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POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

(FOUO 22/82)

THE CPSU AND HUMAN RIGHTS

By

K. U. CHERNENKO



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THE CPSU AND HUMAN RIGHTS

Moscow KPSS I PRAVA CHELOVEKA in Russian 1981 (signed to press 6 Aug 81) pp 1-208

[Book "The CPSU and Human Rights" by K. U. Chernenko, Izdatel'stvo Agenstva pechati Novosti, 50,000 copies, 208 pages]

[Text] Introduction

The problems of the freedom of the individual and democracy, human rights, equality and humanism are among the most important problems of the present. They are on the edge of the ideological confrontation of the two systems--socialism and capitalism, the new and the old world.

Imperialism is powerless to turn back the march of history. Under the conditions when the might and influence of the countries of the socialist community and the communist and workers' movement are increasing and the liberation struggle of peoples is spreading, the forces departing from the historical arena are doing everything possible to prolong their existence. In striving to distract the working people of their countries from the daily manifestations of the deepening general crisis of capitalism, which rests on their shoulders as a heavier and heavier burden, and in endeavoring to conceal the essence of bourgeois democracy, which deprives the man of labor of real rights and freedoms, bourgeois ideologists and propagandists are attempting in every possible way to represent imperialism as the champion of democracy, the good and justice. For this they are resorting, in particular, to concepts which are connected with what are called "natural" human rights, which are ostensibly not connected with a specific socioeconomic formation. On the other hand, the fear of the increasing attractive force of real socialism and of its achievements in the comprehensive meeting of the material and spiritual needs of the working people and in the development of democracy is forcing them to use various kinds of insinuations, slander and falsifications with respect to the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

In recent times imperialism has brought to the forefront "the idea of a campaign in defense of human rights," which are ostensibly being violated in the socialist countries, and particularly in the USSR. The campaign organized by the United States has assumed not only an ideological, but also a political nature. The U.S. Government has declared that "the defense of human rights" is becoming a most important element of its foreign policy, that it "will concentrate its fire on violations of human rights in the communist countries...."

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The fact that the calls for the defense of human rights in the world are coming from a country in which the ulcers and vices of contemporary bourgeois society are displayed in a most hypertrophied, distorted form, apparently, little disturbs the organizers of this sensational campaign. Well, the debate imposed upon us provides a good opportunity for a comparison of the socialist and bourgeois ways of life, for the contrast of the real rights and freedoms which the working people of the Soviet Union and the United States have. "We have," L. I. Brezhnev noted, "no reason to avoid a serious discussion of human rights. Our revolution and the triumph of socialism in our country not only proclaimed, but also truly guaranteed the rights of the working man of any nationality, the rights of the masses of millions of working people--as capitalism has not been able to do in a single country of the world."¹

Man is the greatest asset of our society. Having sprung from Great October, it gave the Soviet people previously unheard of rights and freedoms, which found their sanction and development in the RSFSR Constitution of 1918 and in the USSR Constitutions of 1924 and 1936. The building of mature socialism enabled us to improve considerably the provisions of the Fundamental Law on the rights of Soviet citizens. The 1977 USSR Constitution grants them a set of rights and freedoms, which covers all spheres of economic, political, social and spiritual life and affords the Soviet people the greatest freedom for the display of all their abilities. Everything in the name of man, for the good of man--such is the theme which runs through all its articles. The famous words of the Communist Manifesto "the free development of each person is a condition of the free development of all"² have become the fundamental constitutional principle of our state.

It should especially be emphasized that the rights and freedoms of Soviet citizens not only are proclaimed by the Constitution, but are also guaranteed by economic, political, legal and other means. In Lenin's words, "the center of gravity is shifting /from/ [in boldface] the formal /recognition/ [in italics] of freedoms (as was the case under bourgeois parliamentarianism) /to/ [in boldface] the actual guarantee of the /exercise/ [in italics] of freedoms on the part of the working people, who are overthrowing the exploiters."³ The new USSR Constitution not only expands considerably the group of rights and freedoms of the Soviet people, but also takes a significant step forward in the matter of broadening and strengthening their guarantees.

The leading role of the Communist Party is the most important guarantee of the exercise of the rights of the working people. From the Leninist documents of the period of the formation of the revolutionary party of the working class to the decisions of the party congresses and the decrees of the CPSU Central Committee of recent years the concern about the welfare of man and about the all-round, harmonious development of the individual has been the main content of all its theoretical and practical activity, be it questions of foreign policy, the solution of a complex set of economic, sociopolitical or ideological educational problems. Precisely the party was the initiator and organizer of the framing of all the Soviet constitutions.

The 26th CPSU Congress once again emphasized that our main goal is a lasting peace and welfare of the people. The program of the further increase of the well-being of the Soviet people and the strengthening of the material and spiritual bases of the socialist way of life are providing the conditions for the more and more complete development of the rights and freedoms of the individual.

In the West they often restrict the concept of human rights, excluding from it socioeconomic rights. It is well known that the rights to work, to a free higher education and to free medical service are not even recorded in the majority of bourgeois constitutions. It is no mere chance, therefore, that imperialist propaganda says nothing about these rights.

We, in the USSR, include in the concept of the rights of a citizen, along with political and personal rights, socioeconomic rights. The treatment of human rights as a unified set, which constitutes the content of the legal status of the individual in society, is characteristic of socialist democracy. We proceed on the basis that precisely socioeconomic rights and freedoms constitute the real basis for the exercise of the political and personal rights and freedoms of a person.

A citizen can feel truly free and equal only when he is free from exploitation and social oppression, if he is provided an opportunity to participate in the management of state and public affairs. We believe that the truly free person should be sure about tomorrow and about the fact that he will never be deprived of the means of existence. He should also be sure that the state is watching over his rights and freedoms, that a material basis has been placed under his rights and freedoms. This becomes a reality only on the basis of a socialist economic system, which rules out the possibility of the appropriation of the results of the labor of others and places at the disposal of man all physical and spiritual values.

The Soviet concept of human rights by no means conflicts with the provisions of the most important international documents, beginning with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which was adopted more than three decades ago, and ending with documents of a later period--the International Pact on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and the International Pact on Civil and Political Rights.

Recent decisions of the United Nations once again confirm the fruitfulness of such an approach to human rights. In a resolution, which was adopted by the Third Committee (Social, Humanitarian and Cultural) of the UN General Assembly (December 1980), it is stated: "...For the complete guarantee of human rights and the full dignity of the human personality it is necessary to guarantee the right to work, the participation of working people in management, as well as the right to an education, medical service and the proper diet..." In the resolution it is noted that "it is necessary to devote identical attention" to the defense of "both civil and political rights and economic, social and cultural rights."

It is typical that the U.S. delegation voted against this resolution. For the need to guarantee the very rights which are absent in America is discussed in the adopted document.

Soviet legislation in this area goes much farther than the international pacts, since broader guarantees of the rights and freedoms of the individual are stipulated in it. For example, the International Pact on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights envisages compliance with the right of each person to an education. In the USSR not only elementary, but also secondary and higher education are free. Another article of the same pact speaks about the right to the protection of health, including the provision of medical assistance and care in case of illness. The USSR Constitution provides for not only free and skilled medical assistance for all citizens in case of illness, but also a large number of other measures which are

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aimed at the protection of the health and the assurance of a long active life of citizens. The Soviet Union was one of the first in the world to record in its Fundamental Law the right to housing. This right is not present in the international pacts on human rights.

It should be emphasized that in our country the exercise of rights and freedoms is inseparable from the fulfillment of civic duties. Each Soviet individual is obligated to observe the USSR Constitution and Soviet laws, to respect the rules of socialist community life and to bear with dignity the lofty title of USSR citizen. The Constitution requires that socialist property be guarded and consolidated, that the interests of the Soviet state be protected and that the consolidation of its might and authority be promoted. The defense of the socialist homeland, the promotion of the development of friendship and cooperation with peoples of other countries, the support and strengthening of world peace are the patriotic and international duty of Soviet citizens. The USSR Constitution also stipulates a number of other civic duties.

Our party is steadfastly pursuing the policy: the fulfillment by the Soviet people of their duties is just as necessary an element of democracy as is the exercise of rights and freedoms.

From the lack of rights to all-embracing guaranteed rights and freedoms--such is the path traversed by the working people of our country under the guidance of the Leninist party. It was a difficult, unexplored road. What we started from, what paths we took, what difficulties and obstacles we overcame in so doing and, finally, what the rights and freedoms of the Soviet people are today and what the role and attitude of the CPSU toward these questions are, are told about in this book.

FOOTNOTES

1. L. I. Brezhnev, "Leninskim kursom" [By the Leninist Course], Vol 4, Moscow, 1974, p 337.
2. K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], Vol 4, p 447.
3. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch." [Complete Works], Vol 36, pp 73-74.

PART I. EQUALITY

In the Marxist-Leninist interpretation equality is the requirement of identical political rights for all the citizens of the state. "...When socialists speak of equality," V. I. Lenin indicated, "they always understand by it /social/ [in italics] equality, the equality of social status...."¹

The idea of social equality has a centuries-old history. Since the time that human society was split into classes and private property and the exploitation of man by man arose, it has acted as a mighty motive force in the historical process.

At one time the bourgeoisie also adopted this idea in the struggle against feudalism. However, after coming to power, it confined itself to the declaration of the formal legal equality of everyone before the law, but retained the private ownership of the means of production. The exploitation of man by man and, consequently, social inequality were thereby legitimized. "At each step in the most democratic bourgeois state," V. I. Lenin wrote, "the oppressed masses encounter a flagrant contradiction between /formal/ [in italics] equality, which the 'democracy' of the capitalists proclaims, and thousands of /actual/ [in italics] restrictions and contrivances, which make the proletarians /hired slaves/ [in italics]. Precisely this contradiction is opening the eyes of the masses to the rottenness, mendacity and hypocrisy of capitalism."²

Marxism-Leninism teaches that only the destruction of the main sources of social inequality--the private ownership of the means of production and the exploitation of man by man--creates the prerequisites for the achievement of genuine social equality. "...Genuine, actual equality cannot exist," V. I. Lenin indicated, "until every possibility of the exploitation of one class by another has been completely eliminated."³

As a result of the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution firm bases of equality were created in our country. In the political field there was the establishment of the power of the workers and peasants. In the economic field there was the nationalization of the land, the main means of production and banks. In the social field there were the abolition of all national and national republic privileges, the elimination of the estates, ranks, titles and grades, the proclamation of the equality and sovereignty of all the peoples of Russia, the establishment of a single title--citizen of the Russian Soviet Republic.

The Third All-Russian Congress of Soviets, which was held in January 1918, adopted "The Declaration of the Rights of Working and Exploited People," which was signed

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by V. I. Lenin. In it there was set at the main task "...the abolition of all exploitation of man by man, the complete elimination of the division of society into classes, the merciless suppression of the opposition of the exploiters, the establishment of a socialist organization of society...."⁴

Under the conditions of the most vicious struggle, which the remains of the exploiting classes launched against Soviet power, our party and state, of course, were not able to immediately grant all citizens equal rights. The RSFSR Constitution of 1918 proclaimed: "Guided by the interests of the working class as a whole, the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic deprives individual persons and individual groups of the rights which are exercised by them to the detriment of the socialist revolution." The nonworking elements were restricted in political and socioeconomic rights. The honorable right to defend the revolution with arms in hand was granted only to the working people. The subsequent course of events completely confirmed the correctness of this solution of the question of equality.

With the building of socialism and the elimination of the remains of the exploiting classes all USSR citizens were placed in an equal position with respect to the means of production. An equal opportunity to work, to make use of spiritual values, to display their abilities in science, art, sociopolitical activity and others was granted to them. The previously established restrictions in rights were abolished. This found its ratification in the USSR Constitution of 1936.

Now the Soviet people are living under the conditions of a mature socialist society. It guarantees the equality of working people in all areas of economic, political, social and cultural life. Our Constitution ensures the equality of all Soviet citizens before the law regardless of origin, social and property status, racial and national affiliation, sex, education, language, attitude toward religion, type and nature of occupation, place of residence and other circumstances. All citizens of the union republics are USSR citizens, equal members of the fraternal family of peoples who inhabit our country.

Socialist equality presumes not only the equal rights, but also the equal duties of citizens, which they have to society and the state. It was F. Engels who wrote that *"equal duties/ [in italics] are for us an especially important addition to bourgeois democratic /equal rights/ [in italics], which deprives the latter of their specifically bourgeois meaning."*⁵

Under socialism there are no such classes or social groups, no such people, who enjoy privileges in the exercise of rights or are exempt from the performance of duties. The requirements of the law are equally binding for all Soviet people. No exceptions can be made to this basic rule. "The awareness that he is equal in rights with the other members of society, can always count on a just, respectful attitude toward himself...." L. I. Brezhnev indicated, "is important to every person."⁶

It should be noted that the distribution of material wealth in socialist society is carried out only with allowance made for the quantity and quality of labor. Here, of course, more skilled labor is paid more. But already now, at the stage of mature socialism, a high degree of the equalization of the socioeconomic status of the members of society is being achieved.

Public consumption funds are playing an especially great role here. Free training and the improvement of skills, free medical assistance, grants, pensions, stipends for students, pay for regular leave, free travel authorizations to sanatoriums and vacation homes and travel authorizations at concessionary prices, the upkeep of children at preschool institutions and a number of other payments and benefits are provided from them. The state with the extensive participation of public organizations and labor collectives is ensuring the increase and fair distribution of these funds.

The centuries-old struggle of the working people for their liberation is inseparably connected with the struggle for national equality and the emancipation of women. How the just solution of the national question and the equality of women and men were accomplished in our country under the guidance of the Communist Party will be discussed below.

FOOTNOTES

1. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch." [Complete Works], Vol 24, p 364.
2. Ibid., Vol 37, p 255.
3. Ibid., p 262.
4. Ibid., Vol 35, p 221.
5. K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], Vol 22, p 235.
6. L. I. Brezhnev, "Leninskim kursom" [By the Leninist Course], Vol 5, Moscow, 1976, p 70.

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CHAPTER 1. THE FRIENDSHIP AND FRATERNITY OF PEOPLES

USSR citizens of different races and nationalities have equal rights.

From Article 36 of the USSR Constitution

More than 100 different nations and nationalities, the size of which is from 137 million (Russians) to 504 (one of the nationalities of the Far East--the Negidals), live in our country. All of them, in conformity with the USSR Constitution, have equal rights. This is one of the main achievements of socialism.

K. Marx and F. Engels linked the solution of the national question with the class struggle of the proletariat. "Along with the antagonism of the classes within nations the hostile relations of nations among themselves will also decrease,"¹ it is stated in the Communist Manifesto.

V. I. Lenin creatively developed the ideas of the founders of scientific communism. During the era when imperialism aggravated the national conflicts to the utmost, he developed the theory of the national question, showed the role of the national liberation struggle and elaborated the scientific principles of the national policy of the Communist Party.

V. I. Lenin discovered the law of two opposing trends in the national question under the conditions of capitalism. "Developing capitalism," he wrote, "knows two historical trends in the national question. The first: the awakening of national life and national movements, the struggle against any national oppression, the creation of national states. The second: the development and increase of the frequency of all kinds of relations among nations, the breakdown of national barriers, the creation of the international unity of capital, of economic life in general, politics, science and so on."²

Both of these trends are in irreconcilable contradiction under imperialism. The internationalization of socioeconomic life takes place here not by the cooperation of equal nations, but by the subordination, as was the case in prerevolutionary Russia, of the less developed nations to the more developed ones. This inevitably evokes the resistance of the peoples who do not enjoy full rights. That is why, along with the tendency of unification, the tendency toward the eradication of the forcible forms of this unification is growing.

Tsarist Russia was called a prison of peoples. The non-Russian peoples, who made up 57 percent of the population, were completely without rights, were subject to rapacious exploitation and suffered humiliations and insults. In the outlying national regions of Russia, which had the status of colonies and semicolonies, tsarist governors or governor generals threw their weight around unchecked. The working people languished here under double oppression--that of the local and Russian landowners and that of the capitalists.

The policy of the tsarist government was aimed not only at oppressing the peoples, but also at stirring up national animosity and hatred. Such a policy helped the classes which had been in power to oppress the working people.

Our party proceeded from the fact that the unification of the working people, regardless of their national affiliation, in the common struggle for a new social system, which was free of all types of oppression and exploitation, is the main thing in the solution of the national question. However, such a union could be lasting only on the condition of voluntariness and the mutual trust of nations. Therefore, "the right to self-determination for all the nations included in the state"³ was one of the basic requirements of the first Party Program.

If we require succession for all oppressed and underprivileged nations without exception, V. I. Lenin explained, "it is not at all because /we are for the succession/ [in italics] of them, but /only/ [in italics] because we are for /free, voluntary/ [in italics] convergence and merging, and not for forcible convergence and merging. /Only/ [in italics] for this reason!"⁴

For those peoples who wish to remain within the unified state, the party demands the broadest autonomy; the promulgation of special laws which would guarantee the free development of national minorities; the complete equality of citizens regardless of race and nationality; the right of every citizen to speak at meetings in his native language; the introduction of the native language at all local public and state institutions and others. It customarily confirmed these demands in the decisions of its congresses and conferences right up to the Great October Socialist Revolution.

The national policy of the Communist Party won it the sympathy and support of the broad masses. The program slogan of the right of nations to self-determination attracted the oppressed peoples of Russia to the side of the proletariat and its party and contributed to the education of the working class in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and to the joining of the national liberation movement with the all-worker and peasant movement into a united front.

In the class battles the fighting unity of the proletarians of all nationalities grew stronger, the alliance of the working class and the working peasantry of all the peoples as a powerful international revolutionary force arose. The Communist Party, which united in its ranks the working people of different nationalities, acted as the cementing nuclear of this alliance from the moment of its creation. All this was one of the decisive things, which governed the victory of Soviet power in the outlying national regions of Russia, undermined the old national animosity and served as the basis of the emergence and development of the movement for the unification of the peoples into a free and fraternal union.

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The Great October Socialist Revolution was the main political condition of the implementation of Lenin's national program. On 25 October 1917* the Second All-Russian Congress of Soviets in the appeal "To the Workers, Soldiers and Peasants!" solemnly declared that Soviet power would provide all the nations of Russia with the real right to self-determination. Within the Council of People's Commissars (the Soviet Government), which was formed by the congress, the People's Commissariat for Nationalities was created for the practical implementation of the national policy.

On 2 November 1917 the Council of People's Commissars adopted "The Declaration of the Rights of the Peoples of Russia," in which there were proclaimed the equality and sovereignty of the peoples of Russia; their right to free self-determination, up to secession and the formation of an independent state; the abolition of every and all national and national religious privileges and restrictions; the free development of the national minorities and ethnic groups, which inhabit the territory of Russia.

In December 1917 the Soviet Government recognized the national independence of the Ukraine and Finland.

The working masses of the outlying national districts greeted with enormous enthusiasm the news about the socialist revolution. "We, the farm laborers and Kirghiz poor from Narynskiy Uyezd," it was stated in one of the documents from those times, "greet the power of the soviets and the leaders of the proletariat in the person of the Communist Party, express sincere gratitude to them for liberating us from the oppression, exploitation and coercion of the hated bourgeois system.

"We vow to no longer permit the dominion of rich landowners, manap [pl manapy] and kulaks and to keep the enemies of the revolution under strict surveillance, to destroy them mercilessly."⁵

During the first postrevolutionary years independent Soviet republics emerged on the territory of the former Russian Empire. The first of them--the Russian Republic--was founded as a federation, as a free union of free nations. Following it the Ukrainian and Belorussian, then the Azerbaijan, Armenian and Georgian Soviet Republics were formed. Autonomous state formations of different peoples also emerged. "We have given /all/ [in italics] the non-Russian nationalities /their own/ [in italics] republics or autonomous oblasts,"⁶ wrote V. I. Lenin, who considered the creation of the national state system of the peoples of our country to be one of the most important achievements of the October Revolution.

The bourgeoisie and its accomplices--the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries--said at that time that the Bolsheviks were striving to destroy the multinational state. In reality it was not the communists, but the bourgeois nationalists, who were seeking the breakup of Russia. Whereas prior to October they were for a "united indivisible" bourgeois Russia and strove only for the granting of internal autonomy, following the victory of the revolution they began to fight for the splitting up of the former Russian Empire into individual bourgeois border states. This was an antinational policy.

*The dates of 1917 are given in Old Style--Editor.

The Communist Party directed the unifying movement of the peoples. It led the masses with the greatest patience and caution to the practical solution of the problem of creating a united confederate multinational Soviet state.

Whereas during the first period after the victory of October, when the working people of the different nationalities felt independent for the first time, their cooperation did not yet have an entirely definite, strictly established form, during the period of the civil war and foreign intervention it assumed the form of a close military-political alliance. The pooling of economic and military resources and the fraternal solidarity of the Soviet peoples ensured their victory over the domestic and foreign counterrevolution.

