children born of a member of a peasant household (Sec. 56) retain the right to alimony out of the personal means of the father and out of the personal means of the

mother over and above the rights which they possess as members of the peasant household on the general principles laid down in Sections 48 and 50 of the present code. . . .

Chapter 3. Adoption

57. Adoption is allowed only in the case of young children and persons under age, and exists exclusively in the interests the children.

58. Persons deprived of the right to act as guardians in accordance with Section 77 of the present code have no right to adopt.

59. Adoption is effected by order of the Office of Guardians and Trustees and must be registered in the usual manner in the Civil Registrar's Office.

Note.—The adoption of children of Soviet citizens by foreign citizens (subjects) residing on U.S.S.R. territory is allowed provided the rules laid down in the present chapter are observed and provided further that special permission be obtained in each individual case from the Presidium of the Executive Committee of the respective Gubernia, Okrug, or other respective administrative area.

60. At the time of adoption, the adopted child may be given the surname of the adopter, and with the consent of the adopted child, also the adopter's patronymic.

61. If the parents of the adopted child are living, or if it is under the care of a guardian or trustee, adoption can take place only with the consent of the parents, if they have not been deprived of their parental rights; or of the respective guardians or trustees.

62. Where the adopter is married, adoption can only take place with the consent of the other conjugal partner.

63. No children above the age of 10 may be adopted without their own consent.

64. Adopted children and their offspring have the same personal and property rights and duties with regard to their parents by adoption, and the latter with regard to their children by adoption and their offspring, as have the corresponding relatives by consanguinity.

65. Adoption effected in the absence of, or without the consent of, the parents of the adopted child, may be annulled by the Office of Guardians and Trustees at the request of the parents, the child's return to them is in the interests of the child. In order to annul the adoption of a minor over 10 years of age his own consent is required.

66. Any person or institution may institute a suit in court or the annulment of an adoption if such annulment is necessary in the interests of the child. . . .

Translated in Rudolf Schlesinger (ed.), *The Family in the U.S.S.R.: Documents and Readings* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1949), pp. 154–165.

Kamenev-Bukharin Exchange

July 11, 1928

Early in 1928, the alliance of Stalin and Bukharin fell apart. The "extraordinary measures" taken by Stalin and his agents in collecting the grain that past fall, and his intention to move beyond individual peasant agriculture to collective farms, stood in sharp contrast to Bukharin's

desire to rely on peasants and the market to develop the Soviet economy. When Kliment Voroshilov, Stalin's old comrade from the civil war campaigns, and Kalinin, both of whom had wavered in the economic debate, joined the Stalinists, Stalin had a majority on his side in the Politburo. He then used his powers as General Secretary to replace Bukharin's men throughout the bureaucracy with his own. At a Central Committee plenum in July, Bukharin tried to convince the party leaders that there could be no sustained industrialization without a prosperous peasant sector. Stalin answered him by calling for greater class warfare and the extraction of "tribute" from the peasantry. A few days later, on July 11, Bukharin met secretly with his old opponent Kamenev and lamented that Stalin was out to destroy the revolution. The fact that Bukharin had met with an expelled party member leaked out, and Stalin used it as another weapon against the Right.

KAMENEV: Is the struggle really serious?

