

**WORLD
MARXIST
REVIEW**

SUPPLEMENT

**To VOL. 13, NO. 8
AUGUST, 1970**

**THE
POLITICAL
SYSTEM
OF THE
SOCIALIST
COUNTRIES**

*A comparative
review
of the state,
legal, social
institutions,
and political
practice in*

**ALBANIA / BULGARIA / CHINA / CUBA
CZECHOSLOVAKIA / DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM
GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC / HUNGARY
KOREAN PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC / MONGOLIA
POLAND / RUMANIA / USSR / YUGOSLAVIA**

**Prepared by the Socialist Construction Section of
World Marxist Review and by the Institute of State and Law
of the USSR Academy of Science**

25 CENTS

"The Great October Socialist Revolution, the building of socialism in the Soviet Union, the victory over German fascism and Japanese militarism in the Second World War, the triumph of the revolution in China and in several other countries—in Europe and Asia—the emergence of the first socialist state in America, the Republic of Cuba, the rise and development of the world socialist system, comprising fourteen states, and the inspiring influence of socialism on the entire world have created the prerequisites for accelerating historical progress and opened new prospects for the advance and triumph of socialism throughout the world."

(International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties. Moscow, 1969).

This review is strictly informative, and is presented as background material for a study of the socialist political system, whose organizational principles and scientific analysis are set out in the works of the founders of Marxist-Leninist theory, the documents of the international Communist movement, and of the Communist and Workers' parties of the socialist countries, and in specialist Marxist literature.

One would need to present a vast aggregation of facts, from past and present, to give a comprehensive picture of the fundamentally new content of the socialist state system and socialist democracy, and assess the tendencies and ways of their development in the individual countries and within the framework of the world socialist system as a whole. That is beyond the scope of this review, which does not claim to assess the political regime taking shape in the various countries under the impact of concrete objective and subjective factors. It merely gives an idea of the principal state, legal and social institutions and contains official data on political practice. These data are, of course, not in any sense exhaustive, mainly due to the lack of relevant statistical publications (e.g., for China).

For all this, the Editorial Board hopes the review may be of some use to readers taking an interest in the political problems of socialism.

PRINCIPAL FEATURES OF THE POLITICAL SYSTEM

GENERAL REGULARITIES AND DIVERSITY OF POLITICAL FORMS

Within just over 40 years after the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia, 13 socialist states, in addition to the USSR, were established in Europe, Asia and America. Today, the need to move on to socialism is felt to be ever more acute in many other countries. It is natural therefore that the experience of the new society and its political system have aroused interest among the most diverse social sections of the modern world.* Their multifarious practice shows that the working people's political power, the truly democratic power, is a key condition for successfully realizing all the other advantages which socialism has over capitalism.

The successes scored by the new system in a short historical period in developing social relations, the economy, science, technology, and all other spheres of material and spiritual culture free from the domination of capital are evidence of the creative potential of the working people's political power.

However, Marxist-Leninists are not inclined to rest on their oars, or to close their eyes to the complex problems confronting the new system, or the contradictions, shortcomings and mistakes in the efforts to establish it. Lenin used to ridicule those who expected an ideal society free from difficulties and contradictions to appear overnight. The development of socialism is a complex process of transition from the lower forms of its social organization to its higher forms, depending on "what might be called the stages of the economic maturity of communism" (*Collected Works*, English Ed., Vol. 25, p. 471).

Today increasing importance attaches to the **principal regularities of socialist development which are common to all countries**, among them the revolutionary establishment of some form of proletarian dictatorship, the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist Party in social life, improvement of socialist democracy envisaging ever broader

participation by the working people in the administration of the state.

Socialist construction also implies a consideration of the national and other historical features of individual countries, and development of truly popular, democratic traditions, of which the working class is the most consistent vehicle.

"All nations will arrive at socialism—this is inevitable, but all will do so in not exactly the same way, each will contribute something of its own to some form of democracy, to some variety of the dictatorship of the proletariat, to the varying rate of socialist transformations in the different aspects of social life" (V. I. Lenin. Vol 23, pp. 69-70).

The actual diversity of the political forms of socialism, for which Lenin's theory provides the backing, springs from the fact that the countries taking the path of socialist construction differ from each other in economic, social and national structures; relation of social forces at the concrete stages of the class struggle; levels of economic and cultural development; and historically rooted forms and traditions of socio-political life. There are also distinctions in the international circumstances in which socialist construction goes forward in the individual countries.

In revolutionary Russia, the socialist state was established as a **Republic of Soviets**. The Soviet organization of the state, Lenin said, took the second epoch-making step, after the Paris Commune, along the way of implementing democracy for the workers and other working people (see Vol. 28, p. 466). The Soviet power put to the test and proved effective the general regularities governing the development of the new society, in the process embodying a number of specific features which were determined by the concrete historical conditions of socialist construction in the USSR in an atmosphere of exceptionally acute class struggle and a hostile capitalist encirclement. Set up as a political form of the dictatorship of the proletariat the Soviet State was gradually transformed, as the objective and subjective conditions matured, into a political organization of the whole people, with the working class, led by the Communist Party, its vanguard, playing the leading role.

In the first third of the 20th century, the revolutionary power emerged in the form of

*The political system of society is the system of political relations and institutions which express the relations between classes above all, between the various social groups and nations, and between society and the individual, involving state power, its functions and substance. Lenin said: "Politics is participation in the affairs of the state, direction of the state, and definition of the forms, tasks and content of state activity" (*Complete Works*, Vol. 33, p. 340. In Russian).

Soviets in Hungary, Germany, China and Slovakia.

In the situation which had taken shape by the mid-20th century there emerged a new form of political organization of society—**People's Democracy**—of which the proletarian dictatorship became the political substance. It was a reflection of the specifics of the socialist revolution in the conditions of the victorious fight against fascism, the deepening general crisis of capitalism, and the changing balance of forces in favor of socialism. In the process, the specific political and state structure of the People's Democracies was broadly manifested. The socialist state established in Cuba as a result of the revolutionary victory in 1959 also has its specific features. The international liberation movement will apparently also bring to life **fresh forms of working people's power**. However, behind the diversity of the political forms of socialism one will clearly discern its basically internationalist class substance, and the general principles underlying the socialist political system.

SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION OF SOCIETY

The political organization of society in the socialist countries is a reflection of the fundamental changes taking place in their social structures as a result of the socialist revolution. As it develops and improves, its task is to ensure conscious participation by

ever broader sections of the working people in socialist and communist construction. Let us add, that at every stage of its development it remains a coherent system which includes:

- the Marxist-Leninist **Party of the working class**, the leading force of society representing the vital interests of all working people (in a number of countries, other political parties cooperate with it);
- the **state**, the principal instrument of socialist and communist construction;
- trade-union, youth, cooperative and other **mass organizations** and associations of working people.

The socialist countries' political organization runs on similar lines because the social basis of the new system is the same.

The fundamentally novel political organization of society, arising as a result of the break-up of exploiting relations and institutions, simultaneously becomes heir to the best, progressive traditions which had taken shape in the course of the massive struggles against the exploiters throughout history.

Under socialism, age-old conceptions like democracy, freedom, equality, brotherhood, justice and humanism, and principles and institutions like the sovereignty of the people, legality, constitutionality, universal suffrage, the representative system and individual rights and freedoms are filled with new content, for socialism turns them into political and economic realities for the working class and its allies. At the same time there arise

Social Structure of the Population (per cent)*

	Industrial and Office Workers	Peasants and Artisans in Cooperatives	Others**
Albania	37.9	43.4	18.7
Bulgaria	59.2	39.2	1.6
China	8.0	—	—
Czechoslovakia	87.9	9.4	2.7
DRV	5.9***	—	—
GDR	82.7	13.5	3.8
Hungary	71.1	25.9	3.0
KPDR	55.2	44.7	0.1
Mongolia	48.7	51.3	0.0
Poland	66.8	3.5	27.7
Rumania	52.3	40.7	7.0
USSR	77.7	22.27	0.03
Yugoslavia	40.1		59.9

*For Albania, Bulgaria, KPDR, Mongolia, Rumania, USSR and Czechoslovakia, structure of the whole population (including families). For the rest—structure of the working population, 1969 data for Poland and Rumania; 1968 data for the GDR, USSR and Czechoslovakia; 1966 data for Hungary and Yugoslavia; 1965 data for Bulgaria, China and Mongolia; 1963 for KPDR; and 1960 for Albania and DRV.