During the postwar period, when the questions of the restoration of the war-torn economy were brought to the forefront, the military alliance was augmented by an economic alliance. During 1920-1921 the relations of close mutual assistance of the independent Soviet republics were consolidated in a number of treaties.

At the same time the problems of defending the gains of the revolution against internal and external enemies, of eliminating the economic dislocation and building socialism advanced more and more urgently the need for the state unification of the Soviet republics. Under the circumstances of the capitalist encirclement none of them, taken separately, could consider itself guaranteed against economic attrition and military defeat on the part of world imperialism.

Our National Anthem begins with the words: "Great Russia has united for ever the indestructible union of free republics." Precisely the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic became the center of the unification of all the peoples of our country. The largest centers of industry and culture were located here. The Russian Federation gave the other Soviet republics military-political, diplomatic, economic and cultural assistance. The Russian proletariat, which was steeled in the revolutionary battles, opened the way to a new society to all the previously oppressed nations and nationalities.

At that time the RSFSR was the only country in the world, in which the experience of the peaceful cohabitation and cooperation of a large number of nations and nationalities on the basis of their mutual trust and voluntary aspiration for union turned out well.

The 10th party congress, basing itself on the experience of the RSFSR, wrote down in its resolution on the national question: "The federation of Soviet republics, which is based on the common character of military and economic affairs, is that common form of state alliance, which makes it possible: a) to ensure the integrity and economic development of both the individual republics and the federation as a whole; b) to encompass all the diversity of the life, culture and economic status of the different nations and nationalities, which are at different stages of development, and in conformity with this to use one form of federation or another; c) to organize the peaceful cohabitation and fraternal cooperation of the nations and nationalities, which in one way or another have linked their own fate with the fate of the federation."⁷

The First All-Union Congress of Soviets, which was held on 30 December 1922, on the basis of the free will of the peoples, proclaimed the formation of the Union of

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Soviet Socialist Republics (the USSR). The first USSR Constitution (1924) consolidated legislatively the unification of the Soviet republics into a united multinational state on the basis of their sovereignty and full equality.

All the subsequent experience of the Soviet national-state system confirmed the vital strength of these basic Leninist principles. "The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics," it is stated in the USSR Constitution of 1977, "is a united multinational union state, which was formed on the basis of the principle of socialist federalism, as a result of the free self-determination of nations and the voluntary unification of the equal Soviet socialist republics."

Let us note in this connection that in contrast to the Soviet Union the bourgeois federations were created not on the basis of the voluntary desire of their members, but by means of coercion, often with the resistance to this of a portion of the united states, at times by means of various methods of the acquisition of territories (seizure, purchase and so on). Usually they are the administration consolidation of territories which are not connected with the national composition of the population, with the boundaries of the habitation of individual nationalities. For example, in the United States there are 50 states, but not more than 7 basic national groups. At the same time the representatives of such an indigenous nationality as the Indians do not have here their own national-state formation.

Exercising the right to self-determination, the numerous nations and nationalities of our country established during the years of Soviet power various forms of the national state system: union and autonomous republics, autonomous oblasts and okrugs. The number of national state organizations increased. Thus, whereas in 1924 there were 4 union republics, 13 autonomous republics and 13 autonomous oblasts, now 15 union republics, 20 autonomous republics, 8 autonomous oblasts and 10 autonomous okrugs belong to the USSR.

The USSR as a confederate state is based on the principle of democratic centralism, which makes it possible to combine in the best way the common, international interests of all the peoples of the Soviet Union with the national interests of the republics. Here centralism concerns the basic questions of the leadership of the country as a whole, which is dictated by the requirements of the socialist economy and by the interests of the sociopolitical and spiritual development of society and the defense of the country. But it operates in fundamental interrelationship with democracy, with the broad independence of the republics and the unhampered development of their initiative.

/In accordance with the USSR Constitution, all the union republics are sovereign Soviet socialist states/ [in boldface]. This means that they retain their independence and freedom in the exercise of state power in all matters of political, economic, cultural and public life, with the exception of those which belong to the jurisdiction of the USSR.

The sovereign rights of the union republics are backed by real guarantees. Each of them has its own constitution, which corresponds to the USSR Constitution and takes into account the national features of the republic and its citizenry, solves by itself questions of the administrative and territorial system and has the right to enter into relations with foreign states. The territory of the union republic cannot be altered without its consent. The right of free succession from the USSR is reserved for each union republic.

The Supreme Soviet of the union republic is the sole legislative organ which is competent to settle all questions which have been assigned to the jurisdiction of the union republic by the USSR Constitution and the constitution of the union republic.

In addition to the nationality, which gave the name to the republic, other peoples and national groups, which are characterized by the uniqueness of economic development, the way of life, culture and other features, live on the territory of several union republics. They have national territorial autonomy of one level or another.

The autonomous republic is a Soviet socialist state, which is a part of the union republic. It has its own constitution, but also has the right to promulgate within its competence laws which conform to the constitutions and laws of the USSR and the union republic, has its own higher organs of state power and organs of state government and its own citizenry. The territory of the autonomous republic cannot be altered without its consent.

The autonomous oblast is also included in the union republic. It enjoys self-government in its internal affairs and has its own national organs of state power and state government.

The autonomous okrug is a form of the autonomous Soviet state system of the small nationalities of the Far North. It ensures them administrative self-government on questions of domestic life, has local national organs of state power and government. The autonomous okrugs (some of them unite two or more nationalities) are within krays and oblasts, which is conducive to the quickest possible development of the economy and culture of small peoples.

The rights of the autonomous oblasts and okrugs are backed by the corresponding laws of the union republic of which they are a part.

/In conformity with the USSR Constitution the Soviet Union is based on the principle of the equality of the unified union republics/ [in boldface] regardless of the size of their population, the amount of territory, the level of economic development and any other features.

The formation of the highest organ of state power of the country--the USSR Supreme Soviet--which consists of two equal chambers (the Council of the Union and the Council of Nationalities) is a guarantee of equality. Both chambers consist of an equal number of deputies, and equal representation from each union republic (32 representatives each) is exercised in the Council of Nationalities. Moreover, each autonomous republic, oblast and okrug is represented in the Council of Nationalities accordingly by an equal number of deputies (11, 5 and 1).

National equality is also secured by the fact that the right to participate in the settlement of questions, which are assigned to the competence of the USSR, in the USSR Supreme Soviet, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, the USSR Government and other organs of the Soviet Union has been granted to each union republic. The union republics have the right of legislative initiative. Each of them is represented in the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet (in the person of one of the deputy chairmen) and in other all-union organs.

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All the autonomous republics, oblasts and okrugs are represented in the Supreme Soviets of the corresponding union republics subject to the size of their population. The representative of the autonomous republic is one of the deputy chairmen of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the union republic.

The equal legal opportunity to use one's native language and the languages of the other peoples of our country in schools, in the press, on radio and television is granted to USSR citizens. The laws of the USSR, the decrees and other acts of the USSR Supreme Soviet are published in the languages of the union republics. This principle is also strictly implemented in the activity of the courts.

Criminal and other liability for the violation of national equality has been established in our country. In accordance with the USSR Constitution, any direct or indirect restriction of rights, the establishment of direct or indirect advantages of citizens according to racial or national attributes, as well as any advocacy of racial or national exclusiveness, animosity or disrespect, are punished in accordance with the law. "The duty of every USSR citizen," it is stated in the Constitution, "is to respect the national dignity of other citizens, to strengthen the friendship of the nations and nationalities of the Soviet multinational state."

Legal equality, which was established during the first days of Soviet power, did not yet imply, however, the complete and final settlement of the national question. /One of the main political goals of the party was to put an end to actual inequality, to overcome the economic and cultural backwardness of the formerly oppressed nations and nationalities/ [in boldface]. This required considerable time. It was the 10th party congress that indicated that "the elimination of actual national inequality here is a lengthy process which requires the determined and persistent struggle against all vestiges of national oppression and colonial servitude."⁸

Basing itself on the ideas of the founders of scientific communism and taking into account the historical peculiarities of the peoples of the former tsarist colonies (Kazakhstan, Central Asia, the Caucasus and the North), the party set the task to bring them to socialism, bypassing the capitalist stage of development. The policy of the rapid economic, cultural and social development of the outlying national regions was adopted.

The firm conviction that economic equality is the basis of actual equality was the starting point of this policy. The formation of the USSR afforded extensive opportunities for the solution of this problem. The Communist Party and the Soviet state, having concentrated the material resources of the republics, channelled them into the creation of the material and technical base of socialism on the scale of the entire country. In a historical short period, in 10-12 years, modern, first of all heavy, industry was created in our country by the efforts of all the peoples.

The industrialization of the union republics was a component of the overall program of the creation of the material and technical base of socialism. The rational distribution of productive forces with allowance made for both the needs of the economic development of the entire country and the problems of the development of the economy of the formerly backward outlying national districts played an enormous role here. The extensive development of natural resources and the construction of industrial complexes were launched in the regions of Central Asia and Kazakhstan, in Transcaucasia, Siberia and the Far East, in the Urals and the Volga River area,

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that is, in those regions, the population of which to a considerable extent was made up of previously oppressed nations and nationalities. The merging of the economic potentials and resources of all the republics expedited the economic development of each of them and the equalization of the levels of this development. For a long period the subsidies from the union budget to the republics of Central Asia and Kazakhstan exceeded their revenues.

Our party and state devoted much attention to the solution of the problem of the socialist transformation of the agriculture of the national republics and the changeover of the masses of many millions of peasants to the path of collectivization. Vast assets were allocated for the construction of machine and tractor stations and hay-cutting machine stations, the implementation in Central Asia of a land and water reform, the changeover of nomads to a settled way of life and other measures.

The material, political and organizational assistance on the part of the working class and all the working people of the developed regions of the USSR was the decisive condition of the rapid economic development of the republics of Central Asia, Kazakhstan and Transcaucasia. This unselfish assistance took the form of a consistent and comprehensive direction, which was elaborated by the party, of the all-union economic policy. The Russian working class and the Russian people agreed to sacrifices in the name of the overcoming of the backwardness of the outlying national districts, seeing in this their lofty international duty. Whereas in 1940 the gross output of RSFSR industry had increased sixfold as compared with 1928, in Kazakhstan and Georgia, for example, it had increased eightfold, in Tajikistan and Armenia--ninefold, in Kirghizia--10-fold.

Our party considered as one of the most important tasks in the settlement of the national question the elimination of the cultural backwardness of the previously oppressed peoples. It was also possible to accomplish this task only with comprehensive assistance and a high rate of cultural construction. In the shortest possible time an end was put to mass illiteracy in the national regions. They were covered by a network of schools, libraries, clubs, tekhnikums, higher educational institutions and scientific institutions. The party and the state sent to the former outlying districts of Russia technical specialists, physicians, educators, cultural workers and others. Additional assets were allocated for the needs of public health and education. Great privileges in the enrollment in higher educational institutions were given to national personnel. The result was significant gains in the development of culture, which were made in all the union republics.

The development of modern industry, the socialist reorganization of agriculture and cultural construction enabled the once oppressed people, who had been without rights and were at different stages of social development--from the patriarchal-tribal to the capitalist system--in a historically short period to overcome their economic and cultural backwardness and to achieve all-round prosperity.

It should especially be emphasized that /the inviolable friendship of the peoples of the Soviet Union was one of the most important achievements of socialism/ [in boldface]. This friendship, which by right we are proud of today, is the result of the overcoming of the vestiges which we inherited from the era of national oppression. There was among them, in particular, great power chauvinism--the

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reflection of the past privileged status of the Russian nationality. Moreover, among a number of peoples, who had not yet been able to free themselves from the old national resentments, nationalism made itself felt. It goes without saying that both of these phenomena hindered the cause of the actual unification of the republics into a single state union.

The resolute struggle against nationalistic vestiges, and first of all great power chauvinism, was one of the most important tasks of our party. In rallying the working people in the struggle for the building of a socialist society on the platform of socialist internationalism, it demanded the consideration of the national feelings of each people. "In any case," it was indicated in the second Party Program, "particular care and particular attention to the vestiges of national feelings among the working masses of the nations which were oppressed or were without rights are necessary on the part of the proletariat of those nations which were oppressing nations."⁹ As a result of the implementation of Lenin's national policy during the years of the building of socialism the feelings of past distrust of the peoples for each other were replaced by the feelings of mutual friendship and fraternity.

The Great Patriotic War was a rigorous test of the durability of the Soviet multinational state. Fascism, when preparing for war, was convinced of its collapse, of the revival of national internecine wars. Goering's "green folder" ordered the fascist officers: "In the Baltic countries to use in the interests of Germany the conflicts between Lithuanians, Estonians, Latvians, Russians.... In the south-- the existence of conflicts between Ukrainians and Russians.... In the Caucasus-- the conflicts between the natives: Georgians, Armenians, Tatars and Russians."¹⁰

However, the war smashed these plans of the enemy. The friendship of the peoples of the USSR, which had been cemented during the years of the building of socialism, was one of the main sources of the victory of the Soviet Union in the encounter with Hitler fascism. The representatives of all the peoples and nationalities of our country defended shoulder to shoulder at the fronts of the Great Patriotic War their freedom and independence, their revolutionary gains.

During the years of Soviet power the character of each of the union republics changed beyond recognition. In a few decades they had traversed a path which under different conditions had required many decades. The emergence and development of a new historical community--the Soviet people--are the general result of those profound changes which occurred in the material and spiritual life of our society and its internationalization. This community marks a higher stage of the sociopolitical unity of all the nations and nationalities of the Soviet Union. Such concepts as "the Soviet man," "the Soviet economy," "the Soviet character," "Soviet patriotism" and "the Soviet way of life," which originated during the years of the building of socialism, serve as its expression. Soviet means common to, characteristic of each nation and nationality of our country.

At present the national question in the form in which it arose following the revolution has been settled completely, definitively and irrevocably. It is no longer a question of the elimination of national oppression, inequality and antagonism. "This is an achievement," L. I. Brezhnev noted, "which by right can be ranked with such triumphs in the building of a new society in the USSR as industrialization, collectivization and the cultural revolution."¹¹

In the capitalist world in the years which have passed since the victory of Great October the national conflicts have become even more acute. Apartheid and the bloody racial clashes in the southern part of Africa, the anti-Arab, Zionist policy of Israel and the fierce national struggle in England, Canada, Belgium, the Netherlands, Spain and other capitalist countries are evidence of this.

As is known, the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe contains obligations of the states to respect the rights of people belonging to the national minorities and their equality before the law and to provide them with every opportunity to exercise these rights. Along with the European states the United States also signed this act. How do things stand here with the meeting of the assumed obligations?

Take, for example, the Indians. Today in the United States there is no more of an oppressed, impoverished national minority without rights. The reservations on which the bulk of the 850,000 Indians live are in the full sense outdoor slums. Pitiful housing, glaring poverty, diseases, nearly universal unemployment (up to 75 percent)--such is the lot of the ancestors of those who inhabited this land before the appearance of the first European colonists.

And how is the status of blacks, Mexicans and Puerto Ricans better? At present in America, just as 10 or 20 years ago, the representatives of the numerous national minorities, and first of all blacks, drag out a miserable existence and are subject to cruel exploitation and discrimination in all areas of public life.

Under the conditions of mature socialism the party program and party policy in the area of national relations are aimed at the all-round development and the all-round convergence of the nations and nationalities. These are two objective, interconnected processes which express the unified international essence of socialist society, in which the convergence of nations is the leading trend.

Of course, this does not mean that in the sphere of national relations all questions have already been settled. The dynamics of the development of such a large multinational state as ours gives rise to many problems which require the responsive attention of the party. The CPSU, it was emphasized at the 26th party congress, struggled and always will struggle resolutely against such manifestations, which are alien to the nature of socialism, as chauvinism and nationalism, against any nationalistic oddities, be it, for example, antisemitism or Zionism.¹² Unfortunately, these vestiges still appear at times. For centuries lie behind them and, moreover, western propaganda is trying to stir them up.

We oppose tendencies which are aimed at the artificial eradication of national peculiarities. But to the same extent we consider their artificial exaggeration to be inadmissible. The party sees as its sacred duty to educate the working people in the spirit of Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism, the proud feeling of belonging to the unified great Soviet homeland.

It is quite clear that the socialist transformations changed substantially the ratio of the international and the national in the spiritual life of all the peoples of the USSR. National equality, the fraternal friendship and cooperation of the peoples, their mutual spiritual enrichment and the all-round prosperity of the Soviet nations, which have become firmly established in our country--such is the result of the Leninist national policy of our party.

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FOOTNOTES

1. K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], Vol 4, p 445.
2. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch." [Complete Works], Vol 24, p 124.
3. "KPSS v rezolyutsiyakh i resheniyakh s"yezdov, konferentsiy i plenumov TsK" [The CPSU in Resolutions and Decisions of Congresses, Conferences and Plenums of the Central Committee], 8th edition, Vol 1, Moscow, 1970, p 63.
4. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 30, p 120.
5. Quoted from T. U. Usubaliyev, "Frunze--stolitsa Sovetskogo Kirgizstana" [Frunze--Capital of Soviet Kirghizstan], Moscow, 1971, p 63.
6. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 44, p 146.
7. "KPSS v rezolyutsiyakh..." 8th edition, Vol 2, Moscow, 1970, p 250.
8. Ibid., p 252.
9. Ibid., pp 45-46.
10. Quoted from "Osnovnoy zakon nashey zhizni" [The Fundamental Law of Our Life], Moscow, 1978, p 239.
11. L. I. Brezhnev, "Leninskim kursom" [By the Leninist Course], Vol 4, Moscow, 1974, p 50.
12. See "Materialy XXVI s"yezda KPSS" [Materials of the 26th CPSU Congress], Moscow, 1981, p 57.

CHAPTER 2. CONCERN ABOUT SOVIET WOMEN

Women and men have equal rights in the USSR.

From Article 35 of the USSR Constitution

It is possible to judge the level of culture and social maturity of society from what position women hold in it.

In prerevolutionary Russia, for example, there were laws in accordance with which a wife without the permission of her husband could not obtain a passport, purchase property, enter the civil service and change place of residence. The most difficult, unproductive household labor, which lowers human dignity and does not contain, in the words of V. I. Lenin, anything that would promote their development in any way,¹ traditionally was the lot of women. According to the 1897 census, of the total number of women working for hire, household servants and farm laborers made up 80 percent, only 13 percent were employed in industry and construction and 4 percent were employed at institutions of education and health. Only 11 women per 1,000 had more than an elementary education.

A letter, which the working women of the Trekhgornyy (formerly the Prokhorovskiy) Factory addressed in the 1930's to the party Central Committee, eloquently attests to what the fate of women was under the conditions of tsarist Russia. Here are lines from this letter: "Many of us, the weavers and spinners, had occasion to drink a bitter cup of sufferings and slavish humiliation at the Prokhorovskiy Factory. Our life was gloomy and pitch dark, like a grave. Barracks, a joyless existence on plank beds, religious intoxication, drudgery for meager pay, fines and constant threats of firing, the despotic mockery of the foremen--all this was our lot.

"We gave birth at the machines. The awful threat of dismissal and hunger constantly hung over us. There are few words, but a bottomless river of sorrow...."²

Bourgeois democracy with its high-flown slogans of freedom and equality in fact concealed the lack of freedom and inequality of women. The ideologists of the bourgeoisie, in attempting to justify this situation, reduced the essence of the problem to the biological "tragedy" of women, to ostensibly their inferiority, incapacity for independent creative thought.

K. Marx and F. Engels gave the correct answer to "the question of women's rights." They proved that the unequal status of women in society stemmed from socioeconomic

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causes. "The genuine equality of women and men," F. Engels wrote, "can, in my conviction, be accomplished only when the exploitation of both by capital has been eliminated, while the running of the household, which is now a private business, has been turned into a sector of social production."³ Having revealed the roots of the social inequality of women, the founders of scientific communism also indicated the only correct means of eliminating it. It is the path of the class struggle and the socialist revolution.

V. I. Lenin regarded the struggle for the emancipation of women as an integral part of the common cause of the workers. "The proletariat," he emphasized, "cannot achieve complete freedom without having won complete freedom for women."⁴

Lenin's theses on the equality of women were included in the first Party Program, which envisaged for women equal political rights with men, advanced special requirements of the protection of female labor and motherhood and clearly indicated that proletarian women can achieve their liberation only by participating in the revolutionary struggle of the working class.

The party educated working men and women in the spirit of the community of their interests, awakened in women class self-consciousness and the sense of human dignity and involved them in the general proletarian struggle against the autocracy and capitalism. And the women's proletarian movement was never separated in our country from the general workers' movement. Working women followed the party and took an active part in the October Revolution. "Without them," V. I. Lenin said in a talk with K. Tsetkin, "we would not have triumphed. Or we would have barely triumphed."⁵

Great October brought emancipation to working women. During the first months of its existence the Soviet government razed to the ground the former laws which had placed women in a subordinate position. The decrees on civil marriage and divorce eliminated, in Lenin's words, "the especially heinous, ignoble, hypocritical inequality in marriage and family law."⁶ The equality of political and civil rights and equal pay for equal labor were established for men and women, social insurance was introduced, which provided for leave to pregnant women with the retention of wages. The equality of the political and civil rights of women with men, which was proclaimed by the resolution, was sanctioned legislatively in the first Constitution of the Soviet Republic.

The Communist Party and the Soviet state had to solve the important and difficult problem of the actual emancipation of women. "For the complete liberation of women and for their real equality with men," V. I. Lenin indicated, "it is necessary for there to be a public sector and for women to participate in general productive labor. Then women will occupy the same position as men."⁷

During the first years of Soviet power the main thing was to enlist as many women as possible in socially useful labor. It was also important to increase their political consciousness, level of culture and education and to break them away from "household slavery."

The second Party Program for the first time in history became a program of the practical solution of the problem of women's equality. In particular, there were set in it the tasks--by means of ideological and educational work to eradicate all

traces of the former inequality or prejudice with respect to women, especially among the backward strata of the proletariat and the peasantry, to free women from the physical burdens of obsolete housekeeping by its replacement with communal apartment houses, public dining rooms, central laundries, children's nurseries and so forth.⁸

Taking into account the sociopolitical and cultural backwardness of women, which was inherited from the recent past, the party found forms and methods of work, which were called upon to help women workers and peasants in mastering the rights granted to them by the revolution. All-Russian and all-union congresses, rallies, conferences and meetings of women in the oblasts, krais and national republics were held for this purpose. Commissions on agitation and propaganda among working women, which were then transformed into women's departments, were set up in the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party (of Bolsheviks), and then in all the oblast, kray, gubernia and uyezd party committees. Organizers for work among women were distinguished in the party cells.

The women's departments held for women workers and peasants discussions, meetings, conferences and congresses, published leaflets, pamphlets, journals and the special series of books "Little Library of the Woman Worker and Peasant." The women activists of the women's departments took part in the discussion of the drafts of laws affecting the interests of women, were the initiators of many government decrees and submitted suggestions when reviewing the budgets and the plans of the development of the national economy.

A peculiarity of the work of the women's departments consisted in the fact that they combined propaganda and agitation with the involvement of women workers and peasants in the everyday activity of the authorities. This was accomplished by means of meetings of delegates. They were permanent courses on the familiarization of women with public work. The delegates were elected at the meetings of women workers, peasants and housewives according to an established norm (1 out of 10, 20 or 50). In 1926, for example, 620,000 delegates were elected in the country, the next year--747,000.

Reports on political themes, as well as questions about the practical activity of the local soviets, cooperatives, trade unions and individual economic organs were included in the programs in accordance with which the meetings of delegates worked. The delegates were sent for practical work to the departments of labor, public education, public health, food supply and social security. They participated with the rights of instructors in the examination of complaints and statements, the reception of visitors, the supervision of various departmental institutions. The most capable remained for permanent work at the place where they had done practical work.

The elections of delegates were held annually throughout the country and were conducted as mass political campaigns. Millions of working women of the cities and villages participated in them. Through the meetings of delegates the party established strong ties with the broad masses of women.

One of the forms of the involvement of women workers and peasants in the building of socialism was their participation in the organization of dining rooms, kindergartens and nurseries.

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After the Great October Socialist Revolution a network of institutions for the care of the health of mother and child was set up. In spite of the famine and dislocation, in 1922 there were already 300 women's advice bureaus, children's polyclinics and outpatient clinics in the country. An allowance was given to nursing mothers, while free food was given to children.

The first steps in the new life were especially difficult for the women of the east, where patriarchal-tribal and feudal relations, customs and institutions: polygamy, the buying and selling of brides, the giving of juveniles in marriage and so forth, still continued to remain. The customs of seclusion by a stone wall shut off Uzbek, Tajik and Azerbaijani women from the outside world.

Our party attached particular importance to the work among the working women of the east. Women's clubs, mobile yurts and houses of women peasants were set up. These were unique institutions. Legal and medical advice bureaus, nurseries and kindergartens and production workshops operated in them, in addition to the school for the elimination of illiteracy, a library and amateur art circles.

The emancipation of the women of the east required from the party considerable persistence, perseverance and the overcoming of the fierce opposition of fanatics. In order to get if only in some way an idea of the urgency and complexity of the problem, let us cite a few reports from the newspaper PRAVDA for October 1927. This was the time when our revolution was preparing to mark its 10th anniversary.

Here are lines from these newspaper reports:

"It was awfully difficult for the eastern woman, and many of the remnants of the servile past have continued to remain in the way of life to this day. Many regions still do not know the use of soap, they cripple women in childbirth.... They often continue to regard a woman as a creature of the lowest order. The savage customs do not always enable her to obtain an education on the same level as and together with men....

"In 1927 in Uzbekistan 90,000 Uzbek women took off the yashmak.... The entire reactionary world--the mullahs, rich landowners, kulaks--was up in arms against those who had exposed themselves.... The religious fanatics are tormenting the women delegates, who are performing propaganda and organizational work among the women, up to massacres of them.... But there is no return to the past. Yesterday's woman slave now is the same master of the Soviet Union as all the working people."⁹

The Communist Party exerted considerable efforts in order to involve women in social production--the basis of bases of their actual equality and economic independence. During the first years of Soviet power this question was specially discussed at a number of party congresses.

The difficulty, apart from other things, consisted in the fact that the building of socialism in our country was begun under the difficult conditions of economic dislocation and unemployment, which were due to the civil war and military intervention. Nevertheless, our party did everything possible to retain and attach women to production. The 13th Congress of the Russian Communist Party (of Bolsheviks) in the resolution "On Work Among Women Workers and Peasants" emphasized that "the retention of female manpower in production is of political importance and faces the

party with the task of intensifying the improvement of the skills of female labor and of involving women, where possible, in those sectors of production, in which female labor has not been used at all or has been used to an inadequate extent."10

Socialist industrialization and the collectivization of agriculture, cultural construction created the conditions for the mass involvement of women in industrial and agricultural production and for their familiarization with socialist culture. On the instructions of the party Central Committee a special five-year plan of the involvement of women in production was drafted. In 1936 as compared with 1929 the number of women workers and employees in all sectors of the national economy had increased by more than 5 million.

The universal literacy of the women who worked in industry was achieved by the end of the 1930's. The vocational and technical training of boys and girls was equalized. The fact that a percentage (quota) of the mandatory admission of women and girls to the schools of factory and plant training was established, was conducive to this.

Profound changes occurred in the status of the peasant woman after collectivization. Participation in social production brought her actual emancipation and equality and made her free and economically independent from men.

The numerous and diverse measures, which were implemented by the party, as well as by the soviets, trade unions and Komsomol on accustoming women workers and peasants to conscious participation in the building of socialism, made it possible to surmount the enormous gap between the social status of men and women. The increase of the activeness of working women increased the gains of socialism, while each gain was a new step in the matter of their actual emancipation and equality. The USSR Constitution of 1936 consolidated the achievements of the Soviet state in the solution of the question of women's rights, granted women equal rights with men in all areas of economic, state, cultural and sociopolitical life and indicated the guarantees which ensure the actual exercise of these rights.

Having withstood the tests of the Great Patriotic War and having overcoming the difficulties of the postwar restoration period, our party and state invariably devoted much attention to the questions of improving the status of women. Legislation protecting their rights was developed and improved. An extensive network of children's preschool institutions, as well as institutions which protect the health of mother and child was set up. The number of personal service and public dining enterprises increased.

In specifying the main tasks of the building of communism, the party in the decisions of its congresses has indicated the need for the complete elimination of the remnants of the unequal status of women in daily life, the creation of the social and everyday conditions for the combination of motherhood with the more and more active and creative participation of women in national labor and public activity, in the study of science and art. The great achievements in the development of the socialist economy made it possible to implement a new vast set of social measures.

The USSR Constitution of 1977 sanctioned all this.

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/Among the guarantees of equality the granting to women of equal opportunities with men in labor, the remuneration for it and job promotion are among the first/ [in boldface]. This is not by chance. Precisely the participation of women in socially useful labor creates the real basis for their actual equality with men.

The highest rate of employment of women in the world is ensured in our country. In the total number of workers and employees they constitute more than half. Here it is important to note that the largest number of women work in industry, including in the sectors which require high skills of the workers. Profound qualitative changes are also occurring in rural labor, which is being transformed more and more into a variety of industrial labor. The number of women machine operators and operators of automated poultry factories and industrial livestock complexes is increasing.

The number of women engaged in primarily mental labor is growing rapidly. Among specialists with a higher and secondary specialized education there are more than 16.4 million of them, or 58 percent. Nearly one out of two engineers in industry is a woman. Among agronomists, livestock experts and veterinarians with a higher education they constitute about 40 percent. Women are taking a leading role in public health and public education, where they constitute two-thirds of all physicians and nearly three-fourths of the teachers. More than half a million women work as directors of industrial enterprises and sovkhoses, the managers of construction projects, institutions of trade, public health, public dining and personal service and of administrative institutions.

Among all scientists about 40 percent are now women. They are actively participating in the solution of problems of thermonuclear fusion and space biology, mathematical physics and genetics, the chemistry of high-molecular compounds and radio engineering, philosophy. There are 116,100 women who have the academic degrees of candidate or doctor of sciences, 2,900 have the title of academician, corresponding member of the Academy of Sciences or professor.

Let us note for comparison that, for example, in the United States in the mid-1970's among engineers only 1.1 percent were women, among physicians--7 percent, among physicists and mathematicians--less than 1 percent. As the journal U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT reports, approximately 80 percent of the working American women are employed in the lowest paid positions. The situation in other capitalist countries is also similar. We are no longer speaking of unemployment, which among the women of the capitalist world is considerably higher than among men. For example, in the United States it is 1.5-fold higher.

/Soviet legislation completely rules out any discrimination of women as compared with men in wages/ [in boldface]. In all the sectors of the national economy the same wage rates, salaries and rates for the job being performed are set for men and women of the same skill. Moreover, a number of privileges and benefits are stipulated for women by Soviet legislation. Thus, in the case of a transfer to an easier job in connection with the birth of a child the average wage for the former job is retained for them. For women machine operators in the case of identical pay the output norms are 10 percent lower than for men.

In the United States again the labor of women receives considerably less pay than the labor of men. Moreover, this difference is steadily increasing. Whereas in

1956 a woman working a full workday received 63.9 percent of the wage of a man of the same skill, by the end of 1978 she received only 58.9 percent.

/The USSR Constitution guarantees women equal opportunities with men to obtain an education and vocational training/ [in boldface]. The doors of schools, vocational and technical, secondary specialized and higher educational institutions have been opened wide to them. Women and men are trained at them according to uniform programs. At secondary specialized educational institutions girls make up 56 percent of the students and at higher educational institutions--52 percent. Out of every 1,000 women employed in the national economy, more than 800 have a higher and secondary (complete and incomplete) education.

Let us also cite in the connection several parallels. In the United States, for example, during the 1976/77 academic year at medical schools only 25 percent were girls, at some law schools their proportion was only 20 percent. In France many higher educational institutions and vocational schools in reality are closed to girls. Higher education in Japan is a male privilege.

The CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers are devoting particular attention to the improvement of the vocational training of women workers. It is very important that women workers, who have children up to the age of 8 years, now undergo retraining and the improvement of skills with leave from work and the retention during training of the average monthly wage.

/The USSR Constitutions guarantees women equal opportunities with men to participate in sociopolitical and cultural activity/ [in boldface]. The following data, for example, attest to this. In our country women make up 49.5 percent of the total number of people's deputies elected to the Supreme Soviets of the union and autonomous republics and to the local soviets. In the highest organ of state power--the USSR Supreme Soviet--there are 487 women, or nearly one-third, 4 of them are members of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Women head standing commissions of deputies, hold important posts in the governments of the union and autonomous republics. Many of them have been elected the chairmen and secretaries of the executive committees of local soviets of people's deputies. Of the workers of the staff of the organs of government, 66 percent are also women.

For comparison let us note that in the American Congress of the present session there are only 21 women, and in the upper chamber--the Senate--there are only 2. American women hold slightly more than 10 percent of the elected posts primarily in local bodies of government.

I would especially like to emphasize the active role of women in the life and activity of our party. On 1 January 1981 there were 4.6 million of them in the ranks of the CPSU, or 26.5 percent. Among the secretaries of the rayon and city party committees women make up 21.4 percent, while among the secretaries of the primary party organizations--more than 35 percent.

/Along with other guarantees of actual equality the USSR Constitution provides for special measures on the protection of the labor and health of women/ [in boldface]. The use of female labor in especially difficult processes and in processes harmful to the health is prohibited in our country. It is not permitted to enlist them in jobs which involve the carrying and shifting of loads greater than the norms set

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by the law. Additional benefits--the right to a shortened workday, additional leave and a preferential pension--are envisaged for the women of a number of occupations.

Today nearly 50 scientific research institutes of hygiene and labor protection, motherhood and childhood, obstetrics and gynecology are conducting research for the purpose of providing favorable working conditions of women and protecting their health.

Strict state supervision of the compliance with the legislation on female labor has been established in our country. An important role here belongs to the standing commissions of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the Supreme Soviets of the union and autonomous republics, kray and oblast soviets of people's deputies on maternity, child development and the work and life of women.

In the Soviet Union motherhood is recognized as the most important social function of a woman. /The USSR Constitution guarantees the creation of conditions which enable women to combine labor with motherhood/ [in boldface]: legal protection, material and moral support, including the granting of paid vacations and other benefits, the gradual shortening of the work time of women who have young children.

There has been established for all working women 100-percent paid maternity leave regardless of their length of service. The number of paid days for caring for a sick child has been increased. Monthly monetary grants for children in needy families have been introduced.

Mothers having two children in the case of the birth of each subsequent child receive a lump sum state grant, while those having four or more children in the case of the birth of each subsequent child receive a state grant monthly. Women, who have borne and raised to the age of 8 five or more children, receive the right to a pension for age at the age of 50 instead of 55. Mothers of many children are commended with special state awards.

In our country there are more than 10,000 maternity advice bureaus. Tens of thousands of medical specialists watch over the health of the mother and child. From the first days after birth medical observation over each child is set up.

/The Soviet Constitution guarantees the equality of women not only in labor and sociopolitical activity, but also in family relations/ [in boldface]. The state is displaying concern about the family by creating and developing an extensive network of children's institutions, organizing and improving personal and public dining service, paying various types of grants and granting benefits to families with many children.

The network of personal service enterprises is steadily growing. In 1980 there were 270,000 of them in the country, while the amount of personal services came to 7.8 billion rubles. Public dining has also developed into an important sector of the national economy.

Today 14.4 million children attend preschool institutions in the USSR. This is nearly one out of every two children in the country. Of the total amount of the

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expenditures on their upkeep the parents pay only 20 percent, the remainder is reimbursed by the state. Additional benefits have been established for some families, especially those with many children.

Let us note for comparison that, according to the testimony of the American journal NEWSWEEK, at present in the United States, with allowance made for governmental, private and commercial children's institutions, at the officially recognized child day care centers there are fewer places than there were in 1945. Of the 7 million small children who have working mothers, 5.4 million have to be turned over to the care of baby sitters or be left at home without supervision.

Special schools and groups with an extended day, at which school children stay after classes under the supervision of teachers, have been set up in the Soviet Union. The number of these schools and groups is steadily increasing. At the beginning of the 1980/81 school year there were 13.2 million pupils in the schools and groups with an extended day, at boarding schools and other boarding institutions.

In our country there is an extensive network of country Pioneer camps. In the summer of 1980 about 14 million children spent their vacation at them. On the average a vacation at a Pioneer camp costs parents 12 rubles. This is a fourth of its actual cost. For children with poor health year-round Pioneer camps of the sanatorium type have been opened, at which the children are treated and are taught in accordance with the syllabus of the general educational school.

From year to year in our country the number of Pioneer camps, sports and health and work bases for adolescents is increasing, the network of palaces and houses of Pioneers, stations of young technicians and naturalists, children's clubs, sports and music schools and other children's institutions is being developed.

Much has been done, but there are also unsolved problems. Even now it is difficult at times for a woman to combine the duties of a mother with active participation in production and public life.

Extensive and effective measures, which are aimed at the improvement of the working conditions of working women, family recreation, personal and cultural service, were specified in the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress. It is a question, in particular, of the introduction of partially paid leave for the care of a child up to the age of 1 year, a partial workday for mothers of young children, the enlargement of the network and the improvement of the operation of children's preschool institutions, schools with groups with an extended day, all personal services and others. The party Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers have adopted the decree "On Measures to Increase State Assistance to Families Having Children."

Soviet women by right have occupied a worthy place in the life of our society. "In speaking about the great deeds of our people," L. I. Brezhnev noted, "it is impossible not to talk about what role the Soviet woman plays in them. Our homeland is obliged in many ways for its achievements and triumphs to her dedication and talent."¹¹

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FOOTNOTES

1. See V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch." [Complete Works], Vol 39, p 202.
2. Cited from Ye. Bochkareva and S. Lyubimova, "Svetlyy put'" [The Bright Path], Moscow, 1967, p 3.
3. K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], Vol 36, p 294.
4. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 40, 158.
5. "Vospominaniya o V. I. Lenine" [Reminiscences About V. I. Lenin], Vol 5, Moscow, 1969, p 40.
6. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 42, p 369.
7. Ibid., Vol 39, p 201.
8. See "KPSS v rezolyutsiyakh i resheniyakh s"yezdov, konferentsiy i plenumov TsK" [The CPSU in Resolutions and Decisions of Congresses, Conferences and Plenums of the Central Committee], 8th edition, Vol 2, Moscow, 1970, p 43.
9. PRAVDA, 4, 6, 9 October 1927.
10. "KPSS v rezolyutsiyakh..." 8th edition, Vol 3, Moscow, 1970, p 123.
11. L. I. Brezhnev, "Leninskiy kursom" [By the Leninist Course], Vol 5, Moscow, 1976, pp 545-546.

PART II. SOCIOECONOMIC RIGHTS

The rights to work, relaxation and the protection of health, to social security and housing are grouped with the socioeconomic rights of Soviet citizens, which are set down in the USSR Constitution. The mighty national economic complex, which has been created in our country during the years of Soviet power, serves as a firm material guarantee of the exercise of these rights. The socialist economic system ensures the crisis-free, stable and dynamic development of all its sectors, the growth of public wealth and the increase of the well-being of the working people.

The steady increase of the material and cultural standard of living of the people is the highest goal of the economic strategy of the CPSU. Back in 1902 when preparing the first Party Program V. I. Lenin indicated that its goal is the assurance of "...the /complete/ [in italics] well-being and free /all-round/ [in italics] development of /all/ [in italics] the members of society."¹

The Communist Party set about the practical achievement of this goal immediately after the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution. Since the first days of Soviet power it did everything possible to improve the situation of the working people. "Owing to the most serious dislocation which the country is experiencing," it was stated in the second Party Program, "all else should be subordinate to the practical goal--to increase immediately and no matter what the cost the amount of products most necessary for the population. In this respect the progress of the work of every Soviet institution, which is connected with the national economy, should be measured by the practical results."²

The party advanced in the Program "as the main and basic thing, which determines the entire economic policy of the Soviet regime, ...the utmost increase of the productive forces of the country."³ The party considered socialist industrialization as the key task in this matter. Only highly developed mechanized production, which is based on the latest achievements of science and technology, V. I. Lenin taught, can be the material base of socialism.

The first unified statewide plan of the development of the economy in our country and in all world practice--the State Plan of the Electrification of Russia (GOERLO)--which was drawn up on the initiative of V. I. Lenin, was the most important step toward this. The history of the scientifically substantiated, planned, comprehensive development of the economy originates from this plan.

Using the advantages of the socialist system, the Communist Party was able to solve the fundamental problems of the industrialization of the country in the shortest

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historical time. The material base was created for the strengthening of the economic independence of the USSR, the technical renovation of all the sectors of the national economy and the conversion of agriculture to a new, socialist basis. Industrialization strengthened public ownership in the decisive area of the economy, ensured the supplanting of the capitalist elements and the triumph of the socialist mode of production in industry, the growth of the working class and its leading role in society. It promoted the strengthening of the economic and defensive might of the USSR and in many ways predetermined our victory in the Great Patriotic War.

Along with the creation and strengthening of the material and technical base of socialism the standard of living of the Soviet people increased. Our 10 five-year plans have become glorious historical milestones on this path. And although each of them was special in some way, one thing--concern about the man of labor--unites and connects them all.

It should be said that owing to a number of historical reasons our possibilities in increasing the well-being of the working people for a long time were limited. Only with the building of mature socialism and with the creation of a mighty economic potential was our party able to make a sharp turn in the accomplishment of this task. The socioeconomic programs, which were advanced by the 24th, 25th and 26th CPSU Congresses, set as the main goal the more and more complete meeting of the increasing material and spiritual needs of the Soviet people.

The share of the industrial output of the USSR in its world production at present comes to one-fifth, while in 1913 prerevolutionary Russia accounted for only a little more than 4 percent. The economy of our country produces daily a national product of more than 2.8 billion rubles. This is 67-fold more than in 1913, 13.1-fold more than in 1940 and 2.3-fold more than in 1965.

The national income--this most generalizing indicator of the development of the economy and the source of the increase of the well-being of the people--which was produced in 1980 amounted to 437 billion rubles and had increased 75-fold as compared with the prerevolutionary level. About three-fourths of it were used for consumption, while with allowance made for the expenditures on housing, social and cultural construction approximately four-fifths of the national income were allocated directly for the well-being of the people.

We have now achieved such might that we can simultaneously build such giants as the Sayano-Shushenskaya GES, the Kama Motor Vehicle Plant, the Atommash Plant and others, create and develop tens of territorial industrial complexes, build the Baykal-Amur Railway Line, perform major operations in the Nonchernozem Zone of the RSFSR, renovate thousands of enterprises and with all this not only not cut back but, on the contrary, expand the programs on the increase of the well-being of the people.

The working people of the Soviet Union understand well that labor, the mind and hands of those who smelt steel, produce petroleum, design machines, construct plants and electric power stations, sow and harvest grain, were and remain the only source of our well-being. The vital interest of the Soviet people in the increase of social production is conducive to the steady increase of their creative activity--our reserve in the acceleration of economic development, which cannot be replaced by anything.

The entire path of the building of socialism and communism is convincing confirmation of Lenin's words that "socialism not only does not suppress competition but, on the contrary, creates for the first time the opportunity to use it truly /extensively/ [in italics], truly on a /mass/ [in italics] scale, to truly draw the majority of working people into the arena of that work, in which they can display themselves, develop their abilities, reveal their talents, of which among the people there is an untapped spring...."⁴

Our party always strove and is striving to utilize most completely the creative potential of the masses. The Communist Saturdays of the first years of Soviet power, the shock labor movement during the period of the socialist reconstruction of the national economy, the Stakhanovite movement, the present national campaign for the increase of production efficiency and work quality--all these are examples of how the party cautiously and carefully cultivated the shoots of the communist attitude toward labor among the broadest masses of working people and developed their initiative and creativity.

Under the conditions of mature socialism socialist competition assumed an unprecedented scale and turned into a mighty factor of social progress. Now more than 106 million people are participating in it. The party is trying to see to it that the competition would be lively and creative, is carefully studying and disseminating what is new and valuable that originates from practice.

The 26th party congress advanced for the 11th Five-Year Plan and the 1980's as a whole an extensive program of the further increase of the well-being of the people. This program encompasses all aspects of the life of the Soviet people--consumption and housing, culture and recreation, working and living conditions.

With the development of socialist production, the increase of its efficiency and the improvement of the quality of work in all the links of the national economy the material and cultural needs of the Soviet people are being met more and more completely, the socioeconomic rights of citizens are being filled with a more solid material content and the guarantees of these rights are becoming stronger.

FOOTNOTES

1. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch." [Complete Works], Vol 6, p 232.
2. "KPSS v rezolyutsiyakh i resheniyakh s"yezdov, konferentsiy i plenumov TsK" [The CPSU in Resolutions and Decisions of Congresses, Conferences and Plenums of the Central Committee], 8th edition, Vol 2, Moscow, 1970, p 50.
3. Ibid.
4. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 35, p 195.

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CHAPTER 3. THE MAIN SOCIAL RIGHT

USSR citizens have the right to work....

From Article 40 of the USSR Constitution

The right to work is the most important social right of man. The exercise of precisely this right leads to the creation of physical assets, ensures the well-being and genuine freedom of man and creates in him confidence in the future.

For the Soviet people the right to work seems obvious, self-evident. And this is understandable. For they have not known for a long time now what unemployment is. Its last traces were eliminated in our country half a century ago.

It must be said, however, that during the transition from capitalism to socialism unemployment in the USSR was a major social problem. The solution of this problem required from the Communist Party and all the Soviet people considerable efforts and the surmounting of a large number of obstacles.

As is known, mass chronic unemployment appeared in the world along with the development of capitalism. The founders of scientific communism explained and substantiated scientifically the emergence of "the reserve industrial army." They proved that the existence of an army of the unemployed enables entrepreneurs to increase the exploitation of the proletariat to an enormous degree. "The overwork of the employed portion of the working class," K. Marx emphasized, "increases the ranks of its reserves, while the increased pressure, which is exerted by the competition of the latter on employed workers, on the contrary, compels them to overwork and obedience to the dictates of capital."¹

The scientific conclusions of K. Marx and F. Engels about "surplus population" and "the industrial reserve army," which originated from the capitalist system, were developed by V. I. Lenin, who demonstrated that it is impossible to solve the problem of eliminating unemployment under capitalism,² that the path of the class struggle of the proletariat is the only means for this.³

In prerevolutionary Russia the nature of unemployment did not differ from unemployment in other capitalist countries. The army of the unemployed was enormous here. Thus, about half a million of them were identified by the 1913 census, which was conducted only in a number of large cities.

The ruin of the peasantry was one of the causes of the increase in unemployment. Not finding a use for their labor in the countryside, hundreds of thousands of hungry, exhausted, ragged people rushed to the industrial centers in the hope of finding work. But these hopes rarely came true. There was no social security for unemployment, and masses of able-bodied people were often left without any means of existence and approached the brink of poverty.

"I had occasion to experience myself that unemployment is a horror, and not only of a physical, but also of a moral quality," related K. Ye. Voroshilov, an outstanding figure of the Communist Party and Soviet state and a former Luga mechanic. "When a proletarian loses his job, he feels that no one needs him, although he is full of strength and capable of working. He begins to scour about different plants, factories and workshops, scours about for years, but if in addition he comes under the suspicion of the police as politically unreliable, in general he becomes an outcast, a declassé person, a man who has nowhere to lay his head."⁴

Our party linked the elimination of unemployment and the establishment of the guaranteed right to work with the victory of the socialist revolution. It tirelessly explained that the struggle for the elimination of unemployment was a part of the general proletarian struggle for the liberation of the working class.

Immediately after the Great October Revolution the party began to implement its program in the area of labor. The nationalization of large-scale industry and the land and the introduction of workers' control and an 8-hour workday were the material prerequisites for the elimination of unemployment and its sources. The People's Commissariat of Labor, the duties of which included the registration and distribution of manpower resources, the drawing up of legislative acts on labor, as well as the organization of assistance to the unemployed, was established. In the first Soviet Labor Code the right to work in one's specialty was proclaimed for all citizens.

However, the Soviet state was not able to provide a job immediately to all those needing one--too large a reserve army of labor was inherited from old Russia. Moreover, the demobilization of the Russian army and the curtailment of military production as a result of the withdrawal of Soviet Russia from the imperialist war increased the ranks of the unemployed.

The situation was aggravated by the fact that the implementation of the decrees of the Soviet regime in the area of labor encountered, especially at first, the fierce resistance of the representatives of the overthrown exploiting classes, who still retained some positions in the economy. Citing the lack of fuel, the former factory and plant owners frequently closed enterprises, conducted secret lockouts and used secret "blacklists" of workers.

The representatives of the petty bourgeois parties, the Social Revolutionaries and the Mensheviks, attempted to take advantage of unemployment and the famine. They tried to suggest to the masses that the Communist Party and the Soviet regime were to blame for unemployment, and strove to incite the working people to counterrevolutionary demonstrations and to organize strikes.

Industry of the country, which was experiencing an acute crisis as a result of the imperialist war and dislocation, as well as the sabotage and lockouts of the

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entrepreneurs, was not able to absorb the huge mass of the unemployed. The party was faced with an urgent task--to organize immediate assistance to these people.

"The Statute on Unemployment Insurance," which applied to the entire territory of the country and to all people engaged in work for hire at state and private enterprises, institutions and public organizations, was put into effect. The costs of insurance rest entirely on the employers, from whose payments the unified All-Russian Fund of the Unemployed was formed. The payment of benefits was carried out through insurance offices, of which the representatives of workers' organizations were members. In spite of the acute need for money, dining rooms and dormitories for the extremely needy unemployed were set up in many cities.

In early 1918 the organs of the Soviet regime began the creation of an extensive network of labor exchanges. They subsequently became authoritative organizations which were in charge of the registration and distribution of manpower.

The activity of the party and the people on the restoration of the ravaged economy and its transformation on a socialist basis was the main measure of the struggle against unemployment. However, the armed intervention of the imperialist states, which began in 1918 and was supported by the internal counterrevolution, hindered the solution of the problems of peaceful construction.

Hundreds of thousands of workers at the call of the party joined the Red Army and with arms in hand defended Soviet power. The serious food situation in the cities had the result that a portion of the unemployed, as well as of the workers, especially of recent peasant origin, rushed to the countryside, to where there was bread. As a result, unemployment disappeared in the cities. Moreover, by the end of 1918 the labor exchanges were no longer able to fill the orders of enterprises--the demand for labor considerably exceeded its supply. Unemployment developed into a new problem--a shortage of manpower.

However, its fundamental causes were not eliminated. The party was well aware that an intensive struggle against agrarian overpopulation, the declassing of the working class and other phenomena lay ahead. Therefore, its second Program specified as the immediate task of the economic policy "the maximum utilization of all the manpower available in the state, its proper distribution and redistribution both among the different territorial areas and among the different sectors of the national economy."⁵ The party also set as its goal "to return to a labor life everyone who had been knocked from the path of labor."⁶

After the end of the civil war and the foreign intervention a new wave of unemployment was added to the numerous difficulties being experienced by the Soviet people. In January 1922 160,000 unemployed were registered at the labor exchanges, a year later there were 641,000 of them, while by July 1924 there were more than 1,344,000. At the 15th party congress the problem of unemployment in our country was specified as one of the most important difficulties of the building of socialism.

What explained the existence of unemployment in the USSR at that time?

Agrarian overpopulation was one of the causes. As the national economy was restored and the life of the urban population improved, the influx of the rural population to the cities again began to increase. "For individual categories of labor

(laborers, domestic employees, low-skilled office employees and so on)," it was noted in the resolution of the 15th Conference of the All-Russian Communist Party (of Bolsheviks), "unemployment in the immediate future threatens to become chronic, owing to agrarian overpopulation and the continuous influx of manpower to the cities from the countryside."⁷

The existence of unemployment was also due to the dislocation which had been caused to the national economy during the period of the civil war. The gross output of large-scale industry in 1921 was one-third of its amount in 1917, while the number of workers decreased from 2,596,000 to 1,185,000. The ranks of the unemployed were also enlarged in connection with the demobilization of the army.

The party, as well as soviet, trade union and economic organs took steps which were aimed at the alleviation of the situation of the unemployed: the improvement of their social insurance; registration and placement in a job through the labor exchanges; the extensive development of public work (the removal of construction debris from the cities, the draining of swamps, the filling of gullies and so forth); the organization of labor collectives made up of the unemployed, where they not only received work, but also acquired occupations.

It should be emphasized, however, that the Communist Party saw its main task not in alleviating the situation of the unemployed and in lessening unemployment. The main thing was to eliminate it forever in the life of Soviet society.

The period of the industrialization of the country and the collectivization of agriculture was the decisive stage of the struggle against unemployment. Lenin's plan of the building of socialism at the same time was also a plan of the elimination of unemployment in the USSR.

The restoration of the national economy for the most part was completed by 1926. Our country entered a new period of its development--the period of socialist reconstruction on the basis of industrialization. The 14th party congress specified the policy of the rapid development of heavy industry, which was capable of providing factories, plants and agriculture with the latest equipment and of changing the peasant sector in the socialist manner, of transforming the country from an agrarian into an industrial country and of ensuring the building of a socialist society in the USSR. In the development of industry the party saw the decisive condition of the increase of the ranks of the working class and, consequently, of the elimination of unemployment.

In overcoming the enormous difficulties, under the conditions of the hostile capitalist encirclement, the Communist Party determined the most effective means of industrialization and sought the necessary assets for this within the country. The coal, petroleum, electrical equipment, chemical, automotive, tractor, defense and other sectors of industry underwent particular development. Railroad construction was expanded. Cottage industry was also developed.

Rapid industrial construction made it possible to considerably reduce unemployment among skilled workers. However, as a whole at the labor exchanges in late 1926 there were 1,310,000 unemployed, many of whom it was impossible to send to the works because they did not have the occupations and skills, which the national economy needed.

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Under these conditions the party Central Committee adopted a special decree on the training and instruction of manpower, including--this was especially emphasized--from among the unemployed. Courses, in which the unemployed were trained entirely at state expense, were set up everywhere on the basis of this decree.

Special attention was directed to the training of unemployed adolescents, more than 122,000 of whom were registered at the labor exchanges in October 1925. In accordance with a decision of the government the number of schools of factory and plant apprenticeship was increased. In 1929 163,000 adolescents were studying at them.

In the final engagement with unemployment the decisive word belonged to the First Five-Year Plan. During those years new industrial projects were built at an accelerated rate, giants of socialist industry were put into operation, the ranks of the working class grew. The process of the building of socialism in the countryside was intensive. The party policy of the collectivization of agriculture, which was adopted at the 15th Congress of the All-Russian Communist Party (of Bolsheviks), was aimed at the same time at eliminating the main source of unemployment--agrarian overpopulation.

With the development of industry and the halt of the influx from the countryside of unemployed manpower, unemployment rapidly dwindled. In December 1929 the party Central Committee adopted the decree "On the Increase of the Personnel of the Working Class, the State of Unemployment and Measures on Its Lessening." It demanded the improvement under the new conditions of the training and distribution of manpower, the registration, distribution and instruction of the unemployed. The economic organs were commissioned to identify in the shortest possible time the need for skilled workers and to elaborate a system of specific measures, which guarantee the timely and complete supply of industry, transportation and agriculture with skilled personnel. Additional assets were allocated for these purposes, as well as for the expansion of factory and plant apprenticeship.

In early 1930 the labor exchanges were carefully checked in the majority of cities. It turned out that among those who had received unemployment benefits there were many people who simply did not want to work: tramps, petty thieves, speculators and so forth. As a result of the conducted check, for example, at one of the largest labor exchanges--the Moscow exchange--only 177 unemployed were left on the register. The fall enrollment in schools of factory and plant apprenticeship, which attracted about 300,000 people, put an end to unemployment among adolescents. On 9 October 1930 the People's Commissariat of Labor adopted a decision on the immediate placement of all the remaining unemployed in a job and on the abolition of unemployment benefits. Thus, by the end of 1930 unemployment in the USSR had in fact been eliminated.

The 17th party congress noted: "The proletariat, having overcome the enormous difficulties stemming from the implementation of the five-year plan, gained a historically important victory in the matter of improving the status of the working people of the city and the countryside.... The worker and the kolkhoz farmer have acquired a sense of security, and the greater and greater increase of the material and cultural level of their life depends only on the quality and quantity of the labor expended by them. The threat of unemployment, poverty and hunger has disappeared for the working person in the USSR."⁸

The right to work became in the Soviet Union a real right. It was sanctioned in the USSR Constitution of 1936 as the most important achievement of socialism.

Bourgeois propaganda, as has repeatedly happened, hastened to declare that the absence of unemployment in the USSR was ostensibly of a temporary nature, that as soon as the Soviet Union had firmly entered the path of technical progress, it would again be faced with this problem. Life showed the utter groundlessness of these "prophecies."

Why is there no and can there be no unemployment in the USSR?

First of all because political power in our country belongs to all the people, in whose hands are the tools and means of production. The order, in case of which the employer determines the number of workplaces, guided by his own private interests, is thereby destroyed.

Moreover, the socialist system of management is a planned system. It is capable of combining the acceleration of technical progress with the full employment of the entire able-bodied population. We have every opportunity to determine in advance not only the production volume, but also the amount and occupational composition of the manpower, which are necessary for this. In other words, the production plans are closely coordinated with the manpower resources, ensuring the full employment of those who are able to work. This also pertains to young people who graduate from vocational and technical, secondary specialized and higher educational institutions.

The planned nature of the economy has made it possible to set for industry such rates of development that for half a century now the demand for workmen has exceeded the supply. Suffice it to say that during the years of the 10th Five-Year Plan more than 1,200 large industrial enterprises were put into operation in our country.

As is known, unemployment in the developed capitalist countries has reached a scale which is unprecedented for more than the past 40 years and is continuing to rise steadily. In 1970 there were more 8 million officially registered unemployed here, in 1975--more than 15 million and in 1980--about 20 million. In 10 years unemployment in the United States increased from 4 million to 8.5 million and amounts to 8 percent of the able-bodied population of the country. But these are far from the complete data. The trade unions give different figures: in 11 large capitalist countries alone in early 1980 more than 25 million people were without work, including 12 million in the United States.

Until recently the USSR was characterized by an extremely rapid increase of the number of workers and employees, who were employed in the national economy. In 1928 it was 11.4 million, in 1940--33.9 million, in 1965--76.9 million and in 1980--112.5 million. But in the 1980's the rate of this increase will slow and the problem of manpower resources will be aggravated: the effects of the Great Patriotic War, during which the country lost 20 million people, will begin to show. Therefore, the emphasis on the rapid increase of labor productivity and the sharp increase of the efficiency of all social production, as was indicated at the 25th and 26th party congresses, is becoming especially urgent.

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/The Soviet Constitution guarantees the right to work with payment in conformity with its quantity and quality and not less than the minimum amount established by the state/ [in boldface]. In 1980 the average monthly wage of workers and employees in the national economy was 168.5 rubles, the average monthly pay of kolkhoz farmers was 116 rubles. The real income of workers and employees per working person in 1980 had increased fourfold as compared with 1940, the real income of kolkhoz farmers had increased 6.9-fold, while as compared with 1913--respectively 10.7-fold and 16.2-fold. Whereas in 1940 the average monthly wage with the addition of payments and benefits from public consumption funds came to 40.6 rubles, in 1965 it came to 129.2 rubles, in 1980--232 rubles. The guaranteed minimum wage is also steadily increasing. Now nearly half of the population of the country has an income of more than 100 rubles a month per family member, while in 1965 only 4 percent did. The difference in the standard of living of individual social groups is gradually being reduced.

The 26th CPSU Congress planned to begin the implementation of such an important measure as the increase of the minimum wage to 80 rubles a month and of the rates and salaries of workers and employees. The increase of the average monthly wage to 190-195 rubles is planned. The income of kolkhoz farmers from the public sector will increase by 20-22 percent. It is also envisaged to extend a number of wage benefits. At the same time the Communist Party and the Soviet state are taking vigorous steps for the most complete satisfaction of the needs of the working people for foodstuffs, day-to-day nonfood goods, as well as durable items.

What does bourgeois society contrast with us in this matter? As is known, the economic system of capitalism with its periodic crises entails not only unemployment, but also the speeding up of inflationary processes. The monopolies and bourgeois states are openly using inflation and the increase of prices in order to redistribute the national income in their favor to the detriment of the working masses. According to the official data of the U.S. Department of Labor, the real wage of American workers in 1979 had decreased by 15 percent as compared with 1973. On the other hand, the revenues of the monopolies are steadily going up. In 1978 the net profits of the 1,200 largest American corporations increased by 17 percent, in 1979--by another 22 percent.

Reflecting the changes which have occurred in the content of the right to work, the new Soviet Constitution supplemented it with /the right to the choice of occupation, the type of work and job in conformity with one's vocation, abilities, vocational training and education/ [in boldface]. Of course, there are also taken into account here the public needs, which make themselves known, in particular, by the fact that there are more educational institutions of one type and fewer of another, that it is easier to enroll in a construction institute, for example, than in the biology faculty of a university and so on.

The growth of productive forces and scientific and technical progress are giving rise to the demand for new specialties and are making new demands on the skills of workers. Under these conditions, while guaranteeing the right to work, /our state is carrying out free vocational training, is promoting the improvement of labor skills and training in new specialties and is developing the system of vocational guidance and job placement/ [in boldface]. These provisions are also set forth in the USSR Constitution of 1977.

Socialist society is a society of people of labor. Labor and only labor serves in our country as the source of the increase of public wealth and the well-being of the Soviet people and determines the social status of a person. "From each according to his ability, to each according to his labor"--such is the principle of socialism.

As was noted at the 26th CPSU Congress, the party and the state have exerted and are exerting great efforts in order to make the labor of a person not only more productive, but also meaningful, interesting and creative.⁹ Of course, while affording the Soviet people extensive opportunities for the free choice of occupation, type of work and job, our society has the right to demand of them a conscientious attitude toward labor in the chosen field and the observance of labor discipline. This is not only the constitutional duty, but also a matter of honor of every USSR citizen who is able to work.

In accordance with numerous suggestions of the working people it is noted in the USSR Constitution that the evasion of socially useful labor is incompatible with the principles of socialist society. "And this means," L. I. Brezhnev indicated, "that it is necessary by all organizational, financial and legal means to shut fast all cracks for parasitism, bribery, speculation, for unearned income, all encroachments upon socialist property."¹⁰

Thus, in practice it has been demonstrated that only under socialism is it possible to completely eliminate unemployment and to guarantee the real right to work. Socialism and full employment, capitalism and unemployment--such are the characteristic traits of the two social systems. The Soviet people view with great understanding and sympathy the status of the working people in the capitalist countries and support them in the just struggle for the main human right--the right to work.

FOOTNOTES

1. K. Marx, "Kapital" [Capital], Vol 1, Moscow, 1973, p 650.
2. See V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch." [Complete Works], Vol 14, p 108.
3. Ibid., Vol 5, p 323.
4. K. Ye. Voroshilov, "Stat'i i rechi" [Articles and Speeches], Moscow, 1936, p 509.
5. "KPSS v rezolyutsiyakh i resheniyakh s"yezdov, konferentsiy i plenumov TsK" [The CPSU in Resolutions and Decisions of Congresses, Conferences and Plenums of the Central Committee], 8th edition, Vol 2, Moscow, 1970, p 51.
6. Ibid., Vol 2, p 59.
7. Ibid., Vol 3, p 395.
8. "KPSS v rezolyutsiyakh...", 8th edition, Vol 5, Moscow, 1971, p 130.
9. See "Materialy XXVI s"yezda KPSS" [Materials of the 26th CPSU Congress], Moscow, 1981, p 57.
10. Ibid., p 59.

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CHAPTER 4. ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT TASKS

USSR citizens have the right to rest.

From Article 41 of the USSR Constitution

USSR citizens have the right to the protection of health.

From Article 42 of the USSR Constitution.

Now, when the Soviet people customarily exercise their right to rest, when the achievements of Soviet health care are well-known throughout the world, it is useful to recall what the working conditions, the conditions of rest and the health protection of working people were in prerevolutionary Russia.

The workday at plants and factories lasted 12-13 hours, while in the textile industry it amounted to 15-16 hours. Rest on Sunday was entirely inadequate to restore strength after a week of gruelling labor, while the workers had no idea of annual vacations.

The fate of the peasant was even more difficult. The farm laborers worked for kulaks and landlords literally from dawn to dusk. Here, for example, are lines from a contract which those hired for work at the estate of Count Pototskiy were obliged to sign in 1905: "I, a peasant woman from such and such a village, have hired myself out on my own accord at such and such an estate of Count Pototskiy for agricultural work, no matter what is assigned to me.... I undertake to go to work at sunrise and to work until sundown.... If the estate summons me to do some job on a holiday or on Sunday, I do not have the right to refuse to work.... If I should become sick or die, my family should finish working for me.... These terms are known to me, which I acknowledge by my signature."¹

Elementary labor safety regulations were absent at plants and factories, mines and pits. In 1902 the Batumi workers wrote to the newspaper ISKRA: "...In the soldering departments of the petroleum refineries the workers are sick with throat and chest diseases, since the air in these workshops is saturated with the vapors of various acids. In the pouring departments of these plants the legs of the workers are swollen and covered with ulcers from kerosene.... Here it is difficult to find a worker who is not sick with a fever and rheumatism."² Accidents, cave-ins, explosions and flooding of the shafts were a common phenomenon in the Donets coal

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basin. Hard labor under unbearable conditions disabled the workers and prematurely took them to the grave.

The expenditures from the state budget for the purposes of public health were literally a pittance. The workers received only primitive medical help, it was essentially not given to peasants at all. And it is not surprising that there was one hospital bed per 767 inhabitants, while each physician should have attended on the average 5,656 people. As for sanatorium treatment, the working people did not dream of it. Only the capitalists, landlords and their lackeys used health resorts. In 1907, for example, at the Caucasus mineral springs among the "guests" 42 percent were landlords, nobles and merchants, 24 percent were plant and factory owners and kulaks, 23 percent were officers and government officials, 10 percent were scientists and physicians and 1 percent were priests.

The periodic outbreaks of epidemics of typhus, cholera, plague and smallpox enveloped entire areas and took the lives of hundreds of thousands of people. About 3 percent of the population died annually in tsarist Russia. Prior to World War I the overall death rate of the population here was twofold higher, while infant mortality was three- to fourfold higher than in such countries as England, Germany, Norway, the United States and France.

Our party always regarded the campaign for the shortening of the workday and for the right of the working people to rest and the protection of health as one of the most important social tasks. In its first Program it advanced "in the interests of the protection of the working class against physical and moral degeneration, as well as in the interests of the development of its capacity for the liberation struggle" the tasks of the limitation of the workday to 8 hours a day for all hired workers; the establishment by law of weekly rest which runs continuously for not less than 42 hours; the complete banning of overtime; the prohibition of night labor, with the exception of those sectors of the national economy, in which it is absolutely necessary; the prohibiting of employers from using the labor of children of school age (up to 16 years of age) and the limitation of the working time of adolescents (16-18 years of age) to 6 hours; the prohibition of female labor in those sectors in which it is harmful to a woman's body.³

The provisions of the party program called for the properly organized health inspection at all enterprises which use hired labor; the criminal liability of employers for the violation of labor safety laws; free medical help for workers at the expense of employers, with the retention of pay during illness; the inspection by organs of local self-government of the health conditions of the apartment houses set aside for workers by employers.⁴

It was possible to achieve all this only by a revolutionary struggle. For example, under the supervision of the party the working people achieved a slight shortening of the workday, but on the eve of the Great October Socialist Revolution the bulk of the workers, including adolescents, were working 10 hours a day, while about 15 percent were working more than 11-12 hours a day. "...The dialectics of the class struggle is such," V. I. Lenin said, "that never without extreme need, without dire need will the bourgeoisie replace the serene, customary, profitable... 10-hour workday with an 8-hour workday."⁵

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The Great October Socialist Revolution did this. The Council of People's Commissars adopted the decree "On the Eight-Hour Workday" 3 days after the victory of October. The Soviet regime carried out legislatively and sanctioned in the Code of Labor Laws all the demands of the first Party Program in the area of labor safety regulations. "This is an enormous accomplishment of Soviet power," V. I. Lenin emphasized, "that at a time when all countries are up in arms against the working class, we are coming forth with a code which firmly establishes the principles of labor legislation, as, for example, the 8-hour workday."⁶

However, the extreme devastation caused by the war and the pressure of world imperialism forced our party and the Soviet state to allow the use of overtime in exceptional cases, limiting it to 50 days a year; to permit the labor of adolescents from 14 to 16 years of age, limiting their workday to 4 hours; to increase the length of night-time work to 7 hours.⁷ These were forced and temporary measures.

In its second Program the Communist Party set itself the task to ensure in the future, in the case of an overall increase of labor productivity, the shortening of the workday without a decrease of the remuneration for labor. And as soon as the national economy, which had been ravaged by the imperialist and civil wars, had been restored, it began the implementation of this task. On 15 October 1927 the USSR Central Executive Committee on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution adopted a manifesto in which it proclaimed the changeover from an 8-hour to a 7-hour workday without a decrease of wages. During the next 5-6 years a 7-hour workday was established for the majority of workers and employees, but the threat of aggression on the part of fascist Germany forced the Communist Party and the Soviet state to reintroduce the 8-hour workday. And soon after the beginning of the Great Patriotic War the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet granted the directors of enterprises the right to establish, with permission of the government, mandatory overtime lasting from 1 to 3 hours a day. Regular and additional leaves were cancelled (with the retention of the monetary remuneration for the unused leave). These steps were clear to everyone: war is war.

After the victory the prewar working conditions and conditions of the rest of workers and employees in the USSR were restored: mandatory overtime was abolished, annual vacations were reinstated. However, in connection with the enormous damage done to the national economy, the party deemed it necessary to maintain for workers and employees, with the exception of a number of occupations with hard working conditions, an 8-hour workday.

Following the successful completion of the plan of the postwar restoration and development of the national economy the Communist Party again advanced the task of shortening the length of the workday. In 1956 a decision was adopted on the universal changeover to a 7- and 6-hour workday. The planned changeover of workers and employees to a 5-day work week was begun in 1966. This changeover was completed for the most part by the 50th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. As a result we began to have on the average during the year 112 days off and holidays instead of 60 in the case of a 6-day work week.

The limitation of the duration of working time is one of the most important guarantees of the right of Soviet people to rest. /In conformity with the USSR Constitution a work week not exceeding 41 hours has been established for workers and employees in our country; the workday has been shortened for a number of occupations

and works; days of weekly rest and annual paid vacations are granted to all working people/ [in boldface].

The work week in the USSR is one of the shortest in the world. During the years of Soviet power its length for workers of industry has been shortened by nearly one-third. Now the average length of the work week of all workers and employees (with allowance made for shortened working time on preholiday days, holidays in excess of ordinary days off and the shortened workday of teachers, medical and other personnel) is 39.4 hours.

Along with the shortening of the work week the length of annual paid vacations is being increased in our country. Thus, in conformity with the decree of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers of 1 January 1968 it was increased to 15 workdays for those categories of workers, who prior to this had a vacation of 12 workdays. Gradually the length of the minimum vacation of all workers and employees will be increased to 3 weeks, and in the future to 1 month. Let us note here that many categories of workers and employees in our country have today vacations of 1 month and more.

As to kolkhoz farmers, the length of their work week is not regulated in the Fundamental Law: due to the seasonal nature of agricultural work and the great diversity of natural conditions the length of their working time and rest is regulated by the kolkhozes themselves in conformity with their charters or labor regulations, on the basis of the general principles of Soviet legislation.

Thus, as socialist society has developed our party has consistently implemented its program provisions on the steady increase of the time for the rest of the working people.

What does this give each Soviet individual, his family and our society as a whole?

Under the conditions of socialism the very content of free time has changed radically. It is becoming more and more a gauge of public wealth. In our country along with the increase of free time a greater and greater portion of it is being used not only and not so much for rest as such as for the meeting of a wide range of spiritual needs: education, participation in public life and the raising of children, reading, participation in sports and tourism, creative amateur artistic work, going to movies, museums, theaters and so on, or, in Lenin's words, "for one's own development, for the exercise of one's rights as a person, as a family man, as a citizen."⁸

It is quite clear that the appropriate conditions were also created in our country for this. /The USSR Constitution guarantees the right to rest by the enlargement of the network of cultural, educational and health institutions, the development of mass sports, physical culture and tourism, the creation of favorable opportunities for rest at the place of residence and other conditions of the efficient use of free time/ [in boldface].

Priority, of course, is given to the expenditures which directly or indirectly promote the improvement of the health of the working people. Starting with the first years of Soviet power our party and state devoted exceptionally great attention to

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this question. In particular, in May 1922 the Council of People's Commissars promulgated a special decree on the organization of an extensive network of holiday homes for workers. Country dachas, the former estates of landowners, monasteries and so forth were first of all used for this. Even under the conditions when the young Soviet state did not have enough assets for the most necessary thing, the old holiday homes and sanatoriums were restored and renovated and new ones were built.

In subsequent years in conformity with decrees of the Communist Party the expenditures for these purposes were steadily increased. Whereas in 1939 in the country there were 3,600 sanatoriums and other institutions of rest with accommodations for 469,000, in 1980 there were 13,160 with accommodations for nearly 2.2 million. In the past 10 years the number of those who have been treated and have rested at sanatoriums and vacation institutions (excluding 1- and 2-day stays) and at tourist centers has increased 2.3-fold and in 1980 came to 39 million. Let us note here that 86 percent of the travel authorizations to sanatoriums, holiday hotels, holiday homes and sanatorium-dispensaries were issued at the expense of the assets of social insurance, including 17 percent free of charge.

/In our country physical culture and sports are playing an important role in the improvement of the health of the working people/ [in boldface]. At all the stages of their history the Communist Party and the Soviet state have done everything possible for their development. In recent years alone the CPSU Central Committee has adopted a number of special decrees on these questions.

A firm material basis has been created in our country for the extensive, truly massive enlistment of people in the pursuit of physical culture and sports. Now there are about 200 palaces of sports and riding schools, about 3,500 stadiums, 110,000 soccer fields, 74,000 gymnasiums, 6,300 ski centers, 8,500 track arenas and 1,700 swimming pools in the Soviet Union. About 318,000 staff workers are employed in the physical culture movement. More than 220 higher and secondary specialized educational institutions, including 24 institutes and 26 tekhnikums of physical culture, carry out the training of physical culturalists and athletes.

More than 70 types of sports are well developed in our country. Up to 500 different all-union meets are held annually, while the Sports Festivals of the Peoples of the USSR are held once every 4 years. About 100 million people took part just in the mass starts of the Seventh Summer Sports Festival of the Peoples of the USSR (1979).

The broad scope of the physical culture movement is the basis of the successes of Soviet athletes on the international arena. Convincing evidence of this is the 32d Olympic Games in Moscow.

The Communist Party and the Soviet state are striving to provide everything necessary for the improvement and protection of the health of the working people. /During the years of Soviet power a unified state system of health care, which provides all citizens with free skilled medical help, as well as ensures the implementation of effective steps on the prevention and decrease of the illness rate, the improvement of the health and the lengthening of the life of the population, has been created in our country under the supervision of the party/ [in boldface].

Its creation commenced with Lenin's decree on the expropriation from the bourgeoisie of all medical institutions and enterprises, which was promulgated in December 1918,

and with the establishment in July 1918 of the People's Commissariat of Public Health. The property of all medical and public health institutions of the republic, drugstores, health resorts and so on were placed at its disposal. In just a year and a half after the revolution V. I. Lenin had signed about 300 different government documents which to one extent or another concerned questions of the protection of the health of the working people.

The development of Soviet public health began under exceptionally difficult conditions. The country was experiencing great difficulties with medical personnel. Many physicians had not yet determined definitively their position. The measures of the party and state in the area of public health were sabotaged by medical officials hostile to the Soviet regime.

The young Soviet Republic was surrounded by interventionists, the civil war was under way. The medical service of the Red Army was among the most important aims of the Communist Party. V. I. Lenin personally kept an eye on the dispatch of medical personnel to the front. The care of the sick and wounded was constantly monitored by the party Central Committee.

In the country industrial and agricultural production declined sharply, the population was starving. In early 1918 the daily bread ration even for workers of the first category was only 200 g. Epidemics of cholera, dysentery, typhoid fever and typhus broke out. In addition to the military danger, the decline of the physical strength of the working people and the chaos of contagious diseases, which affected hundreds of thousands of people, threatened the revolution. "...The typhus among the population, which is exhausted from hunger, is sick and does not have bread, soap, fuel," V. I. Lenin said with alarm, "may become the disaster which will not enable us to cope with any building of socialism."⁹

The party took vigorous steps. The All-Russian Commission for the Improvement of the Health Conditions of the Republic was founded. The offensive on a broad front against typhus and other infectious diseases, the drive for health order and the participation of the working people in the implementation of these measures were the first steps of young Soviet public health.

The basic principles of the protection of the health of the people were formulated in the second Party Program. It envisaged first of all the implementation of extensive health and sanitary measures which had as a goal the prevention of the spread of diseases. In particular, the sanitation of populated places (the protection of the soil, water and air), the organization of public dining on the scientific hygienic basis and the establishment of public health legislation were intended. Our party set as its immediate tasks the control of social diseases (tuberculosis, venereal disease, alcoholism and so on), the provision of generally available, free and skilled medical and medicinal help.¹⁰

Of course, during the first years of Soviet power medical help could not always be provided due to the shortage of medical institutions and specialists. Therefore the party and the state took steps on the increase of the network of medical institutions and the expansion of the training of medical personnel. In 1928 the number of physicians and intermediate medical personnel had increased as compared with 1913 nearly 2.3-fold, there were 39,000 more hospital beds. By this time it had been possible to eliminate such especially dangerous diseases as smallpox, plague and cholera.

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The First, and then the Second and Third Five-Year Plans became important stages in the matter of radically improving the organization of public health. The decrees of the party Central Committee "On the Medical Service of Workers and Peasants" (1929) and "On Medical Personnel" (1931) were of fundamental importance in this respect.

As the national income increased, more and more assets were allocated for the purposes of public health. The number of medical institutions in the city and the countryside and medical educational and scientific research institutes increased rapidly. Preventive health measures were increased, medical help improved. Steps were taken on the organization of the dispensary method of serving the population, the setting up of health centers at enterprises and so on.

By the end of 1940 there were already 155,00 physicians, or nearly 5.5-fold more than before the revolution. The supply of hospital beds was 40 per 10,000 people. There were about 14,000 hospitals in the country.

During the years of the Great Patriotic War the Communist Party and the Soviet state took steps to create the necessary conditions for the treatment of the wounded. In addition to military hospitals, an extensive network of evacuation hospitals was developed in the rear. Much work was carried out on protecting the health of the workers of the rear. Medical and paramedical health centers and public health units were set up at many enterprises. Dispensaries, which enabled the workers to maintain their health without leave from work, were organized at large enterprises. Extraordinary anti-epidemic commissions were organized everywhere for the stepped-up medical monitoring of the state of sanitation. The concern of the party about the health of the defenders of the homeland and the workers of the rear became one of the important sources of the victory of our people in the Great Patriotic War.

In subsequent years the tasks of improving public health were discussed at all the party congresses. Specific steps in this regard were specified in a number of joint decrees of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers. The approval of the Fundamentals of Public Health Legislation in our country (1969) was an act of great sociopolitical importance.

The rapid development of the socialist economy made it possible from five-year plan to five-year plan to increase the expenditures on public health and the strengthening of its material and technical base. In the past 15 years alone they have increased more than 2.5-fold and in 1980 exceeded 18 billion rubles. This is more than 70 rubles per person.

During the years of the building of socialism and communism our country has been covered by a dense network of medical institutions--from the rural outpatient clinic to specialized centers. Great changes, quantitative and qualitative, have occurred in the training of medical personnel. Medical science and industry have been developed intensively, hospitals and polyclinics have been furnished with modern equipment, the production of drugs has increased, major prophylactic measures on the prevention of diseases were implemented.

Under the conditions of mature socialism an extensively branched system of public health, which is based on the latest achievements of world medical science, was

formed in the USSR. The right of the Soviet people to the protection of health became a reality and was sanctioned for the first time in the USSR Constitution of 1977.

How is this right guaranteed in our country?

In conformity with the USSR Constitution /the right to the protection of health is guaranteed first of all by free skilled medical help, which is provided by state public health institutions/ [in boldface]. This humane principle, which was implemented back during the first years of Soviet power, is the most important principle of the socialist public health system.

More than 2 billion visits and calls of doctors to the home are registered annually at the preventive medical treatment institutions of our country. Moreover, when going to a physician or summoning him to the home, no one has to see how much money he has. Every type of medical help--from a simple bandage to the most complicated operation--is provided in our country free of charge. The state bears all the expenses on the prevention and treatment of diseases. This pertains to medical consultations, the consultations of specialists, "first aid" calls and laboratory analyses and examinations. While in a hospital or specialized clinic, the patient does not even ponder the fact that his stay there costs the state on the average more than 8 rubles a day.

At the same time in the capitalist countries a significant sector of public health is private business. In the United States, for example, the total expenditures of the population on medical service yearly come to an amount which exceeds the expenditures on the purchase of clothing and shoes. A surgical operation in an American hospital costs the patient from \$2,500 to \$10,000. Moreover, medical businessmen continue to inflate the fee for medical help. As a result, according to the testimony of the U.S. press, half of the sick Americans do not turn to physicians. Senator E. Kennedy, being the chairman of the Senate Subcommittee for Health, wrote concerning this: "The public health system in the United States is based on the pursuit of a profit and ignores the needs of the people."¹¹

/The USSR Constitution guarantees the right to the protection of health by the expansion of the network of institutions for the treatment and improvement of the health of citizens/ [in boldface]. At present in our country there are about 60,000 hospitals, outpatient clinics, polyclinics, dispensaries and other state health institutions, which are furnished with modern equipment. The value of their fixed capital is 35 billion rubles. The number of hospital beds in the past 15 years alone has increased nearly 1.5-fold and has reached 3.3 million. We have 6 million medical personnel who have a high level of occupational knowledge and skill. Among them there are almost 1 million physicians, or 1.8-fold more than there were, for example, in 1965.

One-third of all the physicians of the world work in the Soviet Union, while our country accounts for 6 percent of the population of the world. In the number of physicians, hospital beds and other indicators per 10,000 people we have for a long time now considerably surpassed the capitalist countries.

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/The Soviet Constitution guarantees the right to the protection of health by the development and improvement of labor safety practices and production hygiene/ [in boldface]. In conformity with the instructions of the party Central Committee all ministries and departments are obligated with the consent of public health organs and trade unions to draft regularly comprehensive plans of sanitation and health measures, which are aimed at the improvement of labor safety regulations and labor safety practices, the prevention of occupational diseases and the reduction of the causes of production injuries. The state annually allocates more than 2 billion rubles for these purposes.

The requirements of labor safety practices are included without fail in all state standards for machine tools and machines. "Our goal," L. I. Brezhnev said, "can be formulated as follows: from labor safety practices to safe equipment. We have embarked on this path and will follow it steadfastly."¹²

Strict monitoring of the observance of the requirements of labor safety procedures and labor safety regulations has been organized in all the sectors of the national economy. In addition to specialists, about 4 million public inspectors, members of commissions and supernumerary inspectors for labor safety procedures are engaged in this.