BUKHARIN: That's just what I wanted to talk about. We feel that Stalin's line is ruinous for the whole revolution. We could be overthrown on account of it. The disagreements between us and Stalin are many times more serious than the disagreements which we used to have with you. Rykov, Tomsky and I agree on formulating the situation thus: "It would be much better if Zinoviev and Kamenev were in the Politbureau instead of Stalin." I have spoken with Rykov and Tomsky about this quite frankly. I have not spoken with Stalin for several weeks. He is an unprincipled intriguer, who subordinates everything to the preservation of his own power. He changes his theory according to whom he needs to get rid of. In the "seven"* our arguing with him reached the point of saying, "false," "you lie," etc. Now he has made concessions, so that he can cut our throats. We understand this, but he maneuvers so as to make us appear to be the schismatics. . . . This is the line which he pronounced at the plenum: 1) Capitalism grew either on account of colonies, or loans, or the exploitation of the workers. We have no colonies, we can get no loans, therefore our basis is tribute from the peasantry. You understand that this is just what Preobrazhensky's theory is. 2) The more socialism grows, the greater will be the resistance [to it]. . . . This is idiotic illiteracy. 3) Since tribute is necessary and resistance will grow, we need firm leadership. Self-criticism must not apply to the leadership, but only to those who carry out orders. Self-criticism is in fact aimed at Tomsky¹ and Uglanov.[†] As a result we are getting a police regime. This is not a "cuckoo" matter, but will really decide the fate of the revolution. With this theory everything can perish. . . .

The Petersburg [Leningrad] people are in general with us, but they got scared when the talk got to the possibility of removing Stalin. . . . Our potential forces are vast, but 1) the middle-ranking Central Committee member still does not understand the depth of the disagreements, 2) there is a terrible fear of a split. Therefore, when

* The informal leadership group, including most of the Politbureau—Ed.

1. Tomsky, head of Soviet trade union and an ally of Bukharin;

† Uglanov: pro-Bukharin secretary of the Moscow party organization, removed in the fall of 1928—Ed.

Stalin conceded on the extraordinary measures, he made it difficult for us to attack him. We don't want to come forth as schismatics, for then they would slaughter us. But Tomsky in his latest speech showed clearly that Stalin is the schismatic. . . .

Kamenev-Bukharin exchange, July 11, 1928, from Trotsky archive; translated in Robert V. Daniels (ed.), *A Documentary History of Communism*, vol. I (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1960), pp. 308-309.

Kliment Voroshilov's Letter to "Sergo" Orjonikidze

June 8, 1929

Voroshilov was one of Stalin's closet comrades. Together they had been active on the southern front in the civil war, and Stalin promoted Voroshilov's fortunes through the 1920s and 1930s, when he served as People's Commissar of Military Affairs. A legendary soldier, he was distinguished politically primarily by his loyalty to Stalin. Orjonikidze was also a long-time friend of Stalin. A fellow Georgian, he was closely associated with the defeat of Georgian "national-communists" in 1922-1923 and enthusiastically supported Stalin's plan for a federal union of the Transcaucasian republics and a more centralized Soviet Union. Voroshilov's letter to Orjonikidze reveals the depth of personal animosity that divided the Politburo by 1929. His letter gives a sense of the violence in language that marked Soviet politics. It would be less than a decade before Voroshilov, as part of the dominant faction led by Stalin, would sign the death warrants for the defeated oppositionists. Voroshilov not only survived the Stalinist purges but actively denounced many of his army officers. Despite arousing Stalin's suspicions in the late 1940s and suffering an ignominious fall from power in 1957, Voroshilov died a natural death in 1969. Orjonikidze, however, was troubled by the purges, and after a violent disagreement with Stalin early in 1937, he shot himself.

Moscow, 8 June 1929

Dear Friend,

I am extremely glad to hear about your general condition and that your wound is healing well. Everything is going well and the sun will make up for what the "old bod" finds difficult to handle. I know that you're mad at me for being silent. Please note, however, my great friend, that neither Unshlikht nor [S. S.] Kamenev (my deputies) are here, and I am taking the rap all alone. Of course this circumstance is no justification, but still you must be more indulgent with me. What's going on with our affairs? I think you know everything that's interesting and important from Koba [Stalin], and the rest is being reported fairly accurately by the newspapers. It will hardly be news to you that Bug-arin* has been appointed to the Scientific-Technical Administration of the Supreme Economic Council. The information was published in the newspapers. The newspapers just don't know the details that accompanied this "act." The correspondents of the bourgeois European newspapers explain Bukharin's

* Literally *Bukhashka*, a play on Bukharin's name with the Russian word *bukashka*, or insect—Trans.