**Mainly peasants and artisans outside cooperatives, and persons in the professions. In Poland, one-half of all the peasant households are members of the "Alliance of Farming Circles," a socio-cooperative organization operating in 87 per cent of Poland's villages.

***Industrial and office workers in the state sector.

principles and institutions which are new not only in content but also in form and which are absolutely unknown under the bourgeois system, like socialist property, socialist internationalism, fusion of legislative and executive powers in the hands of representative state bodies, responsibility of deputies to their electors, who may recall the former, massive popular control of the activity of the state apparatus, public participation in its day-to-day work, unity of the rights and duties of citizens, socialist emulation, and so on.

Society's sound, dynamic political organization has ensured the decisive triumph of socialist relations of production in most countries of the world socialist system. Their political system now rests on new social structures, which are characterized by involvement of the overwhelming majority of the population in socialist production.

There is no class of landowners or big capitalists in the social structure of the socialist countries, and the transformation of agriculture on socialist lines is eliminating the kulaks. Their social life has been purged of the socio-economic foundations which breed class antagonisms. At the same time, even where the transition from capitalism to socialism has been carried out, society is based on class lines, consisting mainly of two friendly classes, the working class and the class of peasants in cooperatives, and also the intelligentsia.

The fundamental social changes in the socialist countries and the consolidation of the international positions of socialism have enabled the Communist and Workers' parties of most of these countries to set **new socio-political aims** in practical terms. Today, all the activity of the political organization of society in the fraternal countries is geared to their implementation.

In the Soviet Union, where socialism has won a full and final victory, the CPSU has worked out and is implementing a line designed to "create the material and technical basis of communism, further improve socialist social relations, and educate the working people in the communist spirit" (Resolution of the Twenty-Third Congress of the CPSU).

In the 1960s, many countries completed the laying of the foundations of socialism and went on to a new stage of development. Thus, the Eighth Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party (1962) said that the foundations of socialism had been laid, and added: "The decisive factor in our country's further development is that we are able to work on the full-scale construction

of socialism in a society which is near to transformation into a solid socialist society of the working class, the cooperative farmers and the intelligentsia, i.e., all the working people" (Report of the HSWP Central Committee to the Eighth Party Congress).

The Ninth Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party (1966) said that "the directives for the fifth five-year plan, a component part of the general long-term plan for the development of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, are to continue the line of further building a full-scale socialist society in Bulgaria, the line of consolidating and perfecting socialism in every sphere of economic, socio-political, cultural and ideological life in our country" (Report of the BCP Central Committee to the Ninth Party Congress).

The Fifteenth Congress of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party (1966) adopted a program envisaging completion of socialist construction in Mongolia.

Addressing all citizens of the GDR, the Seventh Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (1968) said: "Before all of us there opens a new stage on the way to socialism, the stage of creating a full-scale social system of socialism" (Materials of the Seventh Congress of the SUPG).

The Tenth Congress of the Rumanian Communist Party (1969) adopted documents whose main purpose, the materials of the Congress say, lies in "a continuous extension and improvement of the country's material and technical basis and construction of a fully developed socialist society" (Report of the RCP Central Committee to the Tenth Party Congress).

The fundamental changes which have taken place in the social structure of society in the process of building the foundations of socialism, while opening new horizons, do not imply any automatic or complete disappearance overnight of all contradictions produced by the old society. "Our country's all-round socialist development," it was said at the Fifth Congress of the Polish United Workers' Party (1968), "is taking place in class struggle." (Resolution of the Fifth Party Congress).

In January 1970, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia's Central Committee said in a letter to party branches and Party members: "On the strength of the incorrect assumption that our society is already in a state of solid political and moral unity, the former Party leadership underestimated the class aspect of the fact that conditions for a possible galvanization of the forces which have not been reconciled with the victory of the revolution continue to exist long after

the working-class takeover and the expropriation of the capitalists" (*Rude Pravo*, February 3, 1970).

As the fraternal parties have indicated, there are still definite **distinctions** between the various socialist countries **in the level of the socio-political development of society.**

In the Soviet Union a social and ideological-political unity of all sections of the working people has taken shape and is being steadily strengthened.

In other countries where socialist relations of production dominate every sphere of the economy, after the elimination of the exploiting classes, whose members move into other social groups, and the switch of the peasantry and other petty-bourgeois sec-

tions to the socialist way of development, there is a continued deep-going remoulding of the way of life and mentality of these groups of the population. Their experience, like the USSR's in its early period, has confirmed the truth of Lenin's idea that the proletarian dictatorship is necessary not only for laying the foundations of socialism but also "for the final establishment and consolidation of socialism" (Vol. 29, p. 381).

The political system in the socialist countries, reflecting as it does their specific features, functions the more effectively the fuller the realization of the general regularities of socialism, above all, of the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist Party in the development of society.

PARTY AND MASS ORGANIZATIONS IN POLITICAL SYSTEM

LEADING ROLE OF THE MARXIST-LENINIST PARTY

"Only the political party of the working class, i.e., the Communist Party," wrote Lenin, "is capable of uniting, training and organizing 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 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 politi-

cally, and through it, the whole mass of the working people." (Vol. 32, p. 246).

The Marxist-Leninist parties work out a common political line of development for the socialist countries, determine the principal tasks of the individual elements of society's political organization, coordinate and guide their activity, select the leading cadres on the key sectors of state and social life, and carry on ideological and educational work among the working people.

The Communist parties—the vanguard of the working class — also include the most class-conscious representatives of other sections of the working people.

Social Make-Up of Communist and Workers' Parties

	Workers	Peasants	Office Workers & Intelligentsia	Others
Bulgarian Communist Party	38.2	29.8	25.6	6.4
Communist Party of Czechoslovakia	36.0	6.4	57.6	
Socialist Unity Party of Germany	47.1	5.8	28.1	19.0
Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party	42.7*		38.1	19.2
Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party	29.0	21.6	49.4	
Polish United Workers' Party ...	40.2	11.4	42.8	5.8
Rumanian Communist Party.....	43.59	26.37	22.83	7.21
Communist Party of the Soviet Union	39.3**	15.6	45.1	
Working People's Party of Vietnam	11.0	52.0	37.0	
League of Communists of Yugoslavia ,	31.1		68.9	

*Workers by hand.

**By 1970, 40 per cent of CPSU members were workers.

The ruling Communist and Workers' parties are massive. The CPSU has 14 million members; BCP, 672,000; WPPV, over 800,000; HSWP, over 600,000; SUPG, over 1,800,000; MPRP, over 50,000; PUWP, 2.2 million; RCP, about 2 million; and CP of Czechoslovakia, 1,651,000.* According to the latest data, the League of Communists of Yugoslavia numbered 1,111,000.

The representative social make-up and massiveness of the Marxist-Leninist parties promote their close links with every section of the working people.

In a number of socialist states, for instance, the GDR, Mongolia, USSR, Rumania and Czechoslovakia, the governing status of the Communist and Workers' parties is statutory. The Party's Marxist-Leninist direction of society is based not on administrative levers but on the generally recognized authority of the Party, of its central and local organs, and of Communists working in state, economic and mass organizations. Party guidance is aimed at developing the political and labor activity of the masses and their organizations, and of workers in the state and economic apparatus. Thus, the rules of the Bulgarian Communist Party say: "Party organs shall not substitute for administrative and economic organs and organizations, and shall not allow any confusion between the functions of Party and other organs, or unnecessary duplication of work." There are similar provisions in the documents of other fraternal parties.

The forms of Party leadership correspond to the concrete conditions in the individual countries. The CPSU and several other parties provide for the establishment of Party groups at congresses, conferences, and meetings called by government, trade-union, cooperative and other mass organizations. It is the task of these groups to conduct the Party's policy among the non-Party people. The HSWP achieves this purpose through its primary Party organizations. Another form of Party group is the Party club of deputies in higher and local representative bodies in some states. In Rumania, under the decisions of the National Conference of the RCP (December 1967) the same person in the Party leadership is responsible for a given sphere of activity on Party and on state lines.

Party branches at production and commercial enterprises have the right to control

*1969 data. At present, the CPC is carrying out a renewal of Party cards in the course of which, says a "Letter of the CPC Central Committee to all Party Branches and Party Members in Connection with the Renewal of CPC Party Cards in 1970," "the Party is to purge its ranks of all those who had diverted from the Party's Marxist-Leninist policy and had betrayed its ideological and organizational principles".

their operations. In the HSWP this right is vested in all Party branches, with the exception of organizations in the Armed Forces, the Party apparatus and the central apparatus of mass organizations.

The leading role of the Communist and Workers' parties has been strengthened through the condemnation and eradication by most Communist and Workers' parties of the personality cult, which is alien to socialism, and through the consistent application of the Leninist principles of Party life, above all collective leadership of the Party, the state and society as a whole. Neglect of these principles minimizes the leading role of the Party and for some time may even essentially invalidate it altogether, with all the grievous consequences that this entails, as in fact happened during the "cultural revolution" in China. Even so, the objective regularities behind the maturing of socialist social relations create conditions for overcoming such negative phenomena, which are intrinsically alien to the new system.

The Marxist-Leninist parties devote special attention to perfecting the methods of Party leadership and giving it more solid scientific grounding. Because of the increasingly complex tasks faced by society under the scientific and technical revolution, the rising educational and cultural levels of the masses, and the acuteness of the ideological struggle, the ruling parties have a much greater role to play.

"The utilization 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 the Marxist-Leninist way."

(International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, Moscow, 1969).

One of the key factors in the further enhancement of the role of the ruling Communist and Workers' parties is the deepening integration between the socialist countries arising from the objective regularities of world socialist development. The fraternal parties are intensifying their exchanges of experience in Party leadership at various levels, and are working to consolidate the general political, ideological, economic, military, scientific, technical and cultural cooperation between the socialist countries.

SOCIALIST MULTI-PARTY SYSTEM

In the socialist countries there may be either one or several parties, depending on

the concrete historical specifics in the various countries.

In the course of the revolution and social change, parties reflecting the interests of the exploiters and opposing socialist construction tend to lose their influence among the masses and quit the political arena. By contrast, the parties which, while expressing the interests of individual non-proletarian sections of the working people, join in socialist construction, obtain various possibilities for activity.

The socialist multi-party system differs radically from plural-party systems under capitalism, which are above all a reflection of the struggle for power among classes and separate groups and as a rule imply the existence of a political opposition. This kind of pluralism is alien to socialism, but this does not rule out any multiplicity of specific basic interests of the various social groups and sections which are subordinate to the interests of society as a whole, as expressed by the working-class Party. Under socialism, multiplicity of parties is a political form of allied relations between the working class and individual non-proletarian laboring sections of the population. There are various democratic parties in the GDR, Bulgaria, Poland, Czechoslovakia, People's Korea and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. They also existed in China.

In Bulgaria there is the Bulgarian Agrarian People's Union (120,000 members); in the GDR, the Christian Democratic Union, the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany, the National Democratic Party of Germany, and the Democratic Peasant Party of Germany; in the DRV, the Democratic and the Socialist parties; in the KPDR, the Democratic Party and the Chendogyo-Chenudan Party; and in Poland, the United Peasant Party (400,000), and the Democratic Party (86,000).

The non-proletarian parties take part in the administration of the state. According to their influence in society, they are represented in the higher and local organs of state power, and in government and other state and public posts. Thus, in the GDR, the Chairman of the CDU is now Chairman of the Presidium of the People's Chamber of the Republic, and representatives of the democratic parties also hold the posts of deputies and members of the State Council, and deputy chairmen of the Council of Ministers, ministers and President of the country's Supreme Court. In Poland, the post of Marshal of the Sejm is now held by the chairman of the United Peasant Party. Of the four vice-presidents of the State Coun-

cil two represent the United Peasant Party and the Democratic Party. Representatives of these parties are members of the Government. In Bulgaria, the Secretary of the Bulgarian Agricultural Peoples' Union is President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly; BAPU is also represented in the Government. In Czechoslovakia, the People's Party and the Socialist Party each have representatives in the Federal Government.

Non-Party people also hold important public and state posts. Thus, a non-Party man is Chairman of the Presidium of the National Council of the National Front of Democratic Germany. In the present Polish Government non-Party men hold the posts of deputy chairman of the State Council and Minister of Public Health and Social Security.

On Bulgaria's higher representative body, elected in 1966, are 280 members of the BCP, 100 members of the BAPU, and 36 non-Party people. In Poland's Sejm, elected in 1969, there are 255 members of the PUWP, 117 members of the UPP, 39 members of the DP, and 49 non-Party people. Of the 500 deputies to the GDR's People's Chamber, elected in 1967, 127 were nominated by the SUPG, 52 each by the CDU, LDPG, NDPG, and DPPG, and 167 by other mass organizations.

In the 1970 Supreme Soviet of the USSR, where there is only one party, 1,096 deputies are members and candidate members of the Party, and 421 are non-Party people.

POPULAR FRONT

In most fraternal countries, the political organization of society includes a **popular front**, a massive socio-political organization or movement arising in the course of the national liberation struggle. It has proved its vitality as a form of cooperation between different political parties and mass organizations, and cohesion of the broadest masses of people in the period of socialist construction.

In some countries, the popular front operates as a massive organization with individual membership (the Patriotic Front of Yugoslavia); in other countries it is based on collective affiliation of parties and organizations (the National Front of Czechoslovakia, the People's Unity Front in Poland, and the Socialist Unity Front of Rumania); elsewhere, it is a mass movement without the institution of membership (the National Front of Democratic Germany, and the Patriotic People's Front of Hungary).

The popular front has an important part

to play in state construction, and involvement of the working people in the administration of the state. Popular fronts nominate candidates for deputies to the higher and local organs of state power, help to strengthen ties between deputies and electors, carry on work to bring out the people's needs, organize discussion by working people of pressing domestic and foreign-policy problems, and mobilize the masses for participation in putting through the most important economic and political measures. The popular front serves as a broad and massive support for the people's power, and a school for educating the people in the socialist spirit; it exerts an active influence on the shaping of state policy.

MASS ORGANIZATIONS

A characteristic feature of the political organization of socialism is that it includes an extensive network of **trade-union, cooperative, young people's, women's and other mass organizations, societies and unions** (scientific, technical, cultural, defense, sports, and so on), and also diverse **public initiative bodies** (house, street, block committees, people's patrols, comrades' courts, and so on). Their participation in political life provides an important link between the Communist Party and the masses. The largest of them are the trade unions, youth organizations and cooperative societies.

Size of Trade Unions*

Trade Unions of the Bulgarian People's Republic	2.2 mln.
Trade Unions of the Hungarian People's Republic over	3 mln.
Trade-Union Federation of Vietnam (DRV) over	1.1 mln.
Association of Free German Trade Unions (GDR)	6.8 mln.
United Trade Unions of Korea (KPDR) over	2 mln.
Working People's Trade Union Centre of Cuba	1.4 mln.
Trade Unions of the Mongolian People's Republic	170,000
Trade Unions of the Polish People's Republic	9.73 mln.
General Trade-Union Association of Rumania	4.1 mln.
Trade Unions of the USSR	86 mln.
Revolutionary Trade-Union Movement of Czechoslovakia	5.2 mln.
Trade-Union League of Yugoslavia over	3 mln.

*1969-70 data.

Size of Youth Organizations*

Dimitrov Communist Youth League (Bulgaria)	1.1 mln.
Hungarian Communist Youth League	791,000
Working Youth League of Vietnam over	2 mln.
Free German Youth League (GDR)	1.6 mln.
Socialist Working Youth League of Korea	2.8 mln.
Mongolian Revolutionary Youth League over	80,000
Socialist Youth League (Poland)	1.2 mln.
Rural Youth League (Poland)	1 mln.
Communist Youth League (Rumania)	2.3 mln.
All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League (USSR)	27 mln.
Youth League of Yugoslavia over	2.1 mln.

*1969-70 data.

With the development of socialism, mass organizations come to play an ever greater part in the life of the state. Thus, the new Constitution of the GDR gives the trade unions the right to take part in planning and managing the national economy, and determining the working and living conditions of industrial and office workers; they also have the right of legislative initiative. In the USSR, the GDR, and several other socialist countries, the trade unions are in

charge of social insurance, and exercise control over the observance of the labor code.

In Hungary, Bulgaria and Rumania, local and republican associations of agricultural producer cooperatives have been set up. These deal with cooperative and economic problems and are also the mass organizations of cooperative farmers. In the USSR, there are collective-farm councils. All these organizations take part in working out and

implementing the agrarian policy of the state.

The mass organizations' functions of bringing out and representing the diverse

and specific interests of the various sections of the population give dynamism and efficiency to the entire political organization of society and of the socialist state.

STATE POWER AND ADMINISTRATION

The socialist state is a special element in the political life of society. Its main functions are to carry on economic organization and cultural and educational activity, exercise control over the measure of labor and of consumption, to protect socialism against encroachments by its class adversaries, to protect the rights of citizens, socialist property, and law and order as a whole, to develop fraternal cooperation between the countries of the world socialist system, assist the national liberation movement of the peoples, and to maintain peaceful coexistence with the capitalist countries.

Constitutions regulate the political and social life in the socialist states. In the USSR it is the Constitution of 1936; in Albania, 1946 (as amended in 1950); in Bulgaria, 1947; in the KPDR, 1948; in Hungary, 1949; in Poland, 1952; in China, 1954; in the DRV, 1959; in Czechoslovakia and Mongolia, 1960 (considerable amendments were made in the Constitution of Czechoslovakia by the Constitutional Act of the Czechoslovakian Federation, adopted in 1968); in Yugoslavia, 1963; in Rumania, 1965; and in the GDR, 1968. In Cuba, the Fundamental Law of the Republic of Cuba was adopted in 1959, and subsequently, following nationwide discussion, a number of constitutional acts were adopted, namely, the Havana Declarations and the Universal Military Duty Act.

The state exercises its functions with the broad participation of the masses through the system of representative bodies, the executive and administrative apparatus, the judicial organs and the organs of the procurator's office.

REPRESENTATIVE SYSTEM

The characteristic feature of socialist democracy is that all social and state affairs are decided by the working people through their representatives, and directly. This Lenin saw as one of the most important advantages of the socialist state system, which makes it possible "to combine the advantages of the parliamentary system with those of immediate and direct democracy" (Vol. 26, pp. 103-104).

In accordance with the constitutions of the socialist countries, **the system of state organs is based on representative institu-**

tions elected by the people and responsible to them.

In the socialist countries suffrage is **universal**. The right to vote is everywhere available to citizens who have attained the age of 18 years. As socialism is consolidated the curbs on electoral rights introduced in some countries during the acute class struggle after the revolution are being dropped. Today, almost all the socialist countries have no social limitations on citizens' participation in the election of state organs.

In most socialist countries, the election of popular representative bodies is carried out on the **territorial principle**: deputies represent citizens by domicile. In the unitary states the higher representative bodies are unicameral. In socialist federations, alongside the chambers elected on the territorial principle and representing the whole population (Soviet of the Union in the USSR, People's Chamber in Czechoslovakia, Socio-Political Vece (Council) in Yugoslavia, there are also chambers elected on the national-territorial principle (Soviet of Nationalities in the USSR, Chamber of Nationalities in Czechoslovakia, and Vece of Nationalities in Yugoslavia). In addition, all representative organs of state power in Yugoslavia have chambers elected by the working people on the production principle and representing the working people by occupation (vece of labor communities). The Soviet of Nationalities of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, the Chamber of the Peoples of the Federal Assembly of Czechoslovakia, and the Vece of Nationalities of the Federal Skupstina (Assembly) of Yugoslavia are elected on the basis of parity representation of the national-territorial units at each level. The parity principle ensures the equality of the national-territorial entities.

In most socialist countries the election of representative bodies is **direct**.

In elections in the socialist states the law provides for **secret balloting**. The possibility of open voting is provided only by the Constitution of the People's Republic of China in elections of the lower echelon of the Assemblies of People's Representatives.

Electoral districts may be **unimandatory** and **multimandatory**, the latter being arranged in countries where there are several parties, to provide an opportunity for the

election from one district of representatives of all the parties enjoying influence in it.

A characteristic feature of the socialist electoral system is the right of political parties, mass organizations and working people's societies to nominate candidates for deputies, the nomination normally taking place at meetings of working people at their place of work or residence, and also at meetings of Party branches and grass-roots mass organizations. The candidates for entry on the ballot papers are as a rule thoroughly and comprehensively discussed by the electors at their electoral meetings.

In recent years, in some countries (Hungary, GDR, DRV, Poland and Yugoslavia) more candidates are nominated than the number of seats in the electoral districts, to give the electors an opportunity to decide which of the candidates has the better personal qualifications to implement the common electoral platform.

At the 1969 elections in Poland, there were 622 candidates for the 460 seats in the Sejm, and 237,873 candidates for the 165,725 seats in the People's Councils. In the elections to the local People's Councils, candidates at the bottom of the register were

elected in about 30 cases. In 1967, two or three candidates ran in some electoral districts in the elections to Hungary's State Assembly and local councils. At the 1969 elections in Yugoslavia, 963 candidates were entered on the electoral rolls for the 620 seats in the Federal Skupstina. In the socialist countries, the electoral campaigns are carried on by the electors themselves: electoral commissions are set up in democratic procedures at electors' meetings or by delegation from Party and mass organizations.

The responsibility of deputies to their electors, which is typical of the socialist electoral system, is expressed in the **accountability of deputies to their electors and the removability of deputies at any time by decision of their electors**. Thus, in 1968, 541 deputies to local Soviets in the USSR were recalled by their electors before the expiry of their term. During the term of the Fifth and Sixth Supreme Soviets of the USSR 11 deputies were recalled from this highest representative body.

The democratic system of elections as a rule ensures the election of the best representatives of the people from among the workers and other working people.

Social Make-Up of Higher Representative Bodies

	Year	Deputies	Workers	Peasants	Intellectuals, Office Workers, etc.
Bulgaria	1966	416	50	51*	315
GDR	1967	500	287	44	169
Hungary	1967	349	126	52	171
Mongolia	1969	297	69	84	144
Poland	1969	460	79	70	311
Rumania	1969	465	92	76	297
USSR	1970	1,517	481	282	854
Yugoslavia	1969	620	4	1	615

*Together with forestry workers.

(NB: The present U.S. Congress does not include a single worker, small farmer or ordinary white-collar worker.

Although workers make up almost 50 per cent of the working population of the FRG, only seven per cent of the present Bundestag, following the 1969 election, are workers).

The constitutions of the socialist countries lay down that the **higher representative organs** shall be the sole law-making institutions in each country. They are: the People's Assembly in Albania and Bulgaria, the State Assembly in Hungary, the National Assembly in the DRV, the People's Chamber in the GDR, the Supreme People's Assembly in the KPDR, the Grand People's Hural in Mongolia, the Sejm in Poland, the Grand National Assembly in Rumania, the Supreme Soviet in the USSR, the Federal Assembly in Czechoslovakia, and the Federal Skupstina in Yugoslavia. In China, the Constitution

provides for an All-China Assembly of People's Representatives as the supreme representative organ of state power.*

The higher representative organs of power decide on the principal questions of state life in the socialist countries. They form other higher state bodies, determine the main lines of their activity and exercise control over it. In many socialist countries the higher representative bodies have been playing

*Its activity, like that of local representative bodies, was suspended by the "cultural revolution." For several years there have been no reports about the All-China Assembly of People's Representatives.

a greater role, especially in recent years. Their legislative and control functions are being enlarged. Many matters once regulated by decree or government order are now regulated by statute. Thus, from 1946 to 1956, the Supreme Soviet of the USSR adopted 52 statutes, and over the next 10 years, 152.

The extension of the law-making functions of the higher representative bodies goes hand in hand with the perfection of legislative procedures. The number of subjects of law with legislative initiative is increasing: in some countries, these include, alongside deputies, chambers and higher state bodies, various mass organizations.

A growing legislative practice in the socialist countries is discussion of the major bills by the entire people. Thus, during the 1968 discussion by the whole Soviet people of the draft Fundamentals of Legislation on Marriage and the Family, over 7,000 proposals and remarks were sent in to the standing committees of the USSR Supreme Soviet, in addition to the many thousands contained in letters to editors; almost 3,000 remarks and proposals were sent in to the USSR Supreme Soviet during the countrywide discussion the same year of the Fundamentals of Land Legislation. In the GDR, 11 million persons took part in the discussion of the new constitution; they made about 12,500 proposals, consideration of which resulted in 118 amendments to the draft. In Rumania, the trade unions organized a broad discussion of the draft law on labor discipline in state bodies. Meetings held for this purpose were attended by almost 1.5 million workers, engineers, technicians, and management workers. Speeches were delivered by 60,992 persons, and 11,928 proposals and remarks were submitted, with a part of these adopted in putting the finishing touches to the draft.

In some countries (Poland, Rumania), the extension of the legislative, control, and administrative functions of the higher representative institutions has led in practice to longer sessions, including plenary sittings and committee sittings. In other countries, the committees work in between sessions. The activity of the standing committees of the higher representative bodies has also become more vigorous, which in some instances has involved an extension and more specific delineation of their jurisdiction (e.g., the USSR, Rumania). There has been a characteristic growth in the number of standing committees, above all for the branches of the national economy and culture. While considering, by assignment of the chambers and the higher organs of state

power, the various bills and other matters the committees also initiate consideration at the sessions of various problems and exercise control over the observance of the laws.

In between the sessions of the higher representative institutions, a part of their tasks in most socialist countries is fulfilled by collegial organs of state power, which usually also exercise some of the traditional functions of chief-of-state (representation of the state abroad, reception and accreditation of ambassadors, acts of amnesty, and so on). These are the Presidiums of the People's Assemblies in Albania and Bulgaria; the Presidium of the State Assembly of the People's Republic of Hungary; the State Councils in the GDR, Poland and Rumania; the Presidium of the Supreme People's Assembly in the KPDR; the Presidium of the Grand People's Hural in Mongolia; and the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. In Czechoslovakia, apart from the Presidium of the Federal Assembly, and in the DRV, apart from the Standing Committee of the National Assembly, there is also a President. The institution of the one-man President exists in Yugoslavia and in Cuba. In China, alongside the Standing Committee of the All-China Assembly of People's Representatives there is provision for the institution of a Chairman of the Republic,* in whom the constitution vests broad powers.

The collegial and one-man higher organs of state power are elected by the higher representative organs (in Cuba, by the Council of Ministers), and are responsible to them for their activity.

The subjects of socialist federations and autonomous states also have their higher representative organs. In the USSR, these are the Supreme Soviets of the Union Republics and the Autonomous Republics; in Czechoslovakia, the National Councils of the Republics; in Yugoslavia, the Republican Skupstinas (in Croatia, the Sobor; in Macedonia, the Saborie). The Higher collegial organs of state power in the Union and the Autonomous Republics of the USSR are the Presidiums of their Supreme Soviets, and in the Republics of Czechoslovakia, the Presidiums of the National Councils.

In contrast to the capitalist countries, **local representative institutions** in the socialist countries are a component part of the coherent system of organs of state power, which is why they combine the functions both of organs of state power and of local

*In the course of the "cultural revolution" the Chairman of the Chinese People's Republic, who had been elected in accordance with the Constitution, was removed and there have been no official reports of his whereabouts since November 1968.

self-government. In the DRV, Albania, Bulgaria, Poland and Rumania, these are the People's Councils; in Hungary, Councils; in the GDR, People's Representations;* in the KPDR, People's Assemblies; in Mongolia, Hurals of People's Deputies; in the USSR, Soviets of Working People's Deputies; in Czechoslovakia, National Committees, and in Yugoslavia, Skupstinas. In China, the Constitution proclaims Assemblies of People's Representatives to be the local organs of state power.

The development of the powers of the local organs of state power in the socialist countries is marked by a tendency towards a concentration of all matters of local importance within their competence. Favorable conditions for this are being created by the economic reforms aimed at intensive economic development. Present legislation on the local representative organs promotes the ever fuller coordination of overall state and local interests.

In most socialist countries, local representative organs work in sessions. Between sessions a part of their functions is exercised by their executive organs, which they form and which are responsible to them: executive committees in Hungary, Albania, Bulgaria, Rumania and the USSR; administrative committees in the DRV; councils in the GDR and Czechoslovakia; people's committees in the KPDR; executive administrations in Mongolia, and presidiums in Poland. In China, people's committees are designated by the Constitution as organs of this kind.

The executive organs of local representative institutions in most socialist countries are under dual subordination: to the representative organ electing them, and to the higher executive organ. In Czechoslovakia, the national committees are regarded simultaneously as organs of state power and of state administration. In Yugoslavia, the communal skupstinas do not form any single executive organ: a number of councils subordinate to the skupstina is set up in the communes to deal with specific sectors.

In most socialist countries, the local executive organs have sectoral departments, which are as a rule under dual subordination.

The work of **standing committees** of local representative institutions is an important form of their activity. In many countries, these committees include, together with deputies (a majority on each committee) public figures who are not deputies. Committee work is one way of involving the working

people in the administration of the state. A characteristic tendency is the enhancement of the role of the standing committees, an increase in their number, and an extension of their powers, the power of control above all. At the same time, in some countries (Bulgaria, Poland and Czechoslovakia) they are also vested with certain executive powers.

The local representative institutions and their agencies organize and direct the work of a large body of activists united in various associations (street and house committees, parents' committees, old-age pensioners' councils, and so on). In the USSR, the Soviets rely in their day-to-day activity on the assistance of 23 million activists. In the GDR, the activists of the people's representations number 650,000. Village meetings, local polls, and so on, are held under the direction of local organs of state power.

Consequently, the socialist representative system not only exercises, on a mandate from the people, the state power which belongs to them, but ensures on an ever wider scale the involvement of the working people in the exercise of the various functions of government.

THE GOVERNMENT

With the socialist countries tackling ever more complex economic, political, social and cultural tasks, there is in most of them a perfection of the apparatus of state administration, a further consolidation of its links with the masses of working people, a search for, trial and application of new methods of planning and organization of accounting and control in every sphere of state activity. Practice shows that the perfection of the ramified system of organs of state administration produces the greatest effect when it is carried out on the basis of Leninist organizational principles, notably democratic centralism, which best helps to harmonize the interests of central and local state administration.

Governments are higher organs of state administration in the socialist countries. These are Councils of Ministers in the GDR, Mongolia, Albania, Bulgaria, Poland, Rumania and the USSR; a State Council in China; a Federal Executive Vece in Yugoslavia; a Federal Government in Czechoslovakia; a Government Council in the DRV; a Cabinet of Ministers in the KPDR; a Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government (Council of Ministers) in Hungary, and a Revolutionary Government (Council of Ministers) in Cuba.

*Their various levels and types have special names.

The government is formed by the higher representative institution directly or through approval of its composition following its appointment by the President (the traditional procedure in Czechoslovakia). In Cuba the Government is appointed by the President of the Republic.

The Governments are responsible to the higher representative institutions, and between sessions, to their Presidiums (Standing Committees, State Councils).

Among the powers of the Governments are overall direction of state administration, and coordination of the work of all the other executive and administrative organs. Economic and cultural matters are at the heart of their activity. The Governments direct the drafting of national-economic plans and budgets and take steps to execute them, introduce bills in the higher representative institutions, and on the basis of the laws adopt their own decisions and orders.

SECTORAL ORGANS OF ADMINISTRATION

At present the sectoral state apparatus is undergoing changes, caused, on the one hand, by the differentiation of the sectors and spheres of economic and cultural construction, and, on the other, by the need for further concentration of production and specialization of administration. In the socialist countries, state administration is not confined to administrative-political measures. Because the socialist states own the principal means of production and exercise the economic-organizational, cultural and educational functions, one of the tasks of state administration is to direct the whole of economic and cultural construction.

Lenin wrote: "Under socialism . . . the mass of the population will rise to taking an **independent part**, not only in voting and elections, **but also in the everyday administration of the state**" (Vol. 25, pp. 487-88). In the USSR and in a number of other countries, there is the practice of holding at the center and in the localities sectoral congresses and conferences of working people's representatives to discuss current problems in the development of the various sectors of the economy and culture.

Other forms of working people's participation in administration are also being developed. There is ever broader enlistment in the work of local executive bodies of representatives of the population, volunteer inspectors, instructors and controllers.

At the present stage, much importance attaches to the perfection of economic management in connection with the economic

reforms now being put through.* New forms of economic management, such as production associations, are emerging. There are also new forms of the working people's participation in the management of socialist production. In the USSR, standing production conferences function at the enterprises, involving over five million workers, engineers, technicians, and office workers. In other countries, specific democratic forms have emerged at the enterprises: workers' self-management conferences in Poland, and production committees in the GDR and Bulgaria. These work out production plans and organize their fulfilment, take decisions on allocating a part of their enterprise's profits, and exercise social control over the activity of the management. In Rumania, there are management committees at enterprises and in economic organizations, on which are directors, chief engineers, economists, accountants, some sector heads, trade-union committee chairmen, and representatives of white- and blue-collar workers, who are elected at general meetings once every two years.

The new forms and methods of economic management are aimed to perfect the economic role of the socialist state, and consolidate the scientific basis of planning and direction of the national economy. A switch from planned guidance to the chaotic play of market forces, and harm to the socialist economy are bound to result from the Right revisionist conceptions of "de-étatizing the economy," and "separating the economy from the state."

In some socialist countries, there are **people's control organs**, which not only scrutinize the legality of acts by government and economic bodies, but also see that they are appropriate. There is a special constitutional body in Poland—the Supreme Control Chamber—elected by the Sejm and responsible to it. In the provinces, the organs of the Supreme Control Chamber are called "delegatory."

In Hungary, the GDR, Mongolia, Bulgaria, the USSR and Czechoslovakia there are control committees and commissions at the center and in the localities operating under the governments and local organs of state power. Their task may include a check-up on fulfilment of decisions taken by the Communist and Workers' parties, which is why they are also directed by the Party committees concerned. In their activity, the control organs rely on a large body of working people's activists. In the USSR, the people's

*For some of the economic results of these reforms, see Supplement to *World Marxist Review*, No. 1, 1970.

controllers number over seven million, and in the GDR, 150,000. In Rumania, over 10,000 teams have been set up, involving over 60,000 persons, who control the level of marketing, medical, cultural, and other services for the working people.

THE ARMED FORCES

The threat of armed attack by imperialism makes it necessary to maintain the fraternal socialist countries' Armed Forces in constant readiness.

A part of the state mechanism, they are closely linked with the people. Within them there is no class contrast between the rank and file and the officer corps—as there is in the armed forces of the exploiting states—and the officer corps is made up of the same working sections of the population as the rank and file. The Marxist-Leninist Party's leadership is a guarantee that the personnel of the Armed Forces are trained in a spirit of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism.*

In the socialist countries, the Armed Forces as a rule comprise the regular army (ground forces, navy and air force), security service, and organs for the maintenance of public order.

Socialist armies are made up on the basis of citizens' universal military duty, which is written into the constitutions.

The armies of the socialist Warsaw Treaty States closely cooperate with each other in the defense of their countries.

Where there is the institution of the one-man President, he is, according to the Constitution, the supreme commander-in-chief of the Armed Forces.

Some countries have collegial organs to direct defense, including the Armed Forces. These are the State Defense Committee in the DRV; the National Defense Council in the GDR; the Defense Council in Rumania; the Defense of the State Council in Czechoslovakia; and the People's Defense Council in Yugoslavia. In the DRV and Yugoslavia, these bodies are headed by the President, and in the GDR and Rumania, by the Chairmen of the State Councils.

The **security services** in the socialist countries have the task of combating agents of the imperialist intelligence services, and

safeguarding the socialist system. They are closely allied with the people and rely on their assistance.

In some countries (e.g., Hungary, the GDR, Rumania, and Czechoslovakia) labor collectives have **working people's armed combat detachments**—the people's (workers') militia. In Rumania, they are known as the Patriotic Guard. In Cuba there are committees for the defense of the revolution, numbering over 1.5 million men. In the DRV, the people have been massively armed to fight the aggression of U.S. imperialism.

Organs for the maintenance of public order (militia, police) combat criminal offences and other breaches of public order, maintain order in transport, and so on. In Bulgaria and the USSR, volunteer people's patriots have been set up to assist the militia.

THE COURTS AND THE PROCURATOR'S OFFICE

A necessary prerequisite for the successful construction of socialism and communism is observance and execution of socialist laws, which express the will of the working people and lay down the rights and duties of all citizens and persons in office. The Marxist-Leninist parties have resolutely condemned the violations of legality which had occurred in connection with the personality cult. In most socialist countries, the guarantees of civic rights have been strengthened and innocent victims rehabilitated. Protection of civic rights as of all other socialist values implies application of the statutory sanctions against those who encroach on the socialist system, and on the individual's rights and freedoms, which it guarantees, or who evade their established duties. These purposes are served by socialist legality. A most important part in safeguarding it belongs to the courts and the procurator's office, which have a place apart within the system of state organs.

Socialist courts are based on democratic principles.

One of these is the **electivity of judges**. As a rule, judges and people's assessors are elected by representative organs of state power at the corresponding level; in some countries (Bulgaria, USSR) judges and people's assessors at the lowest level of the judicial system are elected directly by the population. The electivity and responsibility of judges does not clash with the principle of their **independence in judicial decisions** in concrete cases, but helps to enhance the quality of judicial activity. As a rule, there is a higher age qualification for candidates

*Marked denartures from these principles are evident in China's armed forces. Their virtual and unlawful subordination to a single individual, the proclamation that the army is a "school" for all links of the political system, and a number of other well-known facts characterizing the present political situation in China, resulted in a situation in which the Chinese Armed Forces were ranged during the "cultural revolution" against the Party and the constitutional organs of state power, and began to rise above them.

for judicial office (e.g., in the GDR, Rumania, and the USSR it is 25 years, and in Poland, 26), and in some countries there is also the requirement of higher legal training (e.g., in the GDR, Poland and Rumania).

An important principle making the socialist court a popular institution is the participation in its work of **people's assessors**, who, in contrast to jurymen in the capitalist countries, have equal rights with judges in judicial decisions.

Other characteristic features of socialist court procedure are the **public nature of the proceedings, collegiality of the court, equality of citizens before the law and the court, subordination of the court only to the law in judicial decisions, conduct of the proceedings in the language of the majority of the local population**, with the participants in the proceedings who have no knowledge of this language being assured of the services of an interpreter.

In some countries these various principles underlying the structure of the courts and court procedure are applied with different modifications. For instance, in the Supreme Court of the GDR people's assessors take part in the work only of the senate for labor cases; in Rumania, they participate in the consideration only of labor cases and cases involving the gravest crimes.

In the socialist countries the judicial proceedings as a rule involve two instances, holding out the possibility of a review of judicial decisions in an extraordinary, supervisory procedure. This gives stability to judicial decisions, and does away with delays in the consideration of cases while providing the opportunity of correcting any judicial errors.

In many countries (GDR, Poland, USSR and others) the consideration of civil disputes between socialist organizations is referred to the jurisdiction of **state arbitration**, which is not a part of the overall judicial system, but is structured on the departmental or territorial principle.

In Yugoslavia there is a special system of economic courts headed by the Supreme Economic Court, which is a constitutional body and is formed in the same manner as the Supreme Court.

An important form for enlisting the working people in the exercise of justice are the **social courts** (comrades' courts in Bulgaria and the USSR, conflict and mediating commissions in the GDR, judicial commissions in Rumania, social courts in Poland, and so on). These are lay bodies, whose members are elected by citizens from among their midst in labor collectives and by place of

residence, and which deal with minor offences, disputes between citizens, and also breaches of the rules of socialist community living. Their decisions may be appealed against in the common courts.

Supervision over the observance of socialist legality by state organs, economic and mass organizations and citizens is vested in the **procurator's office**, a special system of state organs whose task is to see to the uniform observance and application of socialist laws and other normative acts. This broad task of general supervision over legality distinguishes the socialist procurator's office from similarly designated organs in the capitalist countries, where they are confined to the institution of criminal proceedings.

The necessity for procuratorial supervision over legality in the socialist state was urged by Lenin, who worked out the fundamental organizational principles of the procurator's office. As a rule its organs enjoy only control and not administrative powers, which is why they are structurally separate from local organs of power and are independent of them. The procurator's office is strictly centralized, with the lower-level procurators being appointed by the higher-level and subordinate to them. The head of this system (the Procurator-General, the Chief Procurator, and so on) is appointed by the higher representative organ and is responsible to it. There are specific features to the procurator's office in Rumania, whose main task is to combat criminal offences and to supervise the legality and activity of judicial organs and organs dealing with the execution of judgments.

In the socialist countries, **advocates** are as a rule associated in collegiums, which provide legal aid to citizens and organizations. Their fees are based on fixed rates and are well within the means of the working people. Citizens accused of committing crimes may request the court for the free services of a defense counsel.

INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS AND FREEDOMS

For the first time in history, socialism holds out the possibility of providing not only juridical but also economic guarantees of the working people's rights and freedoms.

In socialist society, individual rights and freedoms are above all a means and a guarantee of the working people's participation in deciding on truly social matters, and in building the new, most just and most humanistic society—communism.

The institution of individual rights as of individual freedoms is influenced by a diversity of social factors, the chief of which is

the relation of class forces and the degree of sharpness of the class struggle in the period of socialist construction, the level of maturity of socialist relations, the economic and cultural levels in the given country, and the international situation.

The constitutions of the socialist countries provide for the **equality of citizens**. The working people's society holds out to its citizens equal social conditions and opportunities, irrespective of nationality or race.

The **equality of men and women** in every sphere of social life is written into the constitutions.

A most important guarantee of women's equality is their involvement in social production, and in state, social and cultural life. For their work, the law provides for equal pay with men. There are especially many women in science and technology, public education, public health, state administration and the service industries. (NB: Only one in ten British women in industry receives equal pay with men for her work. In France, women's wages are on average 25-30 per cent lower than those of men; and in Belgium, roughly 40 per cent).

Working women are paid allowances during the period of pregnancy and confinement, and allowances as nursing mothers. Pre- and post-parturition leave comes to 26 weeks in Czechoslovakia; 17 in Bulgaria; 16 in the USSR and Rumania, 14 in the GDR and 12 in Poland. In most European socialist countries, the allowance amounts to the woman's full wages. In addition, once the child is born, lump-sum and monthly allowances are paid to buy the various things required for the care of the new-born child, to meet the cost of better nutrition, and so on.

Social security legislation in some countries sets the pension age for women, depending on the number of children she has reared.

The broad participation of women in social and state life is striking evidence of their equality with men.

Women in the Higher Representative Bodies of Some Socialist Countries

		Total Deputies	Women
Bulgaria	1966	416	70
Hungary	1967	349	69
GDR	1967	500	153
Mongolia	1969	297	65
Poland	1969	460	62
Rumania	1969	465	67
USSR	1970	1,517	463
Yugoslavia	1969	620	49

The **right to work** is a most important one among the **social and economic rights** of citizens. It is the right of every able-bodied citizen to obtain guaranteed work in accordance with his abilities and qualifications, and the right to receive payment according to the quantity and quality of his work. The right to work is ensured by the prevalence of social property in the means of production, steady development of the productive forces, elimination of economic crises and unemployment* and the steady growth in employment. The state arranges for the retraining and placement of workers made redundant by scientific and technical progress, and covers all the incidental costs.

Socialist constitutions assure citizens of the **right to rest and leisure**, which is guaranteed by the reduction of working hours to 41-48 hours a week, weekly holidays and annual leave with pay.

Basic Working Week* (hours)

Bulgaria	— 42.5**	Rumania	— 48
Hungary	— 44***	USSR	— 41
GDR	— 43.75	Czechoslovakia	— 41.5
Mongolia	— 46	Yugoslavia	— 42**
Poland	— 46		

*The working week is shortened for persons engaged in arduous operations, for persons under the age of 18 years, in some countries for women with small children, and so on.

**Not yet in all industries.

***In industry and building. In other industries, 48 hours.

The reduction in working hours in the socialist countries does not entail any reduction in wages. In some countries, for instance, the GDR, USSR, and Czechoslovakia, there is a five-day week.

The minimum length of annual leave for industrial and office workers in most countries is 15 days. In some countries, it is increased depending on the seniority, coming to 24 working days in the GDR, four weeks in Czechoslovakia, 18 working days in Bulgaria, and 26 working days in Poland. The overall length of leave is increased depending on the working conditions and other circumstances.

Citizens have the **right to material security in illness, loss of ability to work, and old age**. This is ensured by the broad development of social insurance for industrial and office workers, and also members of cooperatives, pensions and other social benefits for citizens.

From year to year, there is an increase in outlays for pensions and aid to citizens.

*For a number of reasons, there is still some unemployment in Yugoslavia, as published reports indicate.

Old-age pensions (without consideration of other privileges) are granted in Hungary, Mongolia, Bulgaria, Rumania, USSR and Yugoslavia, for men at 60 years, for women at 55; in the GDR and Poland, at 65 and 60 respectively. These age limits are reduced in some instances (depending on the working conditions, overall seniority, number of children for women, and so on).* (NB: In the USA, FRG, the Netherlands, and Finland, normal pensions are allowed to men and women at 65, in Sweden at 67, and in Ireland and Norway, at 70).

The **right to the protection of health** is ensured the working people through free medical services, and an extension of the network of medical institutions. In a short period, the CMEA countries caught up with and even surpassed the capitalist countries in the number of doctors per 10,000 population. At present, almost one-third of the doctors of the world (800,000 out of 2.5 million) are in the CMEA countries (NB: In the last 20 years, the cost of medical treatment in U.S. hospitals has increased fourfold. A simple operation in a hospital costs \$1,000, and a serious one, \$3,000. *Fortune* magazine says that medical workers and institutions are so unequally distributed that large groups of the population, especially in the poor urban and rural areas, virtually have no medical aid at all, although the incidence of disease among them is highest).

The **right to education** means a real possibility, guaranteed by the state, of citizens' obtaining general and specialized knowledge in institutions of learning, and constantly raising their educational levels. In most socialist countries, there is compulsory and free education in eight- and ten-year schools.

Education of every type has on the whole been growing much faster than in the developed capitalist countries, where the high tuition fees, especially in the higher schools, are a formidable social barrier for the working people and their children in raising their educational levels. Thus, in many U.S. colleges and universities, the cost of education is over \$3,000 a year, which for a skilled worker means four or five months' wages.

Together with the right to education citizens in the socialist countries enjoy wide

access to every cultural achievement, and this is ensured by the steady extension of the network of cultural institutions, universal access to which is guaranteed by the state.

The **socio-political rights of citizens** include the right to unite in political and mass organizations, freedom of speech and the press, freedom of assembly, meetings and manifestations. These rights and freedoms cater for the working people's interest and help to develop their political and social activity. They may not be used to the detriment of socialist society. They are materially guaranteed by the availability to the working people and their organizations of halls, clubs, palaces of culture and other social premises, printing works, mass media, and so on.

The constitutions of the socialist countries provide for **individual freedoms**, above all **inviolability of the person**. No one may be arrested without an order of the court or the sanction of the procurator. Punishment may be imposed only on the basis of law and in the statutory procedure. The **inviolability of the home** and **secrecy of correspondence** are guaranteed. Searches and scrutiny of the mails are permitted only in special instances strictly determined by law. Citizens are ensured the **right in personal property** consisting of personal and household effects, dwelling, earned income and savings.

Citizens are ensured **freedom of conscience and religion**. Every citizen has the right to be an atheist or to profess a religion. The Communist and Workers' parties proceed from the fact that the overcoming of religious beliefs is a lengthy process involving the spread of education and culture among all sections of the population, and the consistent moulding of the scientific outlook. In directing this process they do not resort to administrative pressure. Within the framework of the law, religious communities are free to decide on their own affairs and conduct their religious rituals. Religious instruction is a private affair of citizens, and schools are separated from the church.

In some countries there are a number of congregations which enjoy equal rights. Thus, in the GDR, apart from the Evangelical and Catholic Churches, there are various other denominations; in the USSR, alongside the 11 major denominations, a number of minor ones are also registered; in Rumania there are 15 religious cults recognized by the state; in Czechoslovakia there are 17 officially recognized creeds, and so on. The churches and religious communities have their own institutions, have at their disposal buildings and structures, and pub-

*Thus, in the USSR, as distinct from the general pension age, women with a seniority of not less than 15 years, who have brought up five or more children up to the age of five years, have the right to a pension upon the attainment of 50 years. In Czechoslovakia, the pension age for women with one child is 56 years; with two children 55 years, with three and four, 54 years and with five and more, 53 years. The general pension age for men in Czechoslovakia is 60.

lish religious literature. Fanatical religious communities and sects are banned.

It is an offence in any way to infringe the rights of citizens or to establish privileges for them for reasons of their profession or non-profession of religion, to offend the religious feelings of believers or the atheistic feelings of non-believers, or to incite religious strife. Citizens and mass organizations have the freedom of anti-religious propaganda.

A characteristic feature of socialist democracy is the **close interconnection of the rights and duties of citizens**. The need for their unity was pointed out by the founders of Marxism. Engels wrote: "For us, **equal duties** are an especially important complement of bourgeois democratic **equal rights**, one that strips the latter of their specifically bourgeois meaning" (**Criticism of the Draft Social-Democratic Program of 1891**). The constitutions impose on citizens the duty to **abide by the laws, to work, to safeguard social property, to defend the socialist fatherland, and to promote the consolidation of the new social system**. Socialist democracy, assuring citizens of their rights, also implies greater organization and conscious discipline. It is incompatible with an anarchic attitude to one's duties as established by law. That is why the Marxist-Leninist Parties, the state organs and the public in the fraternal socialist countries devote constant attention both to the protection of citizens' rights and to the conscious and strict performance of duties by everyone.

Historical experience shows that the conception of freedom is closely linked with the interests of classes. Under socialism, rights and freedoms serve the working people's interests and must not be used to their detriment. The laws of the socialist states rule out the "freedom" to set up counter-revolutionary organizations, spread anti-socialist propaganda, the propaganda of war and national strife, and other unlawful anti-social activity.

SOLUTION OF THE NATIONALITIES QUESTION

By eliminating man's exploitation of man, and thereby of one nation by another, **socialism eradicates the social causes of national mistrust and hostility, and creates the necessary conditions for stronger friendship between nations, and for their drawing closer together**.

But these advantages of socialism are not realized automatically. For decades and centuries the old system had blocked the emergence and development of traditions of

friendship between nations and had bred chauvinism and nationalism, making use of "falsehood and iron" to do so, as Lenin put it. These survivals die hard and show signs of being alive long after their social roots have gone.

At present, three socialist states — the USSR, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia — are federations, and are built on principles which are typical for socialist federalism. These are the national character of the subjects of federation, their free association and equality. At the same time, each of the socialist federations has such distinctive features as the number of subjects and the approach to some of the politico-juridical problems arising out of federalism.

In some socialist states there are autonomous national-territorial entities and state entities. In the USSR, these are the 20 Autonomous Republics, 8 Autonomous Regions, and 10 National Areas; in Yugoslavia, the 2 Autonomous Territories; in the DRV, 2 Autonomous Regions and an Autonomous District; in Mongolia, 1 Autonomous Aymak (Region). In China, the constitution provides for the establishment of autonomous districts, areas, and sub-regions and national sub-districts. The autonomous national entities set up after the establishment of the People's Republic of China had developed up until the Eighth Congress of the CPC (1956). In that period, their population had achieved marked progress in economic and cultural development. Until recently, the non-Chinese population (over 50 nationalities and national minorities) occupied 60 per cent of the country's territory. During the "cultural revolution" there were marked departures from the socialist principles underlying relations between the nationalities, the chief of these being the forced "Sinification" of the territories inhabited by the national minorities.

Autonomous and state entities may be a form of national statehood for one people or national minority or for several national groups. The choice of form of national-state existence as a rule results from an expression of will by the population of the territory inhabited by the national group concerned. At the expressed desire of each people this form may be modified: one form of national-territorial autonomy may be substituted for another. The people enjoying autonomy may set up a sovereign national state and enter into federal relations with the other peoples of the given country, as Slovakia has done in Czechoslovakia, and Kazakhstan, Kirghizia and several other Republics in the USSR.

The equality of citizens, regardless of race, nationality or language is written into every socialist constitution. Any form of discrimination or privilege for these reasons is unlawful.

The principle of the national equality of citizens is complemented by the rights of small peoples and national minorities which either cannot (for instance, because they are scattered) or do not wish to exercise the right to self-determination (for instance, the Sorbs in the GDR). These national groups are specially guaranteed the right to use their native language, the right to education and cultural development in their own language, the right to proportional representation in the state organs, and so on. On territories with a nationally mixed population, state organs, information media, institutions of learning, and cultural establishments use all the languages in the area.

The experience of the socialist countries testifies that to solve the nationalities question it is not enough to set up this or that form of national statehood and provide guarantees in law for national equality. There is additional need for a whole system or measures to ensure elimination of the actual national inequality established in the past and to remove all the causes which could affect national relations.

The Soviet Union has major achievements in this sphere. Before the Revolution, the peoples of most Republics did not have a state of their own, were subjected to national oppression, were backward economically and culturally, and deprived of political rights. Many of them lived under feudalism or even under pre-feudal relations. The Soviet power liberated the peoples, gave them national states of their own, and created the conditions for accelerated economic and cultural development. The Russian people's assistance has had and has an exceptional part to play in their development.

In 1968, the Central Asian Republics of the USSR turned out more products than in 1913 as follows: Uzbekistan, 37-fold; Kirghizia, 152-fold; Tajikistan, 76-fold; Turkmenia, 39-fold; Kazakhstan, over 100-fold. Industrial output in the Transcaucasian Republics increased as follows: Georgia, 72-fold; Azerbaijan, 29-fold; and Armenia, 146-fold. The data on the successes of the Autonomous Republics are equally eloquent. Thus, the output of large-scale industry in the Karelian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic increased 58-fold; Daghestan, 90-fold; Mordovia, 120-fold; Buryatia, 150-fold; North Ossetia, 176-fold; Yakutia, 177-fold; Komi, 182-fold; Mari, 187-fold; Chuvashia, 245-

"The socialist world has now entered a stage of its development when the possibility arises of utilizing on a scale far greater than ever before the tremendous potentialities inherent in the new system. This is furthered by evolving and applying better economic and political forms corresponding to the requirements of mature socialist society, which already rests on the new social structure."

(International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties. Moscow, 1969.)

fold; Tataria, 315-fold; Udmurtia, 409-fold, and Bashkiria, 414-fold.

The former relatively more developed republics in the Baltic have also scored outstanding successes under socialism. Compared with 1940, their industrial output increased as follows: Lithuania, 25-fold; Latvia, 23-fold, and Estonia, 24-fold.

These achievements would not have been possible but for the simultaneously vast effort to boost the cultural level of the masses. For instance, before the Revolution the Kazakhs were nomads, and very few could read or write. By 1936, the Soviet power had succeeded in settling them and by 1941 in wiping out illiteracy among them. Today, Kazakhstan has twice as many students per 10,000 population as Britain, three times as many as the FRG and Italy, and from 5 to 13 times more than India, Pakistan, and Iran. There is swift development in Kazakhstan of science, including nuclear physics, electronics and telemechanics. Over 20,000 researchers work in scientific institutions and higher schools. The Republic has over 500,000 specialists with a higher and secondary specialized education. Works of Kazakh literature and art are widely known throughout the Soviet Union and abroad.

• • •

The practice of developing political relations and institutions in the fraternal socialist countries, which relies on Marxist-Leninist theory, confirms that the new social system, based on public ownership of the means of production and on the power of the working people, is capable of ensuring the planned, crisis-free development of the economy in the interest of the people, guaranteeing the social and political rights of the working people, creating conditions for genuine democracy, for real participation by the broad masses of people in the administration of society, for all-round development of the individual and for the equality and

friendship of nations. That is not to say that Marxist-Leninists see no need or prospect for perfecting the political and economic forms of socialism.

The socialist system is dynamic. It is free from stagnation in social relations and institutions. Overcoming the attempts of the imperialists and revisionists to "soften up" and "liberalize" socialism, rejecting all dog-

matic deformations, the Marxist-Leninist parties have been concentrating on further developing the new system of human relations, step by step advancing to the communist ideal, the establishment of a society in which "the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all" (Marx and Engels. **Manifesto of the Communist Party**).