As a result, the level of production injuries and occupational disease in our country is one of the lowest in the world.

/In conformity with the USSR Constitution the right to the protection of health is guaranteed by the implementation of extensive preventive medical measures/ [in boldface]. Preventive treatment is the leading direction of Soviet public health. Its goal is the timely identification of the ill and the implementation of extensive sanitary measures. In our country more than 110 million people, first of all children, pregnant women, adolescents and the students of secondary and higher educational institutions, undergo preventive checkups annually.

A new type of medical institutions--dispensaries--has been set up. They identify ill people by means of medical checkups, organize highly skilled medical help and systematically observe patients. The dispensary network is making it possible to wage in our country a planned campaign against such diseases as tuberculosis, cancer, neuropsychological diseases and others.

The state sanitary and epidemiological service carries out the regular supervision of the implementation by all institutions and departments of the public health and anti-epidemic regulations and norms, which have been established in the country.

A well-balanced system of health education institutions, which includes special Houses of Health Education, exists in the USSR. Annually Soviet medical men deliver hundreds of thousands of lectures on medical themes. The press, radio, television, the movies, clubs, libraries and so on are devoting serious attention to this work.

/In accordance with the USSR Constitution, the right to the protection of health is guaranteed by measures on the improvement of the environment/ [in boldface]. This is a long-term problem, the solution of which the Communist Party regards as an

important socioeconomic task. Especially great attention has been devoted to it in recent years. "When taking steps for the acceleration of scientific and technical progress," L. I. Brezhnev indicated, "it is necessary to do everything so that it would be combined with a practical attitude toward natural resources and would not serve as a source of the dangerous pollution of the air and water and the exhaustion of the land."¹³

For the first time in constitutional practice our Fundamental Law specifies both the responsibility of the state for the protection of the environment and the duty of citizens to guard nature and to protect its resources. In the USSR the necessary steps are being taken for the protection and the scientifically sound, efficient use of the land and its mineral resources, water resources, the plant and animal world, for keeping the air and water clean, for the assurance of the reproduction of natural resources and the improvement of man's environment. During the 10th Five-Year Plan alone, in conformity with the decisions of the 25th party congress, more than 9 billion rubles were spent for these purposes.

Our state regulates legislatively the use of natural resources and establishes the rules of environmental protection. The Fundamentals of Land, Timber and Water Legislation, legislation on mineral resources and laws on the protection of the air and the animal world, which have been passed by the USSR Supreme Soviet, in particular serve this.

Strict sanitary requirements on the layout and building up of population centers have been established. The master plans and the plans of the location of the sectors of the national economy and large industrial complexes, zones of mass recreation and park grounds are being drafted from the point of view of nature conservation. Not a single built enterprise can be started up without treatment facilities.

Just a list of the decrees of the CPSU Central Committee, which have been adopted in recent years: on the intensification of the protection of nature, mineral resources and forests; on the protection of the Caspian and Black Seas and the Sea of Azov, the basins of the Volga and Ural Rivers; on the protection of the resources of Lake Baykal and many others, attests to the constant attention of the Communist Party to questions of the protection of the natural environment.

/The USSR Constitution guarantees the right to the protection of health by special concern about the health of the rising generation, including the prohibition of child labor which is not connected with training and labor education/ [in boldface]. The party considers the formation of a physically strong young generation from the youngest age to be one of its most important tasks.

Child consultation center-polyclinics, which operate according to the district principle, register with the dispensary children of all ages, who suffer from various chronic diseases, monitor neonates and children of early age especially carefully and carry out anti-epidemic vaccinations. School physicians carry out the medical service of school children. Along with treatment work they implement an extensive set of public health and sanitary measures.

In addition to conventional medical institutions, in the country there are about 1,200 children's sanatoriums where there are children who require the special care and observation of physicians. The network of sanatoriums and holiday hotels for

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treatment, at which children live along with their parents, and of specialized year-round Pioneer camps of the sanatorium type has undergone greater and greater development in recent years.

/The right to the protection of health is guaranteed, according to the USSR Constitution, by the development of scientific research which is aimed at the prevention and decrease of morbidity and the assurance of a long active life of citizens/ [in boldface]. Soviet medical scientists have been provided with the latest equipment and instruments. Programs of scientific research in the area of cardiovascular, oncological, viral, endocrine and other diseases, the protection of the health of mother and child, the scientific principles of the diet of man, environmental hygiene, as well as a number of other urgent problems of medicine have been elaborated.

During the years of Soviet power much has been done in the USSR in the area of the protection of the health of the working people. Child mortality has been decreased to nearly one-tenth, the life expectancy has increased. Whereas at the end of the last century it was only 32 years in the most developed, European part of Russia, now for the country as a whole it is 70 years.

The 25th CPSU Congress named the concern about the health of the Soviet people as one of the most important social tasks. Much attention was also devoted to this question at the 26th party congress. The congress demanded the substantial improvement of the work of polyclinics, dispensaries and outpatient clinics. In many places medical institutions have lagged behind the potentials of medicine, there are not enough personnel, especially intermediate and junior personnel, the equipment is obsolete, there are not enough modern medicines. Shortcomings exist in the fulfillment of the plans of the construction of hospitals and sanatoriums, there are cases of the violation by individual medical personnel of their official duty and lack of consideration for people. "Everything must be done," L. I. Brezhnev emphasized, "so that the Soviet individual could always and everywhere receive timely, skilled and responsive medical help."¹⁴

FOOTNOTES

1. SOVKHOZNAYA GAZETA, 28 October 1937.
2. ISKRA, 1 February 1902.
3. See "KPSS v rezolyutsiyakh i resheniyakh s"yezdov, konferentsiy i plenumov TsK" [The CPSU in Resolutions and Decisions of Congresses, Conferences and Plenums of the Central Committee], 8th edition, Vol 1, Moscow, 1970, p 64.
4. Ibid., p 65.
5. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch." [Complete Works], Vol 22, p 62.
6. Ibid., Vol 45, p 246.
7. See "KPSS v rezolyutsiyakh i resheniyakh s"yezdov, konferentsiy i plenumov TsK," 8th edition, Vol 2, Moscow, 1970, p 58.

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8. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 2, p 299.
9. Ibid., Vol 39, p 359.
10. See "KPSS v rezolyutsiyakh..." Vol 2, p 59.
11. See MEDITSINSKAYA GAZETA, 24 January 1973.
12. L. I. Brezhnev, "Leninskim kursom" [By the Leninist Course], Vol 6, Moscow, 1978, p 329.
13. L. I. Brezhnev, "Leninskim kursom," Vol 3, Moscow, 1972, p 257.
14. "Materialy XXVI s"yezda KPSS" [Materials of the 26th CPSU Congress], Moscow, 1981, p 61.

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CHAPTER 5. COMPLETELY AT THE EXPENSE OF THE STATE AND SOCIETY

USSR citizens have the right to material security....

From Article 43 of the USSR Constitution

At the beginning of the century the working people in Russia did not have at all any material security in case of illness, unemployment and disability and in old age. If a worker became disabled, his employer threw him out the gate. Poverty and death under a fence awaited him in old age.

A family which had lost its breadwinner was left without any means of existence. Here is one of the many petitions addressed to the director of the Khar'kov Locomotive Building Plant, which dates back to 1910: "...My husband Andrey Antonovich Sidorov, having worked for about 4 years at the locomotive building plant entrusted to you, at Founding Shop No 2661, from heavy and difficult work in February of this year became seriously ill and on the 13th of this April died, leaving me and two young children without any means of living.... Do us a great favor, aid a poor widow with children, so that they would not be left without their daily bread."

The reply stated: "It is impossible to give anything."¹

The wretched wages did not enable the worker to create savings in case of illness, injury or old age. The circumstances of the proletariat urgently dictated the need for the introduction of material security through social insurance.

The demands of the working class in the area of social insurance were formulated in the first Party Program, and then, to the fullest extent, in the resolution of its Prague Conference (1912). They called for the introduction of the insurance of all people of hired labor at the expense of employers and the state; the provision of insurance to workers in all instances of disability; complete self-government in this matter. At the same time the party emphasized that it is possible to achieve the realization of these demands only by the overthrow of tsarism and the victory of the proletarian revolution.²

In 1912 the tsarist government, frightened by the tension of the revolutionary movement, hastily promulgated a law on the insurance of workers in case of illness and injury. Here state insurance was not extended to agricultural and construction workers, railroad workers, sailors and others, as well as to entire regions of the

country (Siberia, the Far East, Central Asia). Old-age and disability insurance was not provided for at all. The main burden of the expenses on insurance rest on the shoulders of the workers themselves, whose insurance premiums were 1.5-fold higher than those of employers and were up to 3 percent of the wage. The benefits were extremely low, were paid only beginning on the fourth day of disablement and only within a limited period. The law in fact also placed the management of insurance in the hands of the employers.

M. I. Kalinin, an outstanding figure of our party and state, told how difficult it was for a worker during an illness: "I was a skilled worker, my wage exceeded the average wage of workers. Once I became sick at the plant. I was sick for 2 months and during that time received only 15 rubles from the insurance office.... Add to this the payment to the doctor, the cost of medicine, and it will be clear to you in what position I, a skilled worker, was. The 2 months of illness, as they used to say, cleaned me out."³

The tsarist insurance law aroused the justified indignation of the proletariat. In Lenin's words, it was "a law which mocks in the grossest manner at the most vital interests of the workers."⁴

The party exposed the true essence of the bourgeois reforms which were intended to deceive the working masses, explained extensively to the workers that the promulgation alone of insurance laws could not eliminate neediness, poverty and the lack of rights, and directed their attention to the subordination of the struggle for social insurance to the general political struggle of the proletariat.

After the Great October Socialist Revolution the Communist Party immediately began to carry out the tasks formulated in its insurance program. The implementation of this program was entrusted to the People's Commissariat of Labor.

State support of the unemployed, as well as insurance in case of illness, the force of which was extended to the entire territory of the Russian Republic, to all sectors of labor and to all people employed for wages, were introduced by decrees of the Soviet regime. The pensions of workers, who has suffered accidents, were increased by 100 percent. Extensive work was carried out on the support of the disabled and families which had lost their breadwinner.

Hospital funds for the payment of benefits for temporary disability, accidents, pregnancy and birth, as well as for providing medical help to workers and their families were set up everywhere with the active participation of the trade unions. The assets of these funds consisted of mandatory contributions of employers. Workers and employees were exempt from the payment of insurance premiums. All this was immediately reflected in the improvement of the material status of the working people.

During the first months after the victory of October, under the conditions of dislocation and famine, resistance and sabotage, the Communist Party and the Soviet state performed much work on the implementation of the program in the area of social insurance. However, it was not possible at that time to implement it completely.

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Under the conditions of the struggle against foreign interventionists and the domestic counterrevolution, social insurance was replaced by social security. It covered all workers and employees, as well as craftsmen and peasants, who had not exploited the labor of others, and was aimed first of all at providing material assistance to the families of Red Army members, orphans and the needy ill and aged. Insurance premiums were replaced by direct financing of the state, which by means of its own allocations met the expenditures on social security. The People's Commissariat of Social Security, the work of which was organized with the extensive participation of the trade unions, was set up in 1920.

The 10th party congress adopted the decision on the transition to the New Economic Policy. It was aimed at the building of the foundations of a socialist economy. State enterprises were converted to cost accounting, the existence of small private enterprises was permitted.

The system of universal social security of the working people at the expense of the state budget was not able to handle the new tasks. A decree, which restored the social insurance of people, who were engaged in hired labor at state, cooperative, public, concessionary, leased and private enterprises, and extended it to all instances of temporary and permanent disability, in case of unemployment, as well as death, was prepared and adopted on the instructions of the party Central Committee. The payment of insurance premiums was assigned to enterprises and institutions, and in a higher amount for the private sector.

The difficult economic situation of the country did not make it possible to immediately implement social insurance to the full extent. Support for temporary disability, pregnancy and birth and unemployment were introduced at first. The support of retirees and a portion of the expenditures for financing medical help to the population were also entrusted to social insurance.

Along with the development of the national economy the Communist Party and the Soviet state from year to year extended and increased the support through social insurance. Social insurance put into its budget the support at higher norms of all invalids of the civil war from among the workers and employees. The pensions, which were previously paid in equal amounts, were recalculated on the basis of the average wage for the given occupation, while those newly assigned were recalculated on the basis of the individual wage. The pensions for those disabled as a result of a work injury were increased, old-age pensions were introduced for workers of the textile industry.

However, by the early 1930's the nonconformity of the organization of social insurance to the tasks of building socialism began to be felt. The party demanded the radical improvement of the work of the organs of social insurance, its subordination to the tasks of increasing labor productivity and the tightening up of the monitoring on the part of the working masses. The 16th party congress indicated that the trade unions should be the deciding authority in the matter of the distribution of the vast amounts of social insurance. A new procedure of social security with allowance made for the importance of the works, the length of service and the attitude of a person toward labor was established. Central funds, which operated under the immediate supervision of the trade unions, were organized in the leading sectors of industry and in transportation.

In 1933 all the management of the organs of social insurance, their assets and property were turned over to the trade unions, for which the Communist Party set responsible tasks. It was a question not of the mechanical transfer of social insurance, but of its drastic reorganization in the interests of production on the basis of the extensive involvement of the working people themselves in this work.

During the years of the first five-year plans the group of workers, who had the right to old-age pensions, was enlarged considerably, then it was extended to all workers and engineering and technical personnel. In accordance with the budget of social insurance assets began to be allocated for diet therapy and for the extra-curricular care of children.

The USSR Constitution of 1936 sanctioned the right of Soviet citizens to material security in old age, as well as in case of illness and disablement. The previously existing restrictions in the support through social insurance of individual categories of working people were repealed. Employees also acquired the right to old-age pension security.

In conformity with the instructions of the party Central Committee substantial changes were made in the provision of benefits for temporary disability. The amounts of the benefits were made more dependent on the length of continuous work at the given enterprise or institution. Restrictions were imposed in the payment of such benefits to workers and employees, who had left a job at their own request, as well as had been dismissed for the violation of labor discipline or in connection with the commission of a crime. The worker acquired the right to benefits for temporary disability after 6 months of work at the new place.

During the years of the Great Patriotic War social insurance was subordinate to the interests of the rout of the enemy. In spite of the difficulties of war times, the pensions of all working retirees were increased. They were paid without regard for the wage. This stimulated the return of many thousands of retirees to enterprises. The benefits for temporary disability for the invalids of the Great Patriotic War were established in the maximum amounts. Assistance was provided to the families of servicemen at the expense of the assets of social insurance.

After the end of the war in conformity with the decisions of party congresses and plenums of the Central Committee important measures on the improvement of the system of social insurance and material security of the working people were implemented in the country.

In 1956 the USSR Supreme Soviet passed the Law on State Pensions. This was the practical implementation of the decisions of the 20th party congress on the improvement of the matter of the pension security of the working people. In subsequent years the minimum amounts of pensions were repeatedly increased, the system of benefits for working retirees was gradually enlarged.

The level of the provision with benefits for temporary disability increased substantially. The minimum amounts of the benefits were increased, some previously existing restrictions were repealed, additional benefits were introduced.

The Law on Pensions and Benefits to Members of Kolkhozes, which was passed by the USSR Supreme Soviet in 1964, was an important social measure. In accordance with

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this law kolkhoz farmers began to be provided with old-age and disability pensions, while the members of their families began to be provided with pensions in case of the loss of the breadwinner according to uniform conditions and norms for the entire country. Maternity benefits were established for female kolkhoz farmers.

Subsequently the retirement age of kolkhoz farmers was lowered, a uniform system of social insurance, which envisages their provision with benefits for temporary disability and several other types of benefits, was introduced, the minimum amounts of old-age pensions were increased and others. The procedure of calculating pensions, which was established for workers, employees and their families, was extended to the members of kolkhozes and their families.

Now a uniform system of the social security of the working people in practice has been formed in the country. The USSR Constitution guarantees every Soviet individual the right to material security in old age, in the case of illness, complete or partial disablement, as well as the loss of the breadwinner.

From what units is this system formed?

/First of all the USSR Constitution guarantees the right to material security by the social insurance of workers, employees and kolkhoz farmers and by benefits for temporary disability/ [in boldface]. Social insurance automatically applies to every person as soon as he has gone to work. Due to social insurance no one remains without material security. And no one at the same time bears any costs, the state assumes them entirely.

The assets of social insurance are formed from the contributions of enterprises and institutions, the amount of which is set by the government (from 4 to 9 percent of the wage fund). As for kolkhoz farmers, a centralized fund formed from the contributions of kolkhozes exists for them.

Through state social insurance in the Soviet Union benefits are issued for temporary disability, pregnancy and birth and pensions are paid. Sanatorium and health resort treatment is also provided, the vacation of children at Pioneer camps is organized, the extracurricular care of the children of workers and employees is carried out and so on by means of the assets of state social insurance.

Vast amounts of assets are being allocated for these purposes. In 1980, for example, their amount was 45.6 billion rubles. This exceeds by nearly threefold the expenditures on social security and social insurance in 1965 and by 48-fold those in 1940. In 1980 pensions and benefits in the amount of 5 billion rubles, or 5.3-fold more than in 1965, were paid to kolkhoz farmers from the union social security fund.

Social insurance in our country is characterized by a high level of material security. Minimum amounts of benefits, less than which they cannot be paid, have been set. With a continuous length of service of 8 years or more the members of trade unions receive them in the amount of 100 percent of the wage. The benefits for temporary disability as a result of a job injury or occupational disease are always paid in the same amount.

Benefits are paid, as a rule, from the first day of disablement until recovery or the determination of disability and regardless of how much time has passed since the worker or employee went to work. Only those dismissed from a former job for violations of labor discipline or in connection with the commission of a crime are an exception. However, benefits for temporary disability by reason of job injury or occupational disease are also issued to these workers regardless of the length of service.

Such is the state of affairs in our country today. In the capitalist countries social insurance to this day suffers from many defects. In particular, it does not apply to all categories of working people. The social insurance funds to a significant extent are formed from contributions of the workers themselves. The legislation of the capitalist countries is larded with a large number of norms, which greatly limit the possibility of the receipt by working people of support through social insurance, and often completely deprives them of this opportunity. In many cases the requirement of the existence of a specific period of the payment of insurance premiums by the worker has been established for the right to benefits. The benefits for illness are issued not from the first day of disablement, but only after a "waiting period," the length of which is up to 7 days, and, as a rule, does not exceed 50-60 percent of the wage.

As was already noted, /in the Soviet Union the right to material security is guaranteed, in accordance with the USSR Constitution, by the payment at the expense of the state and kolkhozes of pensions for age, disability and in the case of the loss of the breadwinner/ [in boldface]. They are also paid to some categories of working people for seniority.

Pensions make up the largest item of expenditures in the budget of social insurance--more than 70 percent. And this is understandable. In 1980 the number of retirees in our country came to 49.9 million, or 19 percent of the population, while, for example, in 1941 it was 4 million, or 2 percent of the population.

/Old-age pensions/ [in boldface] are granted in our country to all workers and employees of a specific age and length of service. The age of men is 60 years, the length of service is 25 years; the age of women is 55 years, the length of service is 20 years. There are preferential exceptions which lower these limits by 5-10 years--work underground, harmful working conditions, the regions of the Far North and others. Old-age pensions amount to 50 to 100 percent of the wage, and the lower the wage is, the higher the percentage of the pension is.

Let us note in this connection that in the majority of capitalist countries the retirement age is higher than in the USSR. For example, in the United States, the FRG, the Netherlands and Sweden it is 63-65 years, in Norway--66 years. Here significant amounts are withheld from the wages in the form of insurance premiums (in the United States--6.6 percent, in the FRG--13.2 percent). The minimum old-age pensions in the developed capitalist countries to a significant extent do not come up to the officially recognized level of income, which is considered the poverty level. According to the data of the American press, at present 22 million elderly U.S. citizens have incomes less than the official "poverty line."

In our country under the conditions of the steady improvement of health and the increase of the length of life many retirees are continuing labor activity. At

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present they make up nearly a third of the retirees. The Communist Party and the Soviet state are creating the necessary conditions for their more extensive involvement in socially useful labor, especially in the sphere of consumer service. To some extent this is decreasing the shortage of manpower resources.

/Disability pensions/ [in boldface] are granted in the case of permanent or long-term disablement. A specific length of service is necessary for this. However, those who have become disabled due to a job injury or in connection with an occupational disease receive pensions regardless of the length of service and, moreover, larger pensions.

In general the amounts of the pension are determined subject to the degree of disablement and the sector of industry, in which the insured worked. The time of the onset of disability (before the start of labor activity, during it or after its end) does not play a role in its granting.

The members of the family of a deceased worker or employee, who are unable to work and were his dependents, have the right to /a pension owing to the loss of the breadwinner/ [in boldface].

/The USSR Constitution guarantees job placement for citizens who have become partially disabled/ [in boldface]. The duty to provide such people with work within their power is assigned to the administration of enterprises and institutions. If no such opportunities exist at the enterprise or institution, at which the person worked prior to the determination of disability, the organs of social insurance assume the trouble of finding him work. They are guided by the recommendations of expert medical and labor commissions. For the disabled an incomplete workday or an incomplete work week is established, special shops are organized and vocational training is conducted.

/In accordance with the USSR Constitution, the right to material security is guaranteed by the concern about elderly citizens and the disabled/ [in boldface]. For this purpose a network of boarding homes, which are maintained entirely at state expense, has been created in our country.

The Communist Party and the Soviet state surround with special care and attention the disabled and participants in the Great Patriotic War and the families of dead servicemen. In the USSR all the necessary steps are taken to improve their everyday material living conditions. "The respect for veterans of historic battles and concern about them," L. I. Brezhnev said, "are a moral law of our life, a law both for the authorities and for every citizen."⁵

It should be emphasized that support through social insurance is carried out in the Soviet Union not in equalizing (identical for all) norms and amounts. Here the amount of the wage, the length of service, working conditions and others are taken into account. This is fully in keeping with the principle "from each according to his ability, to each according to his labor." Precisely for this reason, for example, the suggestions received during the discussion of the draft of the new USSR Constitution on the introduction of identical pensions for all or on the fact that their amount should be determined exclusively on the basis of the length of service, without consideration of the skills of the workers and the nature of their labor, were not adopted.

The management of social insurance has been organized on a broad democratic basis. The main work here is performed by the factory, plant and local committees of the trade unions. They grant benefits, grant workers and employees travel authorizations for sanatorium and health resort treatment, to holiday homes, tourist and convalescent institutions and children's summer camps, check the organization of medical service, keep an eye on the timely payment by enterprises, institutions and organizations of the contributions for social insurance. Workers and employees participate in this work through the trade union commissions for social insurance. The rights of the trade unions on this account are established by legislation.

The government--the services of the ministries of social security of the union republics--are directly engaged in the granting of pensions and the determination of disability, while the right to monitor this activity belongs to the trade unions.

Let us note for comparison that in the capitalist countries the decisive role in the councils of insurance offices belongs to employers and their agents, who manage the contributions of the workers at their own discretion.

Social insurance in our country is being constantly improved and developed. In conformity with the decisions of the 26th party congress the minimum amount of old-age and disability pensions for workers, employees and the members of kolkhozes will be increased, while other measures on the further improvement of the social security of the population will also be implemented. Concrete measures on this account were specified in the decree of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers "On Measures to Further Improve the Social Security of the Population," which was adopted immediately after the congress. Our goal is the gradual transition to the complete support of those unable to work at the expense of society.

FOOTNOTES

1. PRAVDA, 11 October 1937.
2. See "KPSS v rezolyutsiyakh i resheniyakh s"yezdov, konferentsiy i plenumov TsK" [The CPSU in Resolutions and Decisions of Congresses, Conferences and Plenums of the Central Committee], 8th edition, Vol 1, Moscow, 1970, pp 336-339.
3. M. I. Kalinin, "Izbrannyye proizvedeniya" [Selected Works], in 4 volumes, Vol 3, Moscow, 1962, pp 272-273.
4. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch." [Complete Works], Vol 21, p 147.
5. L. I. Brezhnev, "Leninskim kursom" [By the Leninist Course], Vol 5, Moscow, 1976, p 288.

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CHAPTER 6. UNREMITTING ATTENTION TO THE IMPROVEMENT OF THE HOUSING CONDITIONS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

USSR citizens have the right to housing.

From Article 44 of the USSR Constitution

The right of the Soviet people to housing, just as the right to the protection of health, was sanctioned for the first time in the new USSR Constitution. This became possible as a result of the consistent implementation in our country of the enormous program of housing construction, which was elaborated by the Communist Party and was implemented under its supervision during the years of Soviet power.

In order to fully appreciate the scale of the work which was done, it is useful to recall what the "housing question" was in prerevolutionary Russia. The development of capitalism was accompanied by the rapid growth of the urban population. At the same time, of course, there arose an enormous demand for housing, which developed at the end of the last century and the beginning of this century into a most acute housing crisis. Everywhere, as V. I. Lenin wrote, "alongside the luxurious palaces of the wealthy (or on the outskirts of cities) there arose the shacks of workers, who were forced to live in basements, in overcrowded damp and cold apartments, or else directly in dugouts near new industrial establishments."¹

In Moscow in 1912 nearly 850,000 people, or 70 percent of the population, lived in extremely crowded conditions, in basements and barns. In Petersburg, according to incomplete data, there were 150,000 "corner" and "bed" tenants, 63,000 lived in basements, about two-thirds of the single workers rented one double bed. The chairman of the health commission of the State Duma, after visiting the workers' dwellings, noted that "the living population on the Vyborg Side is quartered more closely than the dead population in a cemetery."²

In other industrial cities the situation was even worse. Nearly half of the miners of the Donbass in 1912 lived in deep dugouts without floors and windows, concerning which the journal RUSSKOYE BOGATSTVO wrote that these are "more of a den of animals than a human dwelling."³ The great proletarian writer Maksim Gor'kiy compared the huts of the Baku oil workers with a heap of ruins after an earthquake, the dwellings of prehistoric people. The Ural miners and metalworkers, the Ivanovo-Voskresensk textile workers and the workers of many other industrial cities and regions lived under similar conditions.

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In the overcrowding of workers' dwellings tsarist Russia held first place in Europe and was at the level of the most backward colonial countries. The state of municipal services and the civic improvement of cities corresponded completely to this. The working people lived, as a rule, in the outskirts, without lighting, water and a sewer system, under the conditions of appalling unsanitariness.

In the budget of the family of a worker the expenditures for a roof over the head made up 20-25 percent, while in the case of the rental of a separate room or two rooms they increased respectively to 40-60 percent. According to official data, in 1903 Moscow landlords received from the rental of dwellings a net profit of 147 million rubles, or two-thirds of the received amount of rent. The cost of dwellings, which was excessive even for skilled workers, made inaccessible to the working people apartment houses furnished in the slightest degree with amenities. In 1914, when the need for housing in Moscow had become especially acute, about 5,000 multi-room apartments with all the amenities were vacant in the prosperous districts of the city.

The countryside also had its contrasts. While the kulaks, priests and merchants built for themselves large houses roofed with iron, the poor peasants lived in small huts with straw roofs and dirt floors, many of which were heated, as they said in those times, in the black manner--the smoke came out the door. During the cold winter months along with the people the animals were also accommodated here.

The basic principles and directions of the policy of the Communist Party in the area of housing were elaborated by V. I. Lenin back before the Great October Socialist Revolution. He, in particular, emphasized that /"only the abolition of the private ownership of land and the construction of inexpensive and sanitary apartments can solve the housing question"/⁴ [in boldface], that "the proletarian state must forcibly quarter the extremely needy family in the apartment of a rich man,"⁵ that the working people "can and should themselves set about the /proper/ [in italics], most strictly regulated, organized distribution... of apartments... /in the interests of the poor/"[in italics].⁶ During the period of the building of socialism, V. I. Lenin wrote, "the leasing of apartments belonging to all the people to individual families for a fee presumes the collection of this fee, some monitoring and some standardization or other of the allocation of apartments," and only under communism "will it be possible to turn over apartments free of charge"⁷ for the use of each family.

Our party set about solving the housing problem immediately after the victory of October. By the first decrees of the Soviet regime the houses belonging to capitalists and aristocrats were expropriated, hundreds of thousands of workers received well-appointed housing. Low-paid workers and employees, as well as the families of Red Army soldiers were completely exempt during the war from rent. Landlords were forbidden to make any increase of the rent whatsoever.

In the pursuit of the housing policy the decree "On the Abolition of the Right of the Private Ownership of Real Estate in Cities" was of great importance. In conformity with this decree developed and undeveloped lots and all more or less large, so-called profitable, apartment houses passed into the hands of the Soviet state. The management of the expropriated apartment houses was entrusted to the house committees, which were elected at general meetings of the tenants.

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The "housing reallocation" took place under the conditions of a fierce class struggle. The former owners attempted with all their might to retain their possessions. Frequently bureaucrats and the middle bourgeoisie seized control of municipalized apartment houses and sabotaged the decisions of the Soviet regime.

Of course, the redistribution of housing alone was far from sufficient to solve the housing crisis, which was aggravated even more as a result of the civil war and foreign intervention, which did considerable harm to the available housing.

"The task of the Russian Communist Party," it was stated in the second Party Program, "is... to strive with all its might for the improvement of the housing conditions of the working masses; for the elimination of the overcrowding and unsanitariness of old blocks, the razing of unfit dwellings, the rebuilding of old ones, the building of new ones, which are in keeping with the new living conditions of the working masses, for the rational settlement of the working people."⁸

In order to solve the urgent housing question, it was necessary to launch the construction of apartment houses on an extensive scale. However, the economic base of the young Soviet state was too weak for this, the construction industry in practice was nonexistent. After the civil war the efforts of the party were focused first of all on the restoration of industry, transportation and agriculture. Housing construction was carried out in small amounts, for the most part by the individual method with the aid of state credit (assets were allocated primarily for the repair of wrecked buildings).

At the same time the Communist Party and the Soviet state sought every means which made it possible to ease the housing situation of the working people. For this purpose, in particular, the above-standard surpluses of living space were confiscated from institutions and individual citizens, steps were taken to combat the destruction of dwellings and so on.

Under the conditions of the economic difficulties the party recognized it to be necessary to use in the interests of the development of housing construction the initiative of the population with the attraction of their physical assets. As was noted at the 13th party congress, "the housing cooperative is the best form of such initiative in the elimination of the need of the working people for housing."⁹ Cooperative construction was carried out on a proportionate basis using the assets of the state and the members of the cooperatives.

Following the conclusion of the restoration period and in connection with the transition to socialist industrialization the housing question acquired paramount importance. The growth rate of housing construction lagged significantly behind the growth rate of the working class. Owing to this the average norms of living space decreased. The housing shortage, moreover, checked the development of industry and the increase of production personnel.

In this connection the July (1926) united Plenum of the Central Committee and Central Control Commission of the All-Union Communist Party (of Bolsheviks) elaborated urgent measures on the improvement of workers' housing construction: the creation of a permanent fund of financing; the drawing up of plans of the construction of housing, which were coordinated with the plans of the restoration of industry in the largest industrial centers and regions; the consolidation and decrease of the cost

of construction; the streamlining of the work of state construction offices; the development of the production of construction materials; the development of the least expensive type of dwellings, which was tailored for the needs of the workers, with allowance made for the possibility of using local construction materials; the decrease of the cost of credit.¹⁰ The decisions of the plenum were the basis for the planned development of all housing construction in our country. Industrial and transportation enterprises, as well as the local soviets became the main builders of workers' dwellings.

During those years the construction of temporary dwellings was carried out on a large scale. This stemmed from the need for the quickest possible provision of housing to the workers coming to plants and construction projects, as well as from the saving of physical assets which were allocated first of all for the development of industry. Many construction workers had to live at first in plank barracks, tents, or else in dugouts. But the Soviet people consciously agreed to these temporary difficulties.

The decrees of the 16th party congress, which advanced the task of "the decisive speeding up of the changeover to industrial methods of construction by means of standardization, the use of type designs and timely designing, as well as the maximum mechanization of construction operations and the transition to year-round construction and the creation of permanent staffs of construction workers,"¹¹ were of great importance for the further development of housing construction. The decisions of the congress marked the beginning of a qualitatively new stage. The construction materials industry began to be developed more rapidly, equipment set off for construction projects.

The development of old industrial centers and the rapid growth of new cities and workers' settlements raised for the party the task of the renovation of municipal services as applied to the scale of industrial construction, the size of the urban population and the cultural and personal needs of the working people. These questions were examined thoroughly at the June (1931) Plenum of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (of Bolsheviks), which adopted the decree "On Moscow Municipal Services and on the Development of Municipal Services in the USSR." The implementation of this decree commenced the socialist renovation of Moscow and other cities.

With the strengthening of the socialist economy the state obtained the opportunity to assume almost entirely the concern about urban housing construction. The management of all available state housing, the technical and sanitary inspection and monitoring of the maintenance and repair of buildings were entrusted to the local soviets and to those state enterprises and institutions, which had apartment houses under their jurisdiction.

During the first years of Soviet power the legislation on rent was steadily improved. Its amount was made dependent upon the social status of the tenant, his income and wages, the quality and amenities of the housing, the self-sufficiency and profitability of the housing services and so on. This system was completely formed in 1926-1929, when rent laws, which specified the general procedure of its calculation, were promulgated. The state assumed the basic housing costs.

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During the years of the first five-year plans 129.6 million m² of housing were built by state enterprises and institutions, local soviets, as well as the working people by means of their own savings and state credit. The scale and rate increased steadily, the quality of housing construction improved. By the end of 1940 the total amount of available urban housing came to 421 million m² and had increased more than 2.3-fold as compared with 1913. Moreover, apartment houses with a total area of 254 million m² had been built in rural areas since 1918.

The provision of cities with amenities improved appreciably. At the beginning of 1940 in cities and workers' settlements 47 percent of the dwellings were provided with water pipes, 40 percent--sewer systems, 18 percent--central heating.

The increase of housing construction, which was enormous according to that scale, at the same time was not able to adequately meet the need for well-appointed housing. The ranks of the working class, employees and the intelligentsia increased. Thus, whereas in 1926-1930 the number of urban residents increased on the average by 1.5 million a year, in 1931-1932 it was already increasing by 3.3 million. By 1940 the size of the urban population came to 63 million. Therefore the average provision of housing during this period still remained low.

It must be borne in mind that the party and state, in spite of the steadily increased capital investments in housing construction, were able to allocate only limited assets for these purposes. Every "extra" ruble was allocated for the intensive development of heavy industry and the strengthening of the defense of the country.

During the years of the Great Patriotic War the entire economy of the country was subordinate to the needs of the front, and it is quite understandable that the amount of housing construction declined sharply. Housing was built mainly in the eastern regions of the country, to which more than 10 million people were evacuated. In the new regions it was necessary to hastily build temporary dwellings for them and to accommodate people by means of the considerable reduction of the space per person in the available housing.

The war greatly aggravated the housing question. The fascists destroyed and burned on the territory of the Soviet Union 1,710 cities and workers' settlements, more than 70,000 villages and towns and 6 million buildings. In Belorussia, for example, they destroyed three-fourths of the available housing. Kiev, Minsk, Stalingrad, Novogorod, Sevastopol', Smolensk and many other ancient and new cities were turned into ruins. About 25 million people were left homeless.

After the victory in the Great Patriotic War restoration work was launched on an extensive scale in the country, new housing construction took on a large scope. The Law on the Five-Year Plan of the Restoration and Development of the National Economy for 1946-1950 advanced the task "to carry out the restoration of the wrecked available housing of cities, workers' settlements and villages in the regions which had been subject to occupation and to launch new housing construction on a scale which ensures the considerable improvement of the housing conditions of the working people."¹² During those years 200.9 million m² of living space were built in the cities and rural areas, the restoration of the destroyed available housing was nearly completed.

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The high rate of development of the USSR national economy created the conditions for the further development of housing construction. The following figures eloquently testify to its pace: whereas in 1961-1965 the state capital investments in housing construction came to 33.4 billion rubles, in 1976-1980 they came to 68.1 billion rubles. The capacities of construction and installation organizations are increasing, the level of the industrialization and mechanization of construction and installation work is rising, advanced technology and new, modern designs are being introduced, the practice of prefabricated housing construction is being extended. It has become the rule to put into operation annually approximately 100 million m² of housing. In all during the years of Soviet power 3.5 billion m² of it have been built in our country.

/The development of available state and public housing was a reliable material guarantee of the right of the Soviet people to housing/ [in boldface]. During the past 15 years the growth rate of available housing has exceeded by many times the rate of increase of the urban population. About 11 million people annually improve their housing conditions. In the scale of housing construction the Soviet Union holds first place in the world.

The task of providing every Soviet family with a separate well-appointed apartment is being gradually accomplished. By the end of the 10th Five-Year Plan the proportion of these families had increased in the cities to 80 percent. The resettlement of all families, who live in semibasement, barrack and dilapidated buildings, in apartment houses with all modern conveniences is approaching completion.

The steady increase of the volumes of housing construction is being accompanied in our country by a significant improvement of its quality. Now more than half of the housing is being built according to new standard designs, which are distinguished from their predecessors by a more convenient layout and larger sizes of apartments. The engineering equipment has become more perfect.

The dwellings in cities and urban-type settlements at the end of 1980 were completely electrified, 89 percent were provided with water mains, 86 percent--central heating, 87 percent--sewer systems, 55 percent--hot water, 79 percent--gas service. Mainly one- and two-apartment houses with utility rooms and outbuildings are being built in the villages.

/The USSR Constitution guarantees the right to housing by a low fee for the apartment and municipal services/ [in boldface]. Our state provides the bulk of apartments to working people free of charge. The rent has remained unchanged since 1928 and along with the charge for municipal services amounts on the average to 3 percent in the budget of the family of the worker and employee. Meanwhile the set of modern conveniences cannot be compared with what it was in the past.

In no capitalist country do the people receive housing from the state free of charge and pay so little for it. In the FRG, for example, a skilled worker is forced to spend on housing a third, at best a fourth of his wages. Rent amounts to 20-30 percent of the family budget in other capitalist countries as well. Tens of thousands of apartments are vacant in New York, London and Tokyo, because simple workers cannot afford them. According to UN data, at present 180 million people in the world are totally without shelter.

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/The right to housing is guaranteed, in accordance with the USSR Constitution, by the fair distribution of the living space under public control/ [in boldface]. The procedure of registering citizens, who need to improve their housing conditions, and of granting housing and the norms of living space are established by state organs. The registration of citizens, who need to improve their housing conditions, the establishment of the order of priority in the receipt of living space, as well as its allocation in apartment houses of the available state and public housing are carried out under public control and with the observance of publicity. An important role in this belongs to the trade unions and other public organizations.

/The USSR Constitution guarantees the right to housing by the preservation of available state and public housing/ [in boldface]. Along with increasing it the state has to allocate more and more assets for the maintenance of housing and for municipal services. Whereas in 1940 these expenditures came to 100 million rubles, in 1965 they came to 2.3 billion rubles, in 1975--4.9 billion rubles, in 1980--6.9 billion rubles. Let us note that the rent of the population along with the payment for municipal services covers less than a third of the expenditures for these purposes.

In our countries the soviets of people's deputies with the participation of trade unions and other public organizations monitor the use and safe keeping of housing.

/The state, in accordance with the USSR Constitution, promotes cooperative and individual housing construction/ [in boldface]. House building cooperatives are set up within the executive committees of the local soviets, as well as at enterprises, organizations and institutions. Citizens, who need to improve their housing conditions, may join a cooperative and receive a well-appointed apartment for permanent use. The state grants them credit in the amount of up to 60-70 percent of the estimated cost of construction for 10-15 years. The construction of cooperative apartment houses is included in the state plan of contracting construction and installation work and is provided with materials and equipment. The state provides house building cooperatives with aid in the operation and repair of their apartment houses, as well as provides assistance in the construction and repair of individual houses and their provision with amenities.

The strengthening of legality in the area of housing relations is of great importance for the guarantee of the right to housing. The Fundamentals of Housing Legislation of the USSR and the Union Republics, the draft of which was submitted for national discussion, and then was passed in June 1981 by the USSR Supreme Soviet, are called upon to play an important role in this.

Everything that has been said, of course, does not mean that the housing problem in our country has been completely solved. There are many families who still live in communal apartments lacking amenities. The state for the present is unable to grant housing immediately to the families of young couples. Moreover, the steadily increasing needs of the Soviet people are making greater and greater demands on the quality and comfort of housing. That is why housing, as was noted at the 26th party congress, occupies the most important place in our social program, the great scale of housing construction will also be maintained in the Soviet Union in the future.¹³ The party is setting the goal to achieve for the most part during the 1980's the provision of every family with a separate apartment.¹⁴

FOOTNOTES

1. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch." [Complete Works], Vol 2, p 90.
2. See STROITEL'NAYA GAZETA, 13 August 1967.
3. RUSSKOYE BOGATSTVO, No 4, 1907.
4. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 32, p 159.
5. Ibid., Vol 34, p 314.
6. Ibid., Vol 34, p 316.
7. Ibid., Vol 33, pp 58, 59.
8. "KPSS v rezolyutsiyakh i resheniyakh s"yezdov, konferentsiy i plenumov TsK" [The CPSU in Resolutions and Decisions of Congresses, Conferences and Plenums of the Central Committee], 8th edition, Vol 2, Moscow, 1970, p 57.
9. "KPSS v rezolyutsiyakh i resheniyakh s"yezdov, konferentsiy i plenumov TsK," 8th edition, Vol 3, Moscow, 1970, p 74.
10. Ibid., pp 352-353.
11. "KPSS v rezolyutsiyakh i resheniyakh s"yezdov, konferentsiy i plenumov TsK," 8th edition, Vol 4, Moscow, 1970, pp 439-440.
12. VEDOMOSTI VERKHOVNOGO SOVETA SSSR, No 11, 1946.
13. See "Materialy XXVI s"yezda KPSS" [Materials of the 26th CPSU Congress], Moscow, 1981, p 60.
14. Ibid., p 136.

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PART III. RIGHTS IN THE AREA OF CULTURE

The USSR Constitution provides the Soviet people with extensive rights and freedoms in the area of culture. Among them are the right to an education, the right to use the achievements of culture and the freedom of creative scientific, technical and artistic work. These rights and freedoms are the natural result of the truly cultural revolution, which was carried out in our country, and the creation of a new, socialist culture.

Great October was the starting point and a necessary condition of the spiritual emancipation of the working people. As V. I. Lenin noted, "in our country the political and economic change was a predecessor of that cultural change, that cultural revolution, which we nevertheless now face."¹

The cultural revolution was an inseparable component of Lenin's plan of the building of socialism. In specifying its tasks, the Communist Party proceeded from the fact that the new culture could not be created in a void, in isolation from all the material and spiritual values of the past. The party fought most resolutely against the advocates of what was called "pure proletarian culture," the talk about which V. I. Lenin called "pure nonsense." Not to invent some special culture, but "to take that culture, which was created by all social relations and was left as the material basis of socialism"²--thus V. I. Lenin set the goal. "Proletarian culture," he indicated, "should be the natural development of those stores of knowledge, which mankind developed under the yoke of capitalist society, the society of landlords, the society of bureaucrats."³

The difficulty was to approach correctly, practically and critically the question of the use of culture of the past and not to stray from class positions. It was necessary not to miss anything valuable and at the same time "not to cram one's mind with junk which is not necessary."⁴ "...We take /from each/ [in italics] national culture," V. I. Lenin stressed, "/only/ [in italics] its democratic and its socialist elements, we take them /only/ [in italics] and /unconditionally/ [in italics] to counterbalance bourgeois culture...."⁵

Thus, in setting about the cultural revolution, the party advanced a three-in-one task: to eliminate the reactionary content of bourgeois-landowner culture; to seize and place at the service of the people all the achievements of culture of the past; to create on this basis socialist culture.

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Lenin's program of the cultural revolution included both the creation of the body of the new national intelligentsia and the enlistment of old specialists in the building of socialism. "Every specialist," V. I. Lenin indicated, "must be valued as the only property of technology and culture, without which there cannot be anything, any communism."⁶

The Communist Party and the Soviet state exerted much effort to enlist the old intelligentsia in cooperation, firmly and persistently pursued the policy of winning it over and gradually involved it in the building of a new life. As a result, a larger and larger number of specialists shifted from sentiments of animosity, distrust and temporizing to active participation in the common causes of the people.

Questions of the building of culture were constantly in the purview of the Communist Party. They were examined at party congresses and conferences and Central Committee plenums and were given concrete expression in special decisions. Relying on the triumph of socialism in the political and economic fields, the Soviet people under party supervision successfully carried out the cultural revolution in a historically short period.

During those years the body of the new, Soviet intelligentsia was trained, a radical change occurred in the matter of the convergence of the old intelligentsia with the working people. Speaking in 1936 at the All-Union Congress of Soviets, Vice President of the USSR Academy of Sciences V. L. Komarov said: "...The Soviet intelligentsia is a completely new intelligentsia, an intelligentsia which serves the people."⁷

With each new stage in the development of socialist society the amount and scope of the building of culture increased, its content became more profound. Along with the strengthening of the economy and the increase of the well-being the cultural level of the Soviet people rose. In the lifetime of just one generation they not only got rid of illiteracy, but also became an active creator of spiritual values.

Mature socialism provides the working people with extensive access to the riches of culture. The material base of institutions of culture and education has been strengthened considerably. In our country numerous members of the intelligentsia have been trained, advanced science, literature and art, which are making a significant contribution to world civilization, have been developed. The differences in the cultural character of the different classes and social groups are gradually being obliterated, the process of the mutual enrichment of national cultures is taking place. Socialist culture has become a culture of millions and for millions. It is the fundamental fusion of the spiritual values created by all the peoples. Concern about their preservation, augmentation and extensive use for moral and esthetic education and the increase of the cultural level of the Soviet people is the constitutional duty of our state.

The interests of the building of communism require the further cultural development of the people. "Without a high level of culture, education, social consciousness and inner maturity of people," L. I. Brezhnev said, "communism is impossible, just as it is also impossible without the appropriate material and technical base."⁸

The basic tasks and trends of the formation of the spiritual culture of communism were examined at recent CPSU Congresses and were developed in many of its

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decisions. The enhancement of the role of culture in the communist education of the working people, the utmost development of the spiritual potential of socialist society and its maximum utilization for the purpose of the formation of the harmoniously developed individual, the elaboration of new moral and esthetic values and the affirmation of communist ideals--such are the main tasks of culture at the present stage. The realization of the rights and freedoms in the area of culture, which are guaranteed by the USSR Constitution, is called upon to promote the successful accomplishment of these tasks.

FOOTNOTES

1. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch." [Complete Works], Vol 45, p 377.
2. Ibid., Vol 36, p 263.
3. Ibid., Vol 41, pp 304-305.
4. Ibid., Vol 41, p 305.
5. Ibid., Vol 24, p 121.
6. Ibid., Vol 40, p 217.
7. PRAVDA, 29 November 1936.
8. L. I. Brezhnev, "Leninskim kursom" [By the Leninist Course], Vol 3, Moscow, 1972, p 287.

CHAPTER 7. FROM ILLITERACY TO A UNIVERSAL COMPULSORY SECONDARY EDUCATION

USSR citizens have the right to an education.

From Article 45 of the USSR Constitution

We are by right proud of the fact that the Soviet people are called today the most educated in the world. This is a great achievement of our revolution.

In tsarist Russia nearly four-fifths of the adult population did not know how to read or write, there were only 67 students at educational institutions of all types per 1,000 inhabitants. There were only 290,000 people, less than 0.2 percent, with a higher, incomplete higher and secondary specialized education in the country of 160 million. Among many non-Russian peoples the literate amounted literally to a handful. According to the data of the 1897 census, among Kazakhs they came to 2.1 percent, Uzbeks--1.6 percent, Turkmens--0.7 percent, Kirghiz--0.6 percent and Tajiks--0.5 percent. More than 40 nationalities did not have their own writing system. "...Such a wild country, in which the masses of people have been /robbed/ [in italics] in the sense of education, society and knowledge," V. I. Lenin wrote, "not one such country remains in Europe, except for Russia."¹

At the beginning of the century the journal VESTNIK VOSPITANIYA, touching upon the prospects of the development of Russian culture, forecast that 180 years would be needed for the achievement of the universal literacy of men and 280-300 years for women.² There were sufficient grounds for such a forecast. Tsarist Russia spent considerably less for the needs of education than for the maintenance of prisons and the police force, education was the privilege and exclusive right of the ruling classes.

The peasant woman Anan'yeva, who was arrested for taking part in the revolutionary movement, wrote in her deposition that she dreamed of sending her son to a gymnasium. Having read this deposition, Tsar Aleksandr III made the note: "This is terrible. A peasant, but gets into a gymnasium!" The Ministry of Education, but more correctly of "public disenlightenment," as V. I. Lenin called it, issued a special circular which prohibited the admission to gymnasiums of "children of coachmen, footmen, cooks, laundresses, small shopkeepers and similar people, whose children should not aspire at all for a secondary and higher education."³

The demands of the working class in the area of education were set forth in the first Program of our party. They included "free and compulsory general and

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vocational education for all children of both sexes up to 16 years of age; the provision of poor children with food, clothing and textbooks at state expense," as well as "the right of the population to receive an education in their native language, which is ensured by the building of the schools necessary for this at the expense of the state and organs of self-government."⁴ The party linked the realization of these demands with its immediate political task--the overthrow of the tsarist autocracy and its replacement with a democratic republic.

The Great October Socialist Revolution cleared for the working people a broad path to knowledge.

The People's Commissariat of Education was created by one of the first decrees of the Soviet regime. All elementary, secondary and higher, opened and closed, general educational and specialized educational institutions were placed under its jurisdiction, the tasks, rights and duties of the organs of public education were specified; the interference of the church in school affairs was completely eliminated. Access to a higher education was afforded to the children of workers and peasants by the decree "On the Rules of Admission to Higher Educational Institutions of the RSFSR." Education at higher educational institutions became free, stipends were established for needy students, the representatives of the propertied classes were deprived of all privileges when enrolling in higher educational institutions.

The Soviet regime created a fundamentally new, socialist system of education, which affords all working people the opportunity to receive a general and specialized education. The basic principles of this system, which were elaborated by the Communist Party back before the revolution, were formulated in its second Program. Among them are free and compulsory general and polytechnical education for all children up to 17 years of age; instruction in the native language; the joint education of children of both sexes; freedom from any religious influence whatsoever; the close connection of education with socially productive labor; comprehensive state assistance to the self-education of workers and peasants; the extensive development of vocational education for people 17 years of age and older; wide access to the higher school for all those who wish to study, and first of all for workers; the material support of students and others.⁵

There served as the fundamental basis for the development of the Soviet school Lenin's instructions on the need to link it with life, with the policy of the socialist state. V. I. Lenin viewed the mastering of the fundamentals of the sciences, extensive polytechnical education, the formation of a scientific world outlook and the cultivation of communist morals in fundamental unity. He especially stressed the need to combine training with daily practical work on the building of a new life.

The party set for itself a priority task: to eliminate a disgraceful legacy of tsarism--the illiteracy of the adult population. V. I. Lenin stressed that "the campaign against illiteracy is a task /more important than others/"⁶ [in italics], that in "an illiterate country it is impossible to build a communist society,"⁷ that "the illiterate person stands outside politics...."⁸

This was a difficult task. Tens of millions of people had to be taught, a writing system has to be created for the nationalities not having it, numerous national,

religious and everyday prejudices had to be overcome. The party and the Soviet regime began this work under the most difficult conditions of the civil war and foreign intervention.

The decree "On the Elimination of Illiteracy Among the Population of the RSFSR" was adopted in January 1919. The entire population of the republic from 8 to 50 years of age, who did not know how to read and write, was obligated to learn to read and write in their native language or Russian, as desired.

The number of illiterate people was so great that it was impossible to solve the problem only by means of professional teachers. The Communist Party appealed to the public to organize a "literacy campaign." The All-Russian Extraordinary Commission for the Elimination of Illiteracy was formed within the Council of People's Commissars, the voluntary society "Down With Illiteracy" was founded. Party, Komsomol and trade union organizations, commissions for work among women and many prominent figures of the young socialist culture actively participated in this movement. The organs of public education acquired the right to enlist the entire literate population by way of labor service in this work. The workday for illiterates was shortened for study time by 2 hours with the retention of pay.

There were not enough writing accessories, paper, fuel, lighting, school equipment and textbooks. They often wrote on posters and newspapers with charcoal and ink made from beets or soot. But there was not a corner in the country, where people were not studying. In just 1 year about 3 million people were taught to read and write.

In the process of eliminating illiteracy the foundations of the adult education system were laid. Schools with a 10-month period of instruction at the level of 2 years of the elementary school and schools for the semiliterate with a complete course of elementary education began to appear. At that time adult schools of a higher type, which provided knowledge to the extent of the incomplete secondary and secondary school, were also set up.

Immediately after the revolution work was begun on the development of the network of elementary and secondary schools. Commune schools were set up for children who had been left parentless. The Communist Party and the Soviet state tried persistently to see to it that the education of children and adolescents would be universal.

Many teachers, especially of elementary schools, who were close to the people, greeted the new regime and viewed with approval the actions and ideas of the communists in the area of public education. However, the instructors of secondary educational institutions, and especially the representatives of old pedagogy, at first were for the most part hostile-minded. Their mouthpiece was the journal PEDAGOGICHESKAYA MYSL', which in 1921 wrote that the creation of the new Soviet school was ostensibly one of the greatest disasters to have fallen upon Russian education.

The party launched an active campaign for teachers. It helped teachers to understand the essence of the revolutionary changes, the domestic and international situation, and to determine their place in the building of the new life and the new, Soviet school. At the same time the party was concerned about the moral prestige

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of the teacher, about his material circumstances and everyday living conditions. "The public teacher should be placed in our country at such a level," V. I. Lenin demanded, "at which he never was, is not and cannot be in bourgeois society."⁹

In the end the party won the battle for the largest detachment of the intelligentsia. In the declaration of the First All-Union Congress of Teachers (1925) it was stated: "Here, there and everywhere we will be the loyal assistants of the Soviet regime and the Communist Party in their world historical work, for we now know that the cause which the party is making is the cause of all working mankind."¹⁰

The higher school was radically reorganized. The reactionary portion of the bourgeois professors, who were hostile-minded to the Soviet regime, openly sabotaged the measures being implemented and took every step not to allow the working people to enter science.

The party enlisted in the work the professors and instructors who were loyal to the Soviet regime, and devoted great attention to conducting political educational work among them. At the same time institutes of red professors were organized in Moscow and Petrograd for the training of instructors in the social sciences. A considerable group of highly skilled party workers was sent as lecturers and directors of higher educational institutions.

Of course, during the first years of Soviet power the attraction of working people to higher educational institutions encountered serious difficulties. For the overwhelming majority of workers and peasants did not have the proper general educational training. Therefore, in 1919 workers' faculties, which enabled young workers and peasants to receive a secondary education and to enroll in higher educational institutions, began to be created on the initiative of V. I. Lenin. During the 1925/26 school year the graduates of these faculties made up about 26 percent of all those who enrolled in higher educational institutions. The sending of workers and peasants to study at higher educational institutions through party, trade union and Komsomol mobilizations was of great importance.

During the first years of Soviet power much work was done to expand the training of specialists of the highest, as well as intermediate skills. At the same time the Communist Party and the Soviet state attached great importance to the training of the regular force of skilled workers. For these purposes a new type of vocational and technical educational institutions--schools of factory and plant apprenticeship--was created in 1920.

By the early 1930's new tasks in the area of education faced the Communist Party and the Soviet state.

The need for skilled personnel increased under the conditions of the restoration of the national economy. The party Central Committee considered it necessary to reorganize radically the entire system of work on the elimination of illiteracy on the basis of a unified plan and the pooling of all forces and assets. Practical measures on this account were specified in the Central Committee decree "On the Work on the Elimination of Illiteracy" (1929). By the 15th anniversary of October a writing system had been created for all the nationalities which had not had it before the revolution. Before the Great Patriotic War our country had in essence approached the complete elimination of illiteracy.

School construction acquired an especially extensive scale during the years of the first five-year plans. In conformity with the decisions of the 16th Congress of the All-Union Communist Party (of Bolsheviks) the party Central Committee adopted the decree "On Universal Compulsory Elementary Education." It was introduced everywhere, beginning at 8 years of age, as well as for all over-age children 11-15 years of age, who had not received it earlier. This major state reform, which M. Gor'kiy characterized as the equalization of all youth in the rights to the development of the mind, was carried out in 3 years. The universal compulsory education of boys and girls to the extent of the 7-year school was introduced in industrial cities, factory and plant regions and workers' settlements.

During the years of the first five-year plans the network of 7-year and secondary schools grew rapidly. During the 1940/41 school years 7-year education had basically been introduced in the cities, the number of teachers came to more than 1.2 million, or 4.4-fold more than there were of them before the revolution.

The network of secondary specialized and higher educational institutions, which existed by the early 1930's, did not meet the needs of the national economy, science and culture. The Communist Party and the Soviet state took steps to increase considerably the graduation of specialists. During the 1940/41 school year there were already 3,773 secondary specialized educational institutions and 817 higher educational institutions in the country with about 1.8 million students and undergraduates. The need for workers' faculties disappeared with the development of the secondary general educational school and the important changes in the class structure of Soviet society.

In the 1930's the system of the vocational and technical education of young people underwent further development. However, at that time the schools of factory and plant apprenticeship were under the jurisdiction of individual enterprises and trained personnel on the basis of departmental needs. Here the needs of the rapidly growing new industrial enterprises were not always taken into account.

Three new types of educational institutions: 2-year trade and railroad schools and 6-month schools of factory and plant training, were created by the ukaze of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet "On the State Labor Reserves of the USSR" (1940). For the management of this system the Main Administration of Labor Reserves was formed within the Council of People's Commissars.

The 18th party congress outlined a 5-year program of the further development of public education: to introduce universal secondary education in the cities and 7-year education in the countryside and in all the national republics, to increase the number of students at general educational schools to 40 million and at higher educational institutions to 650,000.

The war prevented this program from being completely fulfilled.

Under wartime conditions steps were taken, which ensured the uninterrupted operation of schools in the rear, in regions near the front and in partisan areas. Evening schools were created for young people and adolescents, who in connection with the war were unable to continue their education in the ordinary school. The operation of higher and secondary specialized educational institutions and the network

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of vocational and technical education was not halted. In all 302,000 specialists with a higher education, 540,000 specialists with a secondary specialized education and nearly 2.5 million skilled workers were trained.

The war caused enormous damage and losses to public educational institutions. The fascist German invaders burned, destroyed and plundered 82,000 schools, 334 higher educational institutions and a large number of tekhnikums and schools of factory and plant training.

After the Great Patriotic War, during the building of socialism and communism, the party and the Soviet state took steps on the rapid restoration and the further development of the entire system of public education. The basic directions of this development were specified by the decisions of party congresses and were defined more precisely in the decrees of its Central Committee with allowance made for the requirements of scientific and technical progress, the tasks of the steady increase of the cultural, technical and educational level of the working people and the improvement of the training of skilled workers and specialists. The most important principles of the organization and implementation of public education were set down in the Fundamentals of Legislation of the USSR and the Union Republics on Public Education and in the corresponding republic laws. The 26th CPSU Congress devoted much attention to questions of the further development of the system of public education and the increase of the quality of instruction and education.

/In conformity with the USSR Constitution the right to an education is guaranteed in our country by the implementation of the universal compulsory secondary education of young people/ [in boldface]. The Communist Party and the Soviet state gradually approached the accomplishment of this task from five-year plan to five-year plan, developing and strengthening the material and technical base of public education, expanding the training of educators and taking steps to improve educational work. During the years of the first postwar five-year plan the changeover to a compulsory 7-year education was practically completed in our country. In the early 1960's the changeover to a universal compulsory 8-year education was accomplished, while during the years of the 10th Five-Year Plan the changeover to a universal compulsory secondary education of young people was accomplished. During the 1978/79 school year the coverage of young people by all forms of training, which provides a secondary education, came to 99.2 percent.

Now more than 80 percent of the workers employed in the USSR national economy have a higher or secondary (complete and incomplete) education, 100.2 million people are covered by all types of education. In the past 15 years alone 60.3 million boys and girls have received a secondary education (general and specialized). In the level of education of the population the USSR holds first place in the world.

The leading place in the system of secondary education belongs to /the general educational school/ [in boldface]. Of the 88.2 million people who received a secondary (general and specialized) education in 1918-1980, 68.5 million boys and girls graduated from secondary general educational schools. At the beginning of the 1980/81 school year there were 145,000 schools in the country with 44.3 million students and more than 2.6 million teachers. Under present conditions the tasks of the development of school education are specified in the decree of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers "On the Further Improvement of the Instruction and Education of Students of General Educational Schools and Their

Training for Labor." The decree "On the Changeover to the Free Use of Textbooks of Students of General Educational Schools," which was adopted in 1977, is also of great importance.

/The USSR Constitution guarantees the right to an education by the extensive development of vocational and technical, secondary specialized and higher education/ [in boldface], on the basis of the connection of education with life and production.

During the 40 years of its existence /the state system of vocational and technical education/ [in boldface] has become the main school of the training of the skilled regular labor force for all the sectors of the national economy. The number of students of this system as compared with the 1940/41 school year has increased 5.5-fold and during the 1980/81 school year came to 4.0 million.

Vocational and technical schools are being developed and are changing in close interconnection with the general educational school. Thus, since 1959 they have been converted for the most part to a uniform general educational basis--an 8-year education. Somewhat earlier technical schools were created for young people who had graduated from the secondary general educational school.

Secondary vocational and technical schools, which simultaneously provide an occupation and a complete secondary education, arose in connection with the changeover to universal secondary education. During the past 10 years the number of these schools has increased 10-fold, about 2.2 million people are studying at them. The network of technical schools has been enlarged. Today 90 percent of the students of vocational and technical education study at secondary and technical schools.

/Secondary specialized educational institutions/ [in boldface] are playing an important role in the public education system. Boys and girls, who have completed not less than the 8th grade of the secondary general educational school, are admitted to them. Here they not only complete their secondary education, but also become skilled specialists of various sectors of the national economy and culture. Special groups with a shortened training period have been created at many tekhnikum and schools for the graduates of secondary school. The graduates of secondary specialized educational institutions successfully occupy the positions of junior technical managers at plants, factories, construction projects, kolkhozes and sovkhoses of our country. At the beginning of the 1980/81 school year there were about 4,400 secondary specialized educational institