

V . K A R P I N S K Y

**HOW
THE SOVIET UNION
IS GOVERNED**



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THE SOVIET SOCIALIST STATE

On October 25 (November 7), 1917, the workers and soldiers of Petrograd (now Leningrad), led by the Communist Party, with V. I. Lenin and J. V. Stalin at its head, rose in arms and overthrew the bourgeois government.

That same day the Second All-Russian Congress of Soviets opened in Petrograd. The Congress issued an appeal to the people in which it declared:

“Backed by the will of the vast majority of the workers, soldiers and peasants, backed by the victorious uprising in Petrograd of the workers and the garrison, the Congress takes power into its own hands.”

That was the Great October Socialist Revolution which transferred state power in Russia to the Soviets. That was how the world's first Soviet socialist state of workers and peasants came into being.

Very soon a radical change took place in the life of the Soviet people.

Formerly, all power was in the hands of the capitalists and landlords. Now, all power is in the hands of the working people of town and country, represented by the Soviets of Working People's Deputies.

Formerly, the capitalists and landlords were the ruling classes. The factories and mills belonged to the capitalists. The landlords owned scores of millions of acres of the best land. The workers and peasants were oppressed, exploited classes; they were forced to work for the exploiters all their lives.

This is not the case now. In the Soviet Union the capitalists and landlords were eliminated long ago. Their wealth became the property of the people.

Now the workers are a free working class, leading the country to communism. The peasants are a free class of agriculturists who organized big-scale, socialist farms.

In the Soviet Union there are numerous non-Russian nationalities. Under tsarist rule they bore a double yoke of oppression. The tsarist government regarded them as people of "an inferior race," contemptuously called them *inorodtsi* (aliens), and deprived them of elementary human rights. It fanned national

discord and incited one nationality against another in order the more easily to rule and oppress the working people.

These peoples were also oppressed and exploited by their own national ruling classes.

There is no national oppression in the Soviet Union. All the peoples, big and small, no matter what nationality or race they belong to, are free and have equal rights.

All this has been achieved as a result of the victory and the consolidation of the Soviet system.

What are the Soviets?

The Soviets are the most mass, all-embracing government bodies, which unite all the working people, irrespective of sex, nationality, race, religion, education, occupation, property status or party affiliation.

Who are the Deputies to the Soviets?

They are workers, collective farmers and intellectuals, steel-makers and herdsmen, weavers and dairymaids, railwaymen and airmen, Russians and Estonians, Byelorussians and Turkmens, Ukrainians and Oirots, Latvians and Komis, Georgians and Nenets, Communists and non-Party people.

The Deputies to the Soviets are elected by the people and can be recalled by the people. The Soviets are the most democratic govern- *

ing bodies in the world. They are closely connected with the people and enjoy their fullest confidence.

Every town, district, region, area and territory has its Soviet of Working People's Deputies—the local organ of state power. The entire state system is based on the Soviets of Working People's Deputies. They are the *political foundation of the Soviet Union*.

The Soviet socialist state of workers and peasants is a *state of a new, higher type*. It differs completely from the capitalist states.

In capitalist countries, state power is wielded by the bourgeoisie, who use it to oppress and exploit the workers and peasants. Society is governed by and for the bourgeoisie.

In the Soviet Union all power belongs to the working people. They use it to consolidate and develop the socialist system, to continuously improve the material and cultural standards of the people, to strengthen the country's active defence capacity, to build communism. Society is governed by the working class, the advanced class, in alliance with the peasantry and in the interests of all the working people.

In the Soviet Union there is genuine democracy, that is, real *government by the people*.

The economic foundation of the Soviet Union is *the socialist system of economy and the socialist ownership of the instruments and means of production*. Mills and factories, the land, its mineral wealth, forests and waters, state-organized agricultural enterprises, machine and tractor stations, banks, transport and communications, as well as the bulk of the dwelling-houses in the cities and industrial localities, are *state property*, that is, *belong to the whole people*. The common enterprises with their products and buildings in co-operative organizations as well as in collective farms, set up by the peasants, are *co-operative and collective-farm socialist property*.

As a result of the extension of socialist ownership to all branches of the national economy, the exploiting classes, exploitation of man by man, poverty and unemployment have been completely abolished in the U.S.S.R.

Soviet socialist society consists of two friendly classes: workers and peasants; it includes also intellectuals who come from the ranks of these two classes. The workers, peasants and the intelligentsia, who constitute Soviet society, live in friendship and close co-operation.

Soviet law protects the right of personal property of all citizens in their earned incomes

and savings, in their dwelling-houses and subsidiary home enterprises, household goods and articles of personal use and convenience. Soviet law also safeguards the right of citizens to inherit personal property.

The economic structure of the Soviet Union differs radically from that of all the capitalist countries, where the economic foundation of society and the state is *private ownership of the instruments and means of production*. The industrial enterprises and the best land there belong to a small group of big proprietors, who use them to exploit the small owners and other poor sections of the population.

Capitalist society consists of hostile classes: workers and capitalists, peasants and landlords, farm labourers and capitalist farmers, that is, of exploited and exploiters, who are engaged in a constant fierce class struggle. The workers and peasants in capitalist countries are waging an increasingly intense struggle for their social emancipation for peace and democracy



THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

The first Soviet State was founded by the Russian working class in alliance with the peasant masses. With the fraternal aid of the Russian people and the Soviet power they had established in the centre of Russia, the other peoples of the former Russian empire also set up their own Soviet Republics.

At the end of 1922, after the three years' war against the internal counter-revolutionaries and foreign interventionists had been brought to a triumphant conclusion, the four then existing Soviet Republics, on the initiative of *V. I. Lenin* and *J. V. Stalin*, united in *one federal state—the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics*, the formation of which was proclaimed at the First All-Union Congress of Soviets on December 30, 1922. This enabled the Soviet peoples to pool their energy and

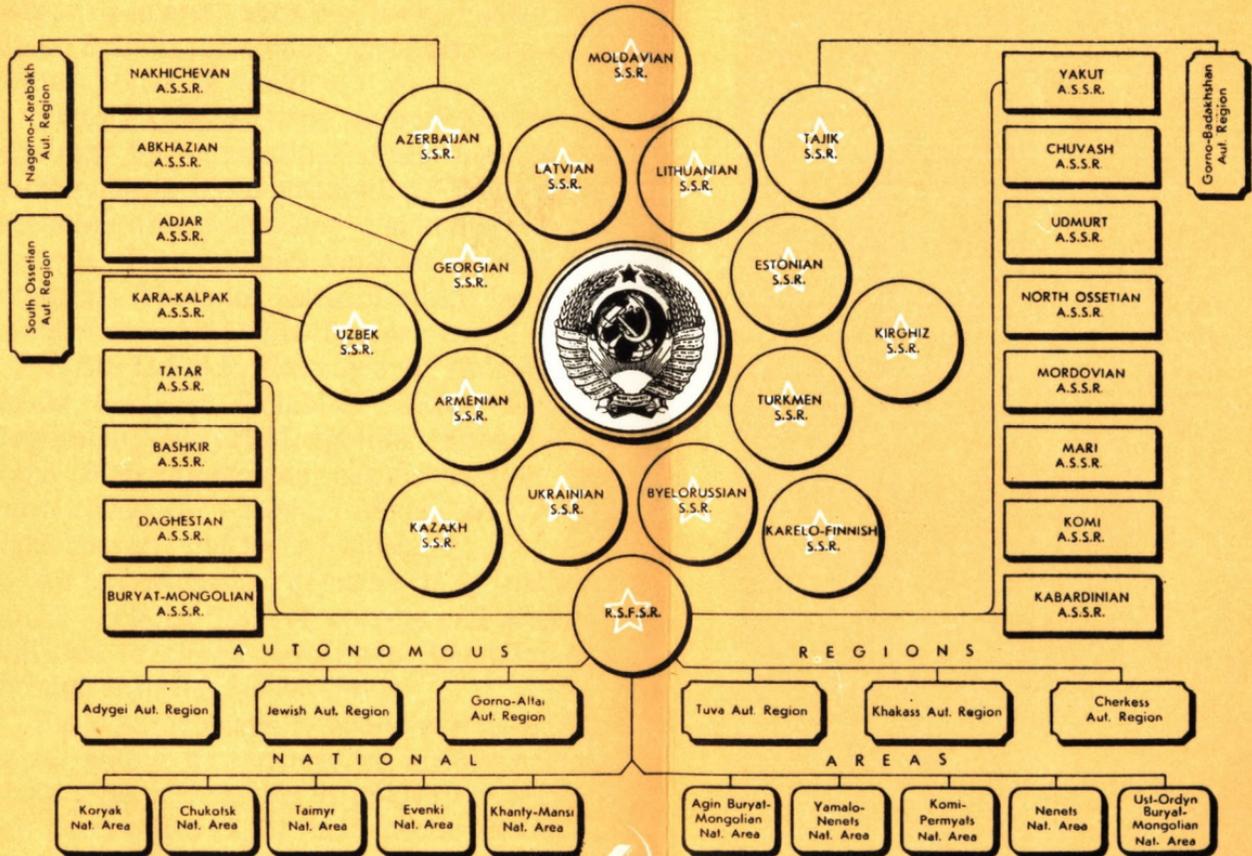
resources for building socialism, for strengthening the defence of the U.S.S.R., and to ensure their all-round development by fraternal, mutual assistance.

The number of Soviet Union Republics gradually increased. At the present time the Soviet Union consists of 16 Soviet Socialist Union Republics: the R.S.F.S.R. (Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic), the Ukrainian S.S.R., the Byelorussian S.S.R., the Uzbek S.S.R., the Kazakh S.S.R., the Georgian S.S.R., the Azerbaijan S.S.R., the Lithuanian S.S.R., the Moldavian S.S.R., the Latvian S.S.R., the Kirghiz S.S.R., the Tajik S.S.R., the Armenian S.S.R., the Turkmen S.S.R., the Estonian S.S.R., the Karelo-Finnish S.S.R.

A *Union Republic* is a national Soviet Socialist State of workers and peasants, which is voluntarily and directly affiliated to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the basis of equal rights with all the other Union Republics.

Each Union Republic, though a member of the U.S.S.R., remains a *sovereign state*. This means that it *independently* exercises state power within its territory with regard to all matters except those it had voluntarily placed within the jurisdiction of the governing bodies of the U.S.S.R.

NATIONAL STATE STRUCTURE OF THE U.S.S.R.



While the Union Republics are sovereign states, independent of foreign countries, many bourgeois states, such as Italy, France and Great Britain, are today dependent upon the United States of America.

Certain areas in some Union Republics are inhabited by nationalities other than that of the Republic's basic population. They constitute minorities, possessing distinctive national features. These peoples voluntarily form Autonomous Republics, each of which bears the name of the people who founded it.

In the U.S.S.R. there are 16 Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republics: Tatar, Bashkir, Daghستان, Buryat-Mongolian, Kabardinian, Komi, Mari, Mordovian, North Ossetian, Udmurt, Chuvash, Yakut, Abkhazian, Adjar, Nakhichevan, and Kara-Kalpak.

An *Autonomous Republic* is a national Soviet Socialist State of workers and peasants affiliated to one of the Union Republics and through it to the Soviet Union.

Each Autonomous Republic exercises state power within its territory on an *autonomous basis*. This means that it enjoys the right of self-government in all its domestic affairs. All its state organs, as well as schools and other cultural institutions, conduct their business in

the *native language* of the people who founded the republic.

The smaller Soviet peoples also voluntarily form their own national state organizations. These are *Autonomous Regions* and *National Areas*. Each of them has its own national organs of state power and state administration—a Soviet of Working People's Deputies and its Executive Committee. These and other state organs, as well as the schools and other cultural institutions of the Autonomous Region or National Area, conduct their business in the *native language* of their people.

There are nine Autonomous Regions in the U.S.S.R.: Adygei, Gorno-Altai, Jewish, Tuva, Khakass, Cherkess, Nagorno-Karabakh, South Ossetian, Gorno-Badakhshan.

There are ten National Areas in the U.S.S.R.: Nenets, Yamalo-Nenets, Taimyr (Dolgano-Nenets), Agin Buryat-Mongolian, Ust-Ordyn Buryat-Mongolian, Khanty-Mansi, Koryak, Chukotsk, Komi-Permyats and Evenki. Most of them are in the outlying northern regions of the country.

Thus, all the Soviet peoples, big or small, have set up their own national state organizations: Union Republics, Autonomous Republics, Autonomous Regions and National Areas. The people of each of these national state or-

ganizations elect their own Deputies to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., and through them directly express their specific national interests in the highest organ of state power of the Soviet Union.

This political structure of a multi-national state is the most democratic in the world. It has enabled all the Soviet peoples, assisted by the great Russian people and the All-Union organs of state and guided by the Communist Party, to advance greatly their national economy and national culture.

This political structure has served to strengthen friendship and fraternal co-operation among all the Soviet peoples.

In 1935 J. V. Stalin stressed the great significance of this friendship in the following words:

“... as long as this friendship exists, the peoples of our country will be free and invincible. Nothing can daunt us, neither enemies at home nor enemies abroad, as long as this friendship lives and flourishes.”*

In capitalist multi-national states there is not, nor can there be, any friendship between the peoples. The bourgeoisie of the dominant

* J. V. Stalin, *Marxism and the National and Colonial Question*, Moscow 1940, p. 237.

nationality brutally oppresses and exploits the working masses of other nationalities and races, as is the case in the British Empire and in the United States of America. The oppressed peoples are waging a bitter struggle against their oppressors, and more and more often this struggle assumes the form of armed uprisings and national-liberation wars against the enslavers, as, for instance, in Indo-China, Malaya, the Philippines, and other countries.

That the Soviet Union—a genuinely democratic state and a voluntary union of equal peoples—is the mightiest and most stable multi-national state in the world, was proved to all during the Second World War.

After the war the international prestige and influence of the Soviet Union increased immensely.

The Soviet Union liberated the peoples of Central and South-Eastern Europe from the fascist yoke and saved the peoples of Asia from Japanese imperialist aggression. People's Republics came into being in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Hungary, Rumania, Albania, North Korea and China. The German Democratic Republic was established in Eastern Germany.

Thus, a number of countries dropped out of the capitalist world. Their peoples overthrew

bourgeois rule and are now building for themselves a new, bright future.

The Soviet Union and the People's Democracies formed *a powerful camp of democratic states* comprising more than a third of the world's population (900,000,000 people). This camp is growing stronger day by day and is fighting successfully against the instigators of a new war, fighting for a lasting peace among nations, for democracy and socialism.



HOW THE ORGANS OF STATE POWER ARE FORMED IN THE U.S.S.R.

THE ELECTORAL RIGHTS OF SOVIET CITIZENS

Elections of Deputies to all organs of state power—from village Soviets to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.—are carried out on the basis of universal, equal, and direct suffrage by secret ballot.

There were no democratic elections in tsarist Russia. After the 1905 Revolution the tsarist government, as a concession to the people, set up the so-called State Duma, which Lenin called a crude imitation of popular representation. The elections to that Duma were conducted in the following way: at first electors were chosen. The landlords and urban bourgeoisie chose three-fourths of the total number of electors, the peasants—22.4 per cent, and the workers—2.4 per cent. Then the electors

met to elect the Deputies to the Duma. It stands to reason that under such circumstances very few representatives of the workers and peasants could be elected to the tsarist Duma.

Women, constituting half the population, had no electoral rights. The non-Russian nationalities in Central Asia and Siberia—about 10 million people—were also disfranchised. The electoral rights of the peoples in the Caucasus were very restricted: they were represented in the Duma only by 10 Deputies. Only those who knew Russian could be elected.

Men in the army also had no right to vote or to be elected.

Similar restrictions of electoral rights exist in the capitalist countries even today. Their constitutions and election laws are usually so framed that large sections of the population are either entirely deprived of electoral rights or have their rights severely curtailed. In many countries there is no women's suffrage. In countries populated by various nationalities and countries which have conquered and subjugated other countries, the citizens belonging to the subject nations and races have no electoral rights, for example, the native population of Africa.

Even for the mass of the citizens of the dominant nation the franchise is usually

restricted by the imposition of all sorts of qualifications. For instance, a citizen must own a certain amount of land or other property, or must pay a certain minimum of taxes, or a special poll tax. A citizen has to know the language of the dominant nation and prove that he has an education of at least so many grades. He must be a householder, or prove continuous residence within the electoral district for a certain period of time (six months, a year, two years, or even longer).

All the above-mentioned restrictions exist, for example, in the United States of America. Moreover, to be put on the voters' list the citizen has not only to know English and be able to explain "correctly" the Constitution of the U.S.A. In some states the citizen must be of good repute and known for his quiet and peaceful behaviour. During the 1952 elections in the U.S.A. 25,000,000 workers and poor people, that is, one-fourth of the population of voting age, were deprived of the vote owing to these restrictions.

Electoral rights are restricted or completely withheld in the capitalist countries in order to ensure predominance in the organs of state of the representatives of the ruling classes—the capitalists and landlords. All these measures are directed against the working masses,

against the oppressed peoples, against the poor and propertyless population, and most of all against the workers. The ruling classes in the capitalist countries do everything to prevent the toiling masses from taking part in governing the country.

In capitalist countries election campaigns are carried on amidst a fierce class struggle in which the capitalists and landlords influence the electors by making false promises and by means of intimidation and violence.

Often candidates of bourgeois parties win the elections by trickery, by buying votes (at 10 dollars a vote), by putting the names of dead persons or fictitious names on the voters' lists, by counterfeiting ballot papers, and so forth. For instance, in Kansas City, U.S.A., where ex-president Truman received a majority during the Senate elections, groups of alleged voters drove in trucks to a number of polling stations and voted at all of them.

Furthermore, even when the constitutions of capitalist countries grant the common people electoral rights, the necessary conditions enabling them to exercise those rights are absent. The whole state machine, the print-shops, the press, radio, schools, universities, meeting halls and big funds are concentrated in the hands of capitalists and landlords. The

working people are deprived of all this. It is no easy matter for them to nominate and elect their own representatives to the organs of state.

That is how matters stand in regard to electoral rights in capitalist countries.

The situation in the Soviet Union is entirely different. The Constitution of the U.S.S.R. and the Regulations governing elections impose no restrictions on citizens' electoral rights.

The Soviet Constitution provides for *universal suffrage*. Women have electoral rights on equal terms with men. The very idea of depriving women of these rights, or even restricting them in any way, seems preposterous and outrageous to Soviet citizens.

The Soviet Constitution does not deprive citizens of electoral and other rights because of their language or the colour of their skin. Citizens of all nationalities—Russians, Bashkirs, Ukrainians, Estonians, Byelorussians, Uzbeks, Nenets, Komis, Maris, Uighurs, etc.—have the right to elect and be elected to all Soviet governing bodies.

The Soviet Constitution does not differentiate between citizens according to their social origin. A citizen may be a worker, a peasant (collective or individual farmer), or an intellectual, or he may come from the former ex-

exploiting classes, now no longer existent in the U.S.S.R.—whatever his social origin, property status, or former activities, he possesses the franchise.

Every citizen enjoys electoral rights irrespective of his education, be it higher, secondary, or elementary.

Every citizen enjoys electoral rights no matter what religion he professes, or if he professes no religion at all.

Every citizen has the right to vote whether he has a permanent place of residence or frequently changes it. He votes at a polling station in the district in which he happens to be on election day.

Citizens serving in the Soviet Army or Navy have the right to vote, and they vote at polling stations where their unit or ship is stationed.

Thus, every adult citizen enjoys electoral rights without any restrictions whatever.

The only exceptions are, naturally, insane persons, and those sentenced by a court of law to deprivation of electoral rights for a period indicated in the sentence.

The Soviet Constitution provides for *equal suffrage*. This means that no citizen enjoys any special rights or privileges in elections to the Soviets. Women and men, peasants and

workers, intellectuals, scientists, and people in the armed forces—all have the same electoral rights, all participate in the elections on equal terms. Each elector has only one vote.

Equality in electoral rights still further strengthens the moral and political unity of Soviet society, enhances the friendly co-operation of the workers, peasants, and intellectuals, and thus increases the might of the Soviet State.

The Soviet Constitution provides for *direct elections* to all organs of state power. This means that citizens do not vote for “electors,” who do the final choosing, but vote directly for the candidates they prefer. Deputies to village, city, district, regional and other local Soviets, as well as to the Supreme Soviets of Union and Autonomous Republics and to the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, are elected by direct vote.

Direct elections enable the Soviet voters to know the candidates for whom they cast their votes not only in elections to the local organs of state, but also in elections to the higher organs of state of the respective Soviet Republics, and to the supreme organ of state of the Soviet Union. Direct elections strengthen the ties between the voters and all the organs of state power, and also help to improve their work.

The Soviet Constitution provides for *secret ballot* in elections to all the Soviets. This means that nobody has the right to know for whom the elector casts his vote. Nobody, not even a member of the election commission, is allowed to enter the booth where the elector marks his ballot paper. Every elector freely decides for himself whether the particular candidate deserves his confidence or not. This procedure ensures complete freedom of voting.

All Soviet citizens are guaranteed freedom of speech, freedom of press, freedom of assembly and demonstration. They have at their disposal print-shops, stocks of paper, radio stations, public buildings, the streets, communication facilities, and other material requisites for the exercise of electoral rights.

Thus, the political and social system of the Soviet Union ensures the free and full exercise of electoral and other rights for all citizens.

THE DEPUTY IS THE SERVANT OF THE PEOPLE

The Constitution of the U.S.S.R. lays it down that Deputies, as the members of Soviets are called, must maintain constant contact with their constituents. It gives constituents the right to demand from their Deputy an

account of the way he is fulfilling their election mandate and a *report* on the work of the Soviet to which he is elected.

Soviet voters do not confine themselves to electing Deputies every so many years to state organs and then returning to their day-to-day occupations. They follow up the work of their Deputies, check up on it, and if any Deputy deviates from the right path, they exercise their right to recall the Deputy before the expiration of his term of office. The Constitution of the U.S.S.R. provides for the *right to recall a Deputy* before the expiration of his term of office, if he does not justify the confidence of his constituents, and for the election of another Deputy in his place.

The Constitutions of capitalist countries make no such provision. There, once the elections are over and the successful candidates have taken their seats, all relations between them and their constituents are usually at an end. No sooner are candidates of bourgeois parties installed in office than they forget their election promises and in Parliament carry out the will of the bourgeoisie.

Here is an example, illustrating the relations between a Deputy and his constituents in the U.S.A. Before his election, Congressman Charles Buckley had posed as a champion of

freedom and equality. One day, after his election, a delegation of voters came to his house to ask him to demand in Congress that those guilty of the brutal murder of the Negro leader Harry Moore and his wife be punished. On hearing the request, the Congressman refused even to go out to the delegates, but through the closed door violently abused them and threatened to shoot and blow their brains out if they dared to trouble him again.

Such are bourgeois Deputies.

The Soviet Deputy, on the contrary, is a *servant of the people*; it is his duty to obey the will of his constituents.

In his election speech of December 11, 1937, J. V. Stalin pointed to Lenin as the model servant of the people. Voters, he said, must demand of their Deputies that they remain equal to their tasks, that in their work they shall not sink to the level of political philistines, that they shall constantly keep before them the immortal image of the great Lenin.

Those chosen by the Soviet people must, as public figures, be as clear and definite as Lenin was.

They must be as fearless in battle and as merciless to the enemy as Lenin was.

In case of danger they must be as free from all semblance of panic as Lenin was.

In deciding complex problems they must be as wise and deliberate as Lenin was.

They should be as upright and honest as Lenin was. They must love their people as Lenin did.

ELECTION REGULATIONS

Elections to the Soviets are governed by special *Election Regulations*, which are issued separately for each grade of Soviets—the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., the Supreme Soviets of the Union and Autonomous Republics, and the local Soviets. These Regulations are based on the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. and on the Constitutions of the Union and Autonomous Republics.

All citizens of the Soviet Union who have reached the age of eighteen, irrespective of race or nationality, sex, religion, education, domicile, social origin, property status or past activities, are entitled to vote in the election of Deputies to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. and to all the other Soviets. The only exceptions are insane persons and persons who have been sentenced to deprivation of electoral rights by a court of law.

Every citizen of the U.S.S.R. who has reached the age of twenty-three is eligible for election to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., regardless of race or nationality, sex, religion, education, domicile, social origin, property status or past activities.

Citizens serving in the Soviet Army and Navy have the right to elect and be elected on equal terms with all other citizens.

Under Republican Constitutions every Soviet citizen who has reached the age of twenty-one is eligible for election to the Supreme Soviets of the Union and Autonomous Republics. And every Soviet citizen who has reached the age of eighteen may be elected Deputy to the local Soviets.

The Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. consists of two Chambers—the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities. In conformity with the Constitution of the U.S.S.R., each Chamber is elected separately. Deputies to the Soviet of the Union are elected by citizens in election districts which are formed throughout the country on the basis of 300,000 of the population per district. During the 1954 election to the Soviet of the Union, 708 election districts were formed, one Deputy being elected from each district.

Deputies to the Soviet of Nationalities are elected by the citizens of the Union and Autonomous Republics, by Autonomous Regions and National Areas on the basis of twenty-five Deputies from each Union Republic, eleven Deputies from each Autonomous Republic, five Deputies from each Autonomous Region and one Deputy from each National Area.

During the 1954 election to the Soviet of Nationalities, 639 election districts were formed, one Deputy being elected from each district.

The Regulations governing elections to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., to the Supreme Soviets of the Union and Autonomous Republics, and to the local Soviets contain a series of articles displaying a special concern of the Soviet State for the universal, actual exercise of electoral rights by all citizens. For example, if a voter changes his residence within the period between the publication of the voters' lists and the day of election, he receives a Voter's Certificate from the local Soviet of his former district, which entitles him to vote in his new district.

Polling stations are also set up in the remotest districts in the Far North and Far East as well as in high mountain villages and in nomad herdsman's camps. Citizens serving

in the Soviet Army or Navy vote in the electoral district in which their respective units are stationed, and polling stations are set up in each unit. Polling stations are also set up in hospitals, maternity homes, sanatoria, and invalid homes. Facilities for voting are also provided for citizens who, on the day of election, are on board ship or travelling in overland trains.

The right to nominate candidates for the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., for the Union and Autonomous Republics' Supreme Soviets, and for the local Soviets is granted to all public organizations and associations of working people: Communist Party organizations, trade unions of industrial, office, and professional workers, co-operatives and collective farms, youth organizations, scientific, technical, cultural, and other societies. Candidates may be nominated by the central bodies of these public organizations and associations as well as by their Republic, Area, Regional and District organizations. The right to nominate candidates is also granted to general meetings of industrial, office, and professional workers at their places of work, meetings of peasants at collective farms, of workers and other employees of state farms, and of servicemen in army and naval units.

Thus, candidates for public office are nominated by the people.

Finally, the people themselves, through their representatives, take part in organizing, conducting, and supervising the elections. All election commissions are made up of representatives of public organizations and societies of the working people, as well as of meetings of industrial, office, and professional workers, peasants and servicemen.

Authorized representatives of public organizations and societies, and representatives of the press, have a right to be present when ballots are counted. All organizations nominating candidates and all Soviet citizens have a right to canvass freely for their candidates at meetings, in the press, and by other mediums.

Electoral rights and the means of exercising them such as are enjoyed by the citizens of the Soviet Union do not and cannot exist in any capitalist country. The Soviet electoral system is the most democratic in the world.

ELECTIONS UNDER THE SOVIET CONSTITUTION

So much interest and activity is displayed by Soviet citizens in elections to the Working People's Soviets that these elections assume

the nature of a public festival. Sufficient time is allowed between the announcement of elections and election day to conduct the election campaign, during which well-attended meetings of voters take place in all towns and villages for the nomination and discussion of candidates.

In the first elections to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., held in 1937, the number of voters exceeded 94 million. Of these, 96.8 per cent went to the polls. The Communists and non-Party people came before the electorate on a joint ticket. Every Party candidate was also a nominee of non-Party people, and every non-Party candidate was also a nominee of Party members. These candidates received 98.6 per cent of the votes cast.

Elections to the Supreme Soviets of the Union and Autonomous Republics took place in 1938 and elections to the local Soviets—in 1939. In these elections over 99 per cent of the voters went to the polls, and over 99 per cent of these cast their votes for the joint Communist and non-Party candidates.

The second elections to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. took place on February 10, 1946. By that time the total number of electors already exceeded 101.7 million, and 99.7 per cent of the voters went to the polls. Of these,

over 99 per cent cast their votes for the candidates of the Communist and non-Party bloc.

By the second elections to the Supreme Soviets of the Union and Autonomous Republics, held in February 1947, the total number of electors was almost 104 million. Over 99 per cent went to the polls, and of these over 99 per cent cast their votes for the candidates of the Communist and non-Party bloc. At the second elections to the local Soviets, more than 1,580,000 of the best representatives of the people were elected.

The third and fourth elections to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. were held on March 12, 1950 and on March 14, 1954, respectively. The total number of the voters exceeded 111 million in 1950 and 120.7 million in 1954. At both these elections nearly all the voters, 99.98 per cent, went to the polls and cast their ballots for the nominated candidates.

Concerning the significance of elections to Soviet governing bodies, M. I. Kalinin wrote:

"The number of Deputies scattered throughout the Soviet Union, from Moscow to the remotest corners of the country, is of itself proof that the Soviet power is capable of carrying out, as it is doing, really great measures through these Deputies, for this active

body virtually embraces the entire population of our country.”*

Not a single capitalist country can boast of an almost hundred per cent participation in elections to governing bodies and of unanimity of the electorate as we see in the Soviet Union. In Great Britain, for instance, only 75 per cent of the electorate went to the polls in the parliamentary elections in 1945. In the U.S.A. about 50 per cent of the voters went to the polls in the 1948 elections and only a little over 40 per cent voted in the 1950 elections.

In no capitalist country has there ever been a case when the ruling bourgeois party ventured to form an election bloc with the masses unaffiliated to any party. The bourgeois parties do not trust the popular masses, being afraid of them, and, in their turn, the masses do not trust the bourgeois parties.

Only a Communist Party can venture to form an election bloc with non-Party masses, for it trusts them and they trust it. Only in the Land of Socialism, the land of genuine democracy, can an alliance of Communists with

* M. I. Kalinin, *The Might of the Soviet State*, Russ. ed., Gospolitizdat 1947, p. 12.

non-Party people prove such a splendid election success.

Nearly all the voters in the vast multinational Soviet Union cast their ballots for the bloc of Communists and non-Party people, thus approving of the policy pursued by the Communist Party and the Soviet Government.

The elections to the Soviets are proof of the profound moral and political unity of the Soviet people, of their unanimity and solidarity with the Soviet Government and the Communist Party.

The elections to the U.S.S.R. Soviets are a magnificent demonstration of the boundless confidence and love of the peoples of the Soviet Union for the Communist Party and its leaders.



**HIGHER ORGANS OF STATE POWER AND OF
STATE ADMINISTRATION IN THE
U.S.S.R.**

WHO GOVERNS THE SOVIET UNION

During the 1954 elections to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. 1,347 Deputies were elected. Who are these Deputies to whom the people have entrusted supreme power in the country?

Prominent leaders of the Soviet State and the Communist Party; outstanding workers, peasants and intellectuals; leaders of industry and collective farming; representatives of science and art; men of the Soviet armed forces.

Among the Deputies to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. there are 318 workers, 220 peasants and 809 intellectuals. Three hundred and forty-eight are women; 110 Deputies are between the ages of 23 and 30. Men in the

armed forces are also represented in the Supreme Soviet.

It is worth recalling that of the 439 Deputies in the tsarist State Duma, 67 were "agriculturists" (mostly kulaks), and only 11 were workers and handicraftsmen. All the remaining Deputies were either landlords, capitalists, merchants, government officials, members of the clergy, etc. There were only five Bolshevik workers—genuine representatives of the people, but even these the tsarist government arrested and exiled to Siberia.

Parliaments in all the capitalist countries are very much like the former tsarist State Duma. The majority of the members of bourgeois parliaments are capitalists, landowners, bourgeois intellectuals, and members of pseudo-socialist parties, which support the bourgeoisie.

The above comparison of the former tsarist State Duma with the composition of the present Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. brings out very vividly the profound change that has taken place in the political structure of Russia. The Soviet State is governed by the best representatives of the people, Party and non-Party, who have earned the confidence of the masses by their political and social activities, by their unstinted labour in factory, mill, mine and

field, by their accomplishments in science, technology and culture, by their heroism in fighting the enemies of the Land of Soviets.

What are the rights and powers of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.? These are precisely defined in the Constitution of the U.S.S.R.

THE SUPREME SOVIET OF THE U.S.S.R.

According to the Constitution, the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. is *the highest organ of state power in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics*. There is no other organ of state in the Soviet Union standing above the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. or equal to it in power. The Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. alone has power *to pass all-Union laws*. No other organ of state has this power.

An all-Union law is an expression of the will of the working class and of all the working people of the country. All-Union laws are binding in all Union Republics and must be carried out by all public authorities, all institutions, organizations, officials and private citizens. They are published in the languages of all Union Republics.

To give the reader an idea of the enormous significance of the work of the Supreme Soviet

of the U.S.S.R. for the life of the country it is sufficient to mention some of the most important laws and decisions passed by the Supreme Soviet in recent years: the law to include Western Ukraine and Western Byelorussia into the U.S.S.R.; the law to reorganize the Karelian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic into the Karelo-Finnish Soviet Socialist Republic; the law to establish the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic; the laws to admit the Soviet Socialist Republics of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia to the U.S.S.R.; the decisions to ratify treaties of friendship, co-operation, and mutual assistance between the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies; the law on the Five-Year Plan of Rehabilitation and Development of the National Economy for 1946-1950; the law prohibiting in the U.S.S.R. war propaganda as a gravest crime against humanity.

The Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. alone has the right to amend the Constitution of the Soviet Union.

The Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. alone has the right to admit new republics to the Soviet Union, confirm alterations of boundaries between Union Republics and the formation of new Autonomous Republics, new Territories and Regions.

The Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. alone is authorized to appoint on any question investigating and auditing commissions, the findings of which must be complied with by all institutions and officials.

The Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. adopts the State Budget (annual revenues and expenditures) of the U.S.S.R. and the report on its execution. It contracts and grants loans.

The Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. decides the more important questions concerning relations with foreign countries, and questions of war and peace.

The Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. elects the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., appoints the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., appoints the Procurator-General of the U.S.S.R., elects the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. and the special courts of the U.S.S.R.

As we have already mentioned, the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. consists of *two Chambers*. One of them is called the *Soviet of the Union*, the other, the *Soviet of Nationalities*.

Both Chambers of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. have *equal rights*. Each of them has the equal right to initiate legislation, that is, to propose new legislation and to introduce

any bills it deems necessary for discussion by the Supreme Soviet. A law is considered adopted if it is passed by both Chambers by a simple majority vote in each.

Only amendments to the Constitution require a majority of not less than two-thirds of the votes in each Chamber. The term of office of the members of both Chambers is four years; the Chambers are convened and hold their sessions simultaneously.

The question arises: Why does the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. consist of two Chambers and not of one?

Because the Soviet State is *multi-national*. The main interests of the citizens of the Soviet Union, without distinction of nationality or race, are *common and identical*. All citizens are vitally interested in the transition to communism, in further strengthening the economic and defensive might of the Soviet Union, in its further prosperity, in establishing firm and lasting peace among all countries.

These common interests of Soviet citizens are represented in the supreme organ of the Soviet State by the Deputies to the *Soviet of the Union*.

But, in addition to these common interests, the citizens of the various nationalities inhabiting the Soviet Union have their own *special*

interests arising from the specific national features of each people, the peculiarities of their language, life and culture.

These special interests of the various nationalities are represented in the supreme organ of the Soviet State by the Deputies to the *Soviet of Nationalities*.

J. V. Stalin said that without such a body it would be impossible to administer a multinational state like the U.S.S.R.

Such a structure of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. assures the fullest and most accurate expression of the interests of all the peoples of the Soviet Union in the highest organ of state. It facilitates the strengthening of fraternal co-operation and friendship among all the Soviet peoples.

All the numerous Soviet peoples, each having its own national state organization, are able, through their representatives in the Soviet of Nationalities, directly to inform the supreme authority in the U.S.S.R. about their needs and requirements, to express their special interests, to propose new legislation, and to take part in the settlement of matters concerning the entire state.

The Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities together constitute the *single supreme organ of state power in the country*—

the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, which expresses the will of all Soviet peoples.

Parliaments in capitalist countries also have two chambers, called the Upper and Lower Chambers, Senate and House of Representatives, etc. In tsarist Russia there were a State Council and a State Duma.

But the two Chambers of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. have nothing in common with the two-chamber system in capitalist countries. In the first place, both the upper and lower chambers are, of course, organs of bourgeois power, while the two Chambers in the U.S.S.R. are organs of the Soviet Socialist State of workers and peasants. Moreover, in capitalist countries the upper chambers are so constituted as to make it particularly difficult for the working masses to be represented there, and the upper chambers enjoy special rights and privileges withheld from the lower chambers. In tsarist Russia, half of the upper chamber (the State Council) was appointed by the tsar from among the nobility, the other half was elected by associations of the gentry, landowners, manufacturers, merchants and the clergy.

About the same thing holds true of many capitalist countries today. In Great Britain,

for instance, the upper chamber—the House of Lords—consists of members of the nobility—princes of the royal blood, dukes, lords, barons, archbishops and bishops. The majority of the members of the House of Lords hold their seats by right of inheritance and some are appointed by the monarch. All laws passed by the lower chambers must also go through the upper chambers, which have the right to veto legislation. In other words, the upper chambers are a hindrance to progress.

Nothing of the kind exists, or can exist, in the Soviet Union. The Chambers of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. enjoy equal rights. The Soviet of Nationalities represents and expresses the special interests of the free Soviet peoples in the single supreme organ of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

THE PRESIDUM OF THE SUPREME SOVIET OF THE U.S.S.R.

The Supreme Soviet regularly functions at its sittings, a series of which comprise a whole session. Such sessions are held twice a year. Extraordinary sessions may also be held. Upon the termination of the session, the Deputies disperse and resume their ordinary duties.

It is clear, therefore, that to conduct the

current business of government in the intervals between sessions the Soviet Union needs an additional, permanently functioning higher organ of state.

The organ is the *Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.*

This Presidium is elected at a joint sitting of both Chambers of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. from among its members. It consists of a President, sixteen Vice-Presidents (corresponding to the number of Union Republics), a Secretary and fifteen members. The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. is *accountable* to the Supreme Soviet for all its activities.

The First Supreme Soviet at its initial session in 1938 elected as President of the Presidium *M. I. Kalinin*, Deputy from the Leningrad Electoral District. His parents were peasants, but he became a factory worker. He was at the head of the Soviet State from 1919 to 1946.

At the first session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. elected in 1946, *M. I. Kalinin* requested to be relieved of the post of President of the Presidium owing to ill-health. The Supreme Soviet granted his request, but elected him a member of the Presidium. *M. I. Kalinin* died on June 3, 1946. He enjoyed tremendous

popularity and was greatly loved by the people of the Soviet Union.

On the retirement of M. I. Kalinin the Supreme Soviet unanimously elected as President of the Presidium *N. M. Shvernik*, a former worker, Deputy from the Sverdlov Electoral District.

At its session held on March 15, 1953, the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. relieved *N. M. Shvernik* of the duties of President of the Presidium owing to his appointment to another post and elected in his place *K. Y. Voroshilov*, a former worker and pupil and comrade-in-arms of *V. I. Lenin* and *J. V. Stalin*.

At the first session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. elected in 1954, the Supreme Soviet re-elected *K. Y. Voroshilov* to the post of President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

The powers of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. are defined in the Constitution. The Presidium convenes the sessions of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. and appoints new elections to the Supreme Soviet on the expiration of its term of office.

The Presidium has no right to dissolve the Supreme Soviet before its term has expired, except in special cases, provided for by Article

47 of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R., when disagreement arises between the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities and they fail to reach agreement. In such a case the Presidium can dissolve the Supreme Soviet and order new elections even if the term of office has not yet expired.

The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet issues *decrees*, which, like the laws passed by the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., have equal force in all Soviet Republics. But these decrees must be based on the all-Union laws in operation, and must remain within the scope of the powers granted the Presidium by the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. This distinguishes a decree from a law.

An example of the decrees issued by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. was the decree to establish state labour reserves, i.e., to create facilities for training boys and girls as skilled workers for industry, transport, house-building and communications. For this purpose trade, railway, and factory schools were created.

Another example was the decree on the protection of state and public socialist property and the personal property of citizens. We may also cite the decree to increase state aid for expectant mothers, mothers of large families

and unmarried mothers. The decrees of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. awarding Orders and Medals for distinguished labour and military service are well known.

The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. *interprets* all-Union laws, that is, it explains their purposes, the duties they impose, and the methods of properly applying their provisions.

The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. conducts *referendums*, that is, it submits to the people proposed legislation on particularly important questions to be discussed and voted upon.

The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. appoints and removes the High Command of the Armed Forces of the Soviet Union. It orders partial or general mobilization, proclaims martial law in separate localities or throughout the U.S.S.R. in the interest of the country's defence, or for the purpose of ensuring public order and state security.

In matters of extreme urgency, the Presidium has power to take action when the Supreme Soviet is not in session. Thus, in the event of a military attack upon the U.S.S.R., or when necessary for the U.S.S.R. to act in fulfilment of international treaty obligations

concerning mutual defence against aggression, the Presidium has power to proclaim a state of war.

The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. exercised this power in defence of the Soviet Union on the day fascist Germany launched her sudden predatory attack against the Soviet Union. The Presidium issued four decrees: a) proclaiming martial law; b) mobilizing in a number of areas citizens liable to military service; c) introducing martial law in a number of republics, regions, and cities; d) establishing military tribunals in localities under martial law and in the area of hostilities.

The Presidium also has power, when the Supreme Soviet is not in session, to dismiss individual Ministers and appoint new ones, and to form new Ministries and new administrative regions and territories. Such decrees are submitted for confirmation to the next session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

The powers thus vested in the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. are justified by the circumstances under which they are exercised. It is obviously impossible to delay the proclamation of a state of war in the event of an enemy attack, or to postpone

urgently necessary reconstruction of state organs until the Supreme Soviet assembles.

The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. has power to annul decisions and orders of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. and of the Councils of Ministers of the Union Republics if such decisions and orders do not conform to law.

The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet institutes decorations (Orders and Medals) of the U.S.S.R., titles of honour, military titles, and other special titles; it awards Orders and Medals of the U.S.S.R. and confers titles of honour; it exercises the right to pardon persons convicted by judicial bodies of the U.S.S.R.

The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. is vested with important powers in matters concerning relations with foreign countries. The Presidium ratifies and denounces treaties with other countries, appoints and recalls plenipotentiary representatives of the Soviet Union in foreign states; it receives the credentials and letters of recall of diplomatic representatives accredited to the U.S.S.R. by foreign states.

Thus, by virtue of its powers, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. is the *highest permanently functioning organ of*

state power in the Soviet Union. It is elected by the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. and is accountable to it for all its activities.

In capitalist countries there are no organs of state like the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. There, the state is headed by a single person (president, king, etc.).

The Soviet State is headed not by a single person, but by a body of 33 members of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., who constitute the collegial President of the U.S.S.R. This further illustrates the consistent and truly democratic principles on which the higher organs of state of the Soviet Union are built.

THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS OF THE U.S.S.R.

The other permanently functioning highest organ of state in the U.S.S.R. is the *Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R.*, as the government of the Soviet Union is called.

The Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. is formed at a joint sitting of both Chambers of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. At the first session of the Supreme Soviet, held in March 1946, the Government of the Soviet Union was formed in the following way:

J. V. Stalin, the head of the outgoing government, submitted a written statement to the Chairman of the joint sitting of the Chambers declaring that the Government "considers its duties at an end and surrenders its powers to the Supreme Soviet." This statement was read to the assembly by the Chairman. The floor was then taken by one of the Deputies who, amidst general approval, said that the Supreme Soviet was unanimous in its complete confidence in the outgoing government. The Supreme Soviet accepted the Government's statement and unanimously commissioned J. V. Stalin to submit proposals for a new government. At the next joint sitting of the Chambers, the Chairman read the list of members of the new Government as proposed by J. V. Stalin. After statements by Deputies, the Chairman announced that no objection had been raised to any of the candidates for government office and that none of the Deputies insisted on a roll-call vote. The composition of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. as proposed by J. V. Stalin was then voted on as a whole and unanimously adopted. J. V. Stalin was elected Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R.

This illustrates the manner in which the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. is formed.

As we know already, individual Ministers may be dismissed or appointed by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

At the first session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. that was elected in 1950, both Chambers unanimously and with great enthusiasm approved the activities of the outgoing Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. and commissioned it "to continue performing its duties in governing the State." This is striking proof that the Government of the U.S.S.R. is performing its duties successfully and enjoys the support and love of the whole people.

J. V. Stalin headed the Government of the U.S.S.R. for twelve years—from May 6, 1941 to March 5, 1953, the last day of his life.

On March 15, 1953, the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. unanimously approved the appointment of Comrade G. M. Malenkov, V. I. Lenin's disciple and J. V. Stalin's comrade-in-arms, to the post of Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R.

The same session of the Supreme Soviet unanimously approved the list of members of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. submitted by G. M. Malenkov, Chairman of the Council of Ministers.

At the first session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. that was elected in 1954, the Su-

preme Soviet commissioned G. M. Malenkov to continue his duties as Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. and also endorsed the Council of Ministers as proposed by him.

The Government of the U.S.S.R. is *responsible and accountable* to the Supreme Soviet which elected it. In the intervals between sessions of the Supreme Soviet, the Government is responsible and accountable to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. Questions put by Deputies during a session of the Supreme Soviet to the Government or to individual Ministers must be answered orally or in writing within three days.

The powers and composition of the Council of Ministers are defined in the Constitution.

The Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. issues *decisions and orders* on the basis and in pursuance of the all-Union laws in operation, and verifies their execution. Its decisions and orders are binding throughout the territory of the Soviet Union.

The Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. is charged with such important duties as: maintenance of public order; protection of the interests of the state; safeguarding the rights of citizens; fixing the annual contingent of

citizens to be called up for military service; directing the general organization of the armed forces of the Soviet Union, and general direction of relations with foreign states.

The Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. is vested with important powers relating to the management of the national economy. It takes the necessary measures for carrying out the state budget and the national economic plans of the U.S.S.R. and also for strengthening the country's credit and monetary system. Examples of this are the decisions of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. on the issue of state loans, the three-year plan of the development of livestock farming, the construction of huge hydro-electric stations on the Volga and the Dnieper, etc.

The Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. co-ordinates and directs all the work of the Ministries of the U.S.S.R. and other institutions under its jurisdiction (the State Planning Committee, Committee on Construction, etc.).

The Ministries are the bodies in charge of the various branches of state administration and the national economy. Such Ministries of the U.S.S.R. are, for example: the Ministry of Defence, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Foreign Trade, the Ministry of Finance, the Ministry of Railways, the Ministry

of the Heavy Machine-Building Industry, the Ministry of the Coal Industry, the Ministry of Agriculture.

Each Minister is vested with sole authority to direct the branch of state administration entrusted to him and has a Collegium functioning under him. He issues orders and instructions in his branch of administration.

The Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. has the right, in respect to those branches of administration and economy which under the Constitution come within the jurisdiction of the U.S.S.R., to annul orders and instructions of the Ministers of the U.S.S.R. and to suspend decisions and orders of the Councils of Ministers of the Union Republics.

Thus, the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. is *the highest executive and administrative organ of state power in the Soviet Union.*

This shows that the Government of the U.S.S.R. enjoys extensive powers in administering and directing state affairs and the whole of the national economy, the life of the entire country.

The powers of the Council of Ministers are strictly defined in the fundamental law of the country—the Constitution; all its activities are based on existing laws and aimed at

their execution. The Council of Ministers is responsible and accountable to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. and its Presidium.

The Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. carries out the will of the Soviet people as expressed in the all-Union laws.

In its composition, and the tasks it performs, the Soviet Government differs radically from the governments that existed in tsarist Russia and now exist in capitalist countries.

In tsarist Russia all power and the administration of the state were vested by law entirely in the tsar. Actually, power was exercised and the state administered by officials who, in the name of the tsar, protected the interests of the bourgeoisie and the landlords. The savage tyranny of officials reigned in old Russia.

In all capitalist countries power and administration are also concentrated in the hands of a powerful bureaucracy, which stands over the people. Behind this bureaucracy are the associations of the biggest capitalists, the banks. It is they who are the real masters of the country, whether it is a kingdom or a republic. It is they who determine the composition of the government not only in their own country but beyond it, in other countries.

In his interview with the first American labour delegation that visited the U.S.S.R., J. V. Stalin said: "Everybody knows that there is not a single capitalist 'power' where the Cabinet can be formed against the will of the big financial magnates. It is enough to exert financial pressure to cause Cabinet Ministers to go flying from their posts. Actually, it is control of governments by banks, notwithstanding the alleged control by parliaments."*

There is nothing like this in the Soviet State, nor can there be. The Soviet Government—a workers' and peasants' government—defends the interests of the working people. It is elected by the best representatives of the people, and is responsible and accountable to them.

That is why the Soviet Government, its leaders, enjoy the full confidence and unanimous support of the whole people.

* J. V. Stalin, *Works*, Russ. ed., Vol. 10, pp. 100-101.



**HIGHER ORGANS
OF STATE POWER AND OF STATE
ADMINISTRATION IN THE SOVIET
SOCIALIST REPUBLICS**

**THE SUPREME SOVIET
AND THE PRESIDUM OF A UNION
REPUBLIC**

Each Union Republic has its own Constitution, its fundamental law, which reflects the specific features of the Republic while fully conforming to the Constitution of the U.S.S.R.

The powers of the higher organs of state of the Union Republics are in the main defined in the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. as well as in the Constitutions of the Union Republics.

The higher organs of the Union Soviet Socialist Republics are built in general on the same lines as those of the Soviet Union.

Each Union Republic has a Supreme Soviet, which is the highest organ of state power

in the given Union Republic, just as the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. is the highest organ of state power of the Soviet Union.

The Supreme Soviet of each Union Republic is elected by the citizens on the basis of universal, equal and direct suffrage by secret ballot for a term of four years.

Unlike the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., the Supreme Soviets in the Union Republics have only *one* Chamber. The Union Republics do not need two Chambers, as every Autonomous Republic, Autonomous Region, or National Area within a Union Republic has its own representatives in the Soviet of Nationalities of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. and can through them directly express its special national interests in the highest organ of state in the Soviet Union.

The Supreme Soviet of a Union Republic is the sole legislative body of the Republic.

A law is considered adopted when carried by a simple majority vote. Amendments to the Constitution, however, require a two-thirds majority. The laws of a Union Republic are binding throughout its territory.

The Supreme Soviet of a Union Republic is empowered to adopt and amend the Constitution of the Republic, to confirm the Constitutions of Autonomous Republics within the

Union Republic, to determine their boundaries, to adopt the budget and economic plan of the Republic, to enter into direct relations with foreign states, to conclude agreements and exchange diplomatic representatives with them, to have its own military units and to determine their mode of organization.

The Supreme Soviet of a Union Republic elects its Presidium, appoints the Council of Ministers, and elects the Supreme Court of the Republic.

The Constitutions of Union Republics say that each Union Republic exercises state power *independently* in all matters concerning the life of the Republic, except those which, in conformity with the Constitution of the Soviet Union, come within the jurisdiction of the organs of state of the U.S.S.R.

Among other things, the higher organs of state in the Union Republics fix (on the basis of all-Union laws) state and local taxes, dues and other revenues, direct house-building, municipal development, the building of new towns and villages, local transport and communications, road construction and social insurance, and set up judicial bodies of the Republic.

The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of a Union Republic is the highest permanently functioning organ of state power of the Repub-

lic. It is elected by the Supreme Soviet of the Union Republic and is accountable to it in all its activities. The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of a Union Republic is its collegial President. The powers and composition of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of a Union Republic are defined in its Constitution.

THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS OF A UNION REPUBLIC

Each Union Republic has its Council of Ministers, which is the highest executive and administrative organ of state—the government of the Union Republic. Appointed by the Supreme Soviet of the Republic, it is responsible and accountable to the Supreme Soviet and its Presidium.

The Council of Ministers of a Union Republic is empowered to issue and verify the execution of *decisions* and *orders* on the basis and in pursuance of the all-Union and Republican laws in operation and on the basis of decisions and orders of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. The Council of Ministers of a Union Republic has the right to suspend decisions and orders of the Councils of Ministers of Autonomous Republics and of the Soviets of Working People's Deputies of Territories,

Regions and Autonomous Regions, and to annul the decisions and orders of the Executive Committees of these Soviets.

Each Union Republic has its own Ministries: for example, Ministry of Public Education, Ministry of Social Insurance, Ministry of Finance, Ministry of Agriculture.

The Ministers of a Union Republic direct the respective branches of the national economy and state administration which come within the jurisdiction of the Republic. In their respective branches of activity they issue orders and instructions on the basis and in pursuance of the all-Union and Republican laws in operation. In this they are also guided by the decisions and orders of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. and the Council of Ministers of their Union Republic and by the orders and instructions of the corresponding Ministries of the U.S.S.R.

HIGHER ORGANS OF STATE OF AN AUTONOMOUS REPUBLIC

Each Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic has its own Constitution, which pays due regard to the specific features of the given Autonomous Republic and fully conforms to the Constitution of the Union Republic of

which it is a part. Each Autonomous Republic has its own higher organs of power and administration. In general, these organs are built on the same lines as those in the Union Republics.

The composition, the powers, and the duties of the higher organs of state of Autonomous Republics are defined in the Constitution of the corresponding Union Republic as well as in the Constitutions of the Autonomous Republics.

The highest organ of state power and the sole legislative body of an Autonomous Republic is its Supreme Soviet. It is elected by the citizens of the Autonomous Republic on the basis of universal, equal and direct suffrage by secret ballot for a term of four years.

The Supreme Soviet of an Autonomous Republic adopts the Republic's Constitution, establishes the district administrative division of the Republic, adopts its budget and national economic plan, and confers titles of honour of the Republic. The Constitution and district administrative division of an Autonomous Republic is submitted for approval to the Supreme Soviet of the Union Republic to which the Autonomous Republic belongs.

The highest permanently functioning organ of state of an Autonomous Republic is the Presidium of its Supreme Soviet. It is elected

by the Supreme Soviet and is accountable to the latter for all its activities.

The highest executive and administrative organ of state of an Autonomous Republic is its Council of Ministers. It issues *decisions* and *orders* on the basis of the laws of the U.S.S.R., of its Union Republic and of its own Autonomous Republic, and also on the basis of the decisions and orders of the Government of the U.S.S.R. and of the Union Republic.

A major task of the Council of Ministers of an Autonomous Republic is to guide and control the activities of the Executive Committees of the local Soviets of Working People's Deputies. The Council of Ministers of an Autonomous Republic has power to annul decisions and orders of city and district Executive Committees of Soviets, and also to suspend the decisions and orders of the Soviets themselves.

The Autonomous Republics have their own Ministries, for example: Ministry of Agriculture, Ministry of Finance, Ministry of Trade, Ministry of Internal Affairs, Ministry of Justice, Ministry of Public Health, Ministry of Public Education, Ministry of Local Industry. The Ministers of an Autonomous Republic are subordinate to the Council of Ministers of the Autonomous Republic and to the corresponding Ministries of the Union Republic.



LOCAL ORGANS OF SOVIET STATE POWER

To facilitate state administration in the Soviet Republics, the country was divided into Districts, Areas, Regions, and Territories. When carrying out this territorial-administrative division of the country, the Soviet Government took into account the economic conditions in each Republic and also the national features, culture, and way of life of its population; the division was carried out in such a way as to facilitate the planned development of the national economy and local administration and to promote the satisfaction of the material and cultural requirements of the population.

The territorial-administrative division is different in the various Republics depending on local conditions. The basic units of this division are *Regions*, which in their turn are

divided into *Districts*. In every territory, region, area, district, city, and village there is a Soviet of Working People's Deputies, elected on the basis of universal, equal and direct suffrage by secret ballot for a term of two years.

The Soviets of Working People's Deputies constitute a widely ramified organization of state power. Suffice it to say that at the time of the election of local Soviets in 1950 there were 83,269 local Soviets.

In the 1950 elections to the local Soviets, 1,490,907 Deputies were elected. Of these more than half a million were women; 57.1 per cent were non-Party people and 42.9 per cent were Communists. These data are convincing proof of the profound democratic character of the Soviet system.

The Soviet Government has always attached prime importance to the local Soviets. Lenin said that the socialist revolution in Russia owes its successes to the special attention the Soviet Government and the Communist Party paid to the local organs of Soviet power. That is quite understandable, for it is the local Soviets which put into effect the laws and decisions of the central authorities; they have to deal directly with the people, and it is by their work that the people judge the efficiency of Soviet rule.

The Soviet Constitution, adopted in 1936, granted all local Soviets of Working People's Deputies—from Regional Soviets to Village Soviets—extensive powers in matters of administration and in the direction of all local economic and cultural affairs.

The Soviet Constitution still further extended and more precisely formulated the powers and duties of the local Soviets, emphasizing the leading role they play in local economic and cultural development and making them more responsible for the promotion of this development.

The Soviets of Working People's Deputies direct the work of the administrative bodies subordinate to them, ensure the maintenance of public order and the observance of the laws and the protection of the rights of citizens, direct local economic and cultural affairs and draw up the local budgets.

Local Soviets adopt *decisions* and issue *orders* within the limits of the powers vested in them by the laws of the U.S.S.R. and of the Union and Autonomous Republics.

The structure, powers and duties of the Soviet organs of local government are defined in detail in the Constitutions of the Union and Autonomous Republics. They state that local Soviets should assist in enhancing the defensive

capacity of the country, form various departments in their Executive Committees, can annul or alter decisions and orders of the lower Soviets.

The Territorial, Regional, and Area Soviets of Working People's Deputies elect the corresponding courts. The People's Courts are elected by the direct vote of the citizens of the respective districts on the basis of universal, equal and direct suffrage by secret ballot for a term of three years.

Sessions of the Soviets of Working People's Deputies are convened at definite periods. At the first sitting of a newly elected Soviet it elects *permanent committees* from among the Deputies and these function throughout the term of office of the Soviet. These permanent committees render the Soviets practical assistance in all branches of their activity. There are permanent committees which deal with public education, public health, local industry, agriculture, trade, housing, road building, etc.

A major task of the permanent committees is to assist the Soviets in strengthening their ties with the population, in ascertaining the needs and requirements of the people and in satisfying them in the best and fullest way. For this purpose the committees establish contact with various public organizations in the

area covered by the Soviet and invite them to send their representatives to serve on the committees and assist in their work. In the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic alone there are more than 1,200,000 working people in town and country who are active in the work of the Soviet permanent committees.

Thus, the number of citizens actually participating in the work of the local Soviets is many times more than the number of elected Deputies; and participation in the work of the permanent committees is a good *school of state administration* for millions of workers and peasants.

The executive and administrative organ of a local Soviet is the *Executive Committee*, which consists of a Chairman, Vice-Chairmen, a Secretary, and members. The executive organ in small rural localities consists only of a Chairman, Vice-Chairman, and Secretary. The Executive Committee is accountable to the Soviet which elected it and to the executive organ of the superior Soviet of Working People's Deputies.

The Executive Committees of all local Soviets (except those in rural districts) have various departments in charge of some particular branch of state administration. Usually they have the following departments; finance,

trade, municipal services, agriculture, public education, cultural and educational work, public health, social insurance, personnel, planning and general departments. In addition to these, Regional and Territorial Soviets set up departments of road building, local industry, etc.

The local organs of Soviet power are quite unlike the so-called local government bodies which existed in tsarist Russia, or which exist in capitalist countries today.

The bourgeoisie has subjugated the local government bodies to the central authority and has converted them into adjuncts of the centralized bureaucratic machine.

In the U.S.S.R., however, the local Soviets of People's Deputies are invested with full power; they are a constituent part of that new, uniform socialist state system that was created by the Great October Socialist Revolution.



**THE LEADING AND DIRECTING FORCE
OF THE SOVIET UNION**

**THE COMMUNIST PARTY
AND THE PEOPLE**

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union was founded by the great Lenin at the very beginning of the twentieth century. In tsarist Russia, the Party was a small, severely persecuted, underground organization with only a few thousand members.

But its strength and its influence among the masses grew steadily. Just before the Great October Socialist Revolution its members numbered about 240,000. In the period of the Civil War its membership increased three-fold. On the eve of the Great Patriotic War the Party had 3,800,000 members and candidate members; and on October 1, 1952 it had about 7,000,000 members and candidates.

These figures show better than words not only the growth of the numerical strength of

the Communist Party, but also the growth of its influence among the masses. It is a noteworthy fact that during the most difficult periods for the country, for instance, during the Civil War and the Great Patriotic War, the influx of members into the Party, far from decreasing, actually increased, testifying to the greater confidence of the masses in the Party.

How is this to be explained?

By the fact that the masses saw that the Communists came out bravely and resolutely in defence of the workers and peasants and fought ruthlessly against the enemies of the people of every hue. The Communists exposed to the people the counter-revolutionary designs of the landlords and capitalists and the policies the tsarist and bourgeois provisional governments pursued against the people. The Communists also waged an uncompromising struggle against false "friends of the people" who called themselves "socialists," but actually were on the side of the capitalists, landlords, and kulaks.

In the course of many years and from their experience of three revolutions, the workers and peasants learned what the bourgeois and pseudo-socialist parties stood for and what the Communist Party was fighting for. They realized that only the Communist Party strove for

and gained freedom and power for the working masses and happiness for the people. All the other parties discredited themselves in the eyes of the people and disappeared from the scene together with the classes whose interests they had been defending.

This explains why in the Soviet Union there is room only for one Party—the Communist Party.

It explains why the Communists became the only Party, trusted and loved by the masses. It explains why thousands of workers, peasants, intellectuals, and men and officers of the Soviet Army applied to join the Party when the country was in mortal danger.

In peace and in war, in the rear and at the front, and in partisan warfare, the Communists set unforgettable examples of selflessness and devotion to their Soviet Motherland. The people feel that the Communist Party is near and dear to them and they know that it will never mislead them, that it will stand by them in the hour of severest trial.

WHY THE COMMUNIST PARTY IS STRONG

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is a voluntary militant union of like-minded people, Communists, consisting of members of

the working class, working peasants, and working intellectuals. Membership of the Communist Party is open to class-conscious, active workers, peasants and working intellectuals, devoted to the cause of communism.

The Communist Party is strong primarily because it is guided by an advanced theory.

This theory was created on the basis of the achievements of science and the experience of the labour movement in all countries, by the greatest scholars and leaders of the working class—Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, who lived in the last century. They proved scientifically that the collapse of the capitalist system, the victory of the proletarian revolution and the triumph of socialism and communism are inevitable. The teaching of Marx and Engels is called *Marxism*; it was further developed by V. I. Lenin and J. V. Stalin.

J. V. Stalin said:

“Marxism is the science of the laws governing the development of nature and society, the science of the revolution of the oppressed and exploited masses, the science of the victory of socialism in all countries, the science of building communist society.”*

* J. V. Stalin, *Marxism and Problems of Linguistics*, Moscow 1954, p. 71.

The Marxist-Leninist theory explains what goes on in society, how society is organized, into what parts—classes—it is divided, what kind of struggle is being waged between the classes, what each class wants and strives to achieve. It helps the Communist Party to analyze every situation, to understand the interconnection between current events, to discern the manner and direction in which events are developing at present and the manner and direction in which they will develop in future. This theory enables the Party to *foresee* and, consequently, to *direct* the course of events as the interests of the masses may require.

V. I. Lenin taught that without a revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement, that the role of vanguard can be played only by a party that is guided by the advanced theory—*Marxism*. This theory helps the Party to understand more clearly the aims of the struggle, to march more firmly along the road already mapped out, more confidently and firmly to achieve victory and consolidate it.

J. V. Stalin said that practice gropes in the dark if its path is not illumined by revolutionary theory.

No one can become an advanced, fully conscious, participant in communist construction unless he masters the principles of Marxist-

Leninist theory. The Communist Party demands of all its members that they should work constantly to perfect their political knowledge and to master the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

The Communist Party is strong because it has propagated and is continuing to propagate among the masses the revolutionary theory of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin and has thereby helped the workers to become class-conscious, to understand that they constitute a separate class irreconcilably hostile to the bourgeoisie, and that it is their great historic mission to be the grave-diggers of the bourgeoisie, the leaders of all the working people, and the builders of communist society.

The Communist Party is strong because of its unity and discipline.

The Communist Party is a union of like-minded people. The close unity and unprecedented solidarity of the Communist Party are based on the unity of views of the Party members. This unity was achieved by the long and persevering ideological struggle the Communists waged against other parties for influence among the workers, by the struggle to win the masses of the workers and working peasants to its side by means of agitation, propaganda, and correct leadership of their strug-

gles, and by the uncompromising struggle waged within the Party against those who tried to undermine Party unity, and to form factions within the Party. *The unity of the Communist Party is the major condition of its strength and might.*

The Communist Party is not a loose conglomeration of local organizations in factories, mills, state farms and collective farms, in the transport services, offices, educational establishments, in the army and navy. It is a single organization of Communists of the whole Soviet Union; it consists of local and higher elected bodies. It is governed by the principle that the minority must submit to the majority, and Party decisions are binding upon all members.

Membership of the Communist Party is open to any working citizen of the Soviet Union who does not exploit the labour of others, accepts the Party's Programme and Rules, actively helps to carry them into effect, works in one of the organizations of the Party, and fulfils all Party decisions. Party members pay membership dues.

All persons desiring to join the Party must pass through a probationary period of one year as candidate members. The object of this is to give them an opportunity to

familiarize themselves with the Programme and Rules of the Party and to enable the Party organizations to test the personal qualities of the candidates.

The Party demands that every one of its members be an active fighter for the implementation of Party decisions.

The Communist Party demands of all its members the *strictest discipline*, that is, that Party decisions be carried out unconditionally and punctually. Communist Party discipline rests on the consciousness of its members, on their voluntary subordination to their Party, on their whole-hearted devotion to its cause.

Without such discipline the Party could not have existed and fought at the time when it was an underground organization. The importance of discipline has increased immensely since the time the Party began to direct the Soviet State.

The Party also demands that all its members observe labour discipline and the laws of the state, guard state and Party secrets, display unrelaxing political vigilance on all sectors and under all circumstances. Party members must always remember the capitalist encirclement, the fact that bourgeois governments send their agents to the Soviet

Union to conduct subversive activities, and that these agents try to get into Soviet organizations and enterprises and to use careless and talkative people for their own ends.

Party and state discipline is equally binding on all Party members irrespective of their past services or the positions they occupy.

Should a Party member violate the Party Rules and decisions or commit an offence, he is reprimanded or, for grave offences, is even expelled.

The Party is strong and invincible because it is vitally and indissolubly connected with the masses.

V. I. Lenin and J. V. Stalin taught that a Party which has lost, or even only weakened, its contact with the masses loses their confidence and support and is bound to go under. The Communist Party never forgets these precepts of its leaders. Communists work right among the masses. They know intimately the moods and sentiments of the people. Workers, collective farmers, and members of the intelligentsia go to the Communists with their problems, needs, and proposals. The Party organizations invite non-Party people to attend their open Party meetings.

J. V. Stalin said that, what is needed for the members of the Party is "not to isolate

themselves from the non-Party people . . . not to withdraw into their Party shell, not to get puffed up about belonging to the Party, but to heed the voice of the non-Party people; not only to teach the non-Party people, but also to learn from them.”*

The Party enjoins all its members constantly to strengthen their ties with the masses, to respond promptly to the needs and requirements of the working people, to explain to them the Party's policy and decisions.

The Party demands that every one of its members set an example to the masses, be a model in work, in mastering the technique of his job, in constantly improving his trade or professional skill, in increasing his knowledge, in the observance of labour discipline and the laws of the state. The Party demands that Party members display exemplary conduct in their public and private life.

The close ties between the Communist Party and the masses vividly manifest themselves during the elections to the Soviets, when the Communists and non-Party people nominate joint candidates, who receive the unanimous vote of the electors.

* J. V. Stalin, *Problems of Leninism*, Moscow 1953, p. 571.

The Communist Party rallied around itself millions of active non-Party helpers. It organized the *All-Union Leninist Young Communist League*, which is a non-Party organization, but is associated with the Party.

The Young Communist League has over 18 million members. It is the Party's reserve, a faithful and energetic helper in its work, a channel through which its decisions are carried to the masses. The Young Communist League teaches the youth in the spirit of communism.

THE ROLE AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY IN THE COUNTRY'S LIFE

The Communist Party is the leading and directing force of Soviet society which is building communism.

The leading position of the Communist Party in the Soviet Union is registered in the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. which says that *the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is the vanguard of the working people in their struggle to build communist society, that the Party is the leading core of all organizations of the working people, both public and state.*

How does the Communist Party exercise its leadership of the country?

In the Soviet Union there are numerous state and public organizations of various descriptions: the Soviets, the trade unions, the youth organizations, the co-operative and collective-farm organizations, the scientific, sports and other societies, whose aggregate membership runs into scores of millions. But the working class and the working people need also an organization which would ensure the smooth working of all the mass organizations towards a common aim and provide harmonious leadership of all these organizations. The Communist Party is this leading organization.

The Party is intimately connected with all non-Party organizations. The Party is the best school, where leaders of the working people capable of directing the diverse organizations are trained and educated. Thanks to its experience and its influence among the working people, the Party is the only organization that is able to work out a general line of activity for all organizations, able to concentrate the leadership of the efforts of the working people in its hands, utilizing the other organizations as its assistants and links with the masses.

The Party does not usurp the functions of any of the public organizations, it does not dominate them; it helps them in their work.

The Communists who belong to non-Party organizations win respect and influence, and succeed in persuading these organizations to follow the line of the Party and voluntarily accept its leadership.

The entire history of the Soviet Union vividly shows the great part the Communist Party has played in the country's life.

During the Civil War of 1918-1920, the Communist Party directed the struggle of the Soviet people against the foreign invaders and home counter-revolutionaries.

In 1922, after the victorious termination of the Civil War, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was formed on the initiative of the Communist Party, and under the guidance of the Party it soon grew into a mighty socialist power.

Led by the Communist Party, the Soviet workers and peasants created a mighty industry and large-scale socialist farming, and built socialist society.

During the Great Patriotic War the Communist Party was the inspirer and organizer of the struggle the entire people waged against fascist Germany and her allies for the freedom and independence of the Soviet Union. After victory, the Communist Party helped the workers and peasants quickly, within only five

years, to restore the national economy and to surpass considerably the pre-war level of production.

At the present time the Communist Party is leading the people to the attainment of a further radical improvement in their lives.

The XIX Congress of the Communist Party, held in October 1952, gave directives relating to the new, fifth five-year plan for the development of the U.S.S.R. in the years 1951-1955.

This plan provides for an increase of industrial output as a whole by about 70 per cent over the 1950 level, and there is to be a particularly big increase in the production of metals, machinery, fuel and electricity. During the five years the output of the machine-building and metal-working industries will be increased about 100 per cent. Thousands of new, more perfect, machines and mechanisms will be built. The total capacity of electric power stations is to be almost doubled, and that of hydro-electric power stations trebled. The Kuibyshev hydro-electric station on the Volga, the biggest in the world, having a capacity of 2,100,000 kilowatts, will begin to operate. Big hydro-electric stations, such as the Kama, Gorky and others, are also to be built; they will have a total capacity of 1,916,000 kw.

The production of consumer goods by the

light and the food industries will increase by approximately 70 per cent.

The output of agricultural and animal produce is to be greatly increased.

The *mechanization of production* is to be greatly expanded in all branches of the national economy. For instance, in agriculture, the mechanization of the principal field operations in the collective farms will be completed.

The *automatization of production*, i.e., the employment of various kinds of automatic machines and instruments, will be greatly extended. In the U.S.S.R. there are already completely automatized plants at which all operations are performed by automatic machines requiring only a few men to watch and regulate them: for instance, the automatic plant which manufactures pistons for automobile engines, and automatic plants for the manufacture of concrete. All hydro-electric stations of the Ministry of Power Stations and Electrical Industry have become fully automatized electric power plants: all operations such as turning on, stopping, and regulating the machinery are done automatically. The plan provides for completing in the main the automatization of oil production processes. There will be an increase in the automatization of production in the metallurgical, light, food, and other industries.

The magnitude of the growth of production under the Fifth Five-Year Plan can be judged from the fact that it will equal, and in some cases even exceed, the total increases achieved during all three pre-war five-year plans.

During the five years the productivity of labour will increase about 50 per cent in industry, 55 per cent in building and by 40 per cent in agriculture.

The enormous growth of industrial and agricultural production will bring about a greater improvement in the material and cultural conditions of the Soviet people. During the five years the real wages of workers and other employees will rise by no less than 35 per cent, and the incomes of collective farmers will increase 40 per cent. State expenditure on housing in towns and in workers' settlements will be almost double the expenditure during the previous five-year period. New state-built houses with a total living space of more than 105 million square metres will be made available for occupation. Besides this, state credit is to be provided for individuals who build their own homes out of their savings.

The network of hospitals, maternity homes, clinics, sanatoriums, holiday homes, kindergartens and nurseries will be considerably enlarged. The production of medicines, medical

equipment and instruments will increase by not less than 150 per cent.

The transition to universal secondary (ten-year) education will be completed in all big towns by the end of the five years, and throughout the country—during the next five-year period. In the fifth five-year period a start is being made in introducing polytechnical education in secondary schools, and measures will be taken for the transition to universal polytechnical training. This will help to enhance the socialist-educational value of the secondary schools and ensure pupils completing them a free choice of profession. The number of professional people graduating from the higher educational establishments each year and entering the major branches of industry, building and agriculture will increase twofold. This also applies to scientific personnel.

There will be a considerable increase in the number of public cultural establishments—cinemas, theatres, clubs, libraries, newspaper and book publishing houses.

The results achieved in the economic sphere during the first years of the new, fifth five-year plan show that the targets set by this plan are being successfully attained. Moreover, a series of important plan assignments can and will be fulfilled ahead of scheduled time.

On the basis of the successes achieved in the development of heavy industry the Soviet Union is now in a position to force the production of articles of popular consumption.

The decisions of the fifth session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., held in August 1953, the resolutions adopted on September 5, 1953, March 2 and June 24, 1954 at Plenary Meetings of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. and a number of other decisions of the Communist Party and the Soviet Government outline a programme for the further development of Soviet economy. These historic documents are aimed at effecting a sharp increase in the output of popular consumer goods through all-out development of the light and the food industries and advancement of all branches of agriculture. The immediate goal is to raise the yield of grain as it forms the basis of all agricultural production. To attain this the Communist Party and the Soviet Government deemed it necessary, parallel with raising harvest yields, to cultivate 13 million hectares of virgin and long-fallow land, chiefly in the eastern regions of the country. For this purpose 120,000 tractors (in terms of 15 h. p. units) and many other agricultural machines and cars will be at the disposal of machine and tractor

stations and state farms in those regions already in 1954. The successful fulfillment of this task will see these lands giving the country an additional quantity of more than 16 million tons of grain by 1955.

The Communist Party and the Soviet Government are proceeding from the necessity of raising, in the next two or three years, agricultural production to a level where there will be abundant food for the people and raw material for the light industry.

The task set by the Party and the Government is sharply to increase in the next few years the supply of high-quality goods and foodstuffs to the population: meat and meat products, fish and fish products, butter, sugar, confectionery, textiles, clothing, footwear, crockery, furniture, and other articles of household and daily use.

Much was done already in 1953 to raise the level of popular consumption. Twenty-one per cent more goods were sold to the population by state and co-operative shops in 1953 compared with 1952, while the quantity of meat and meat products sold in the course of the year increased by 36 per cent, butter—36 per cent, cotton fabrics—22 per cent, silk fabrics—45 per cent, watches and clocks—38 per cent, and furniture—39 per cent.

Soviet industry has started the production of popular consumer goods on a scale that will permit the pre-schedule achievement of the targets of the fifth five-year plan for their output.

The assignment of the five-year plan for the output of foodstuffs and popular consumer manufactured goods will be considerably over-fulfilled. The rise in food production in 1955, compared with 1950, will be 84.7 per cent as against 71.4 per cent envisaged in the five-year plan.

In 1954 the volume of state and co-operative retail trade will be 72 per cent above 1950 (in comparable prices), though the original five-year-plan target was a 70 per cent rise by 1955. In other words, the five-year plan will be surpassed already in 1954 and commodity circulation in 1955 will increase roughly two-fold compared with 1950.

Thus, the fulfilment of the far-reaching fifth five-year plan, outlined by the XIX Congress of the Communist Party, is being accelerated in a number of important branches of economy.

The fulfilment of this plan will mark *a big step towards communism*.

Under communism the technique of production in all spheres of economy will attain an unprecedented level. All production proc-

esses will be performed by means of machines and instruments. The work of man will be reduced to watching and regulating automatic machines and control instruments. The working day will be reduced to a few hours. Work will become a pleasure and life's prime want for every member of society. Productivity of labour will be high enough to ensure an abundance of all articles of consumption, which will be distributed according to the needs of members of society.

J. V. Stalin said: "... in a communist society each works according to his abilities and receives articles of consumption, not according to the work he performs, but according to his needs as a culturally developed individual."*

In pursuing the policy of a gradual transition from socialism to communism, the Communist Party and the Soviet Government are ensuring a steady rise of the prosperity and cultural level of the people by continuously expanding and perfecting socialist production on the basis of the highest technique.

With firm confidence in their inexhaustible strength and potentialities, the Soviet people are fulfilling the great task of building

* J. V. Stalin, *Problems of Leninism*, Moscow 1953, p. 665.

communism. They are being led by the Communist Party, tried and steeled in battles.

Under the leadership of the Communist Party, the peoples of Russia threw off the oppression of the landlords and capitalists and established Soviet rule. Under its leadership the working people of the Soviet Union set up a mighty state of workers and peasants, built up the first socialist society in the world, and are now confidently and rapidly marching towards communism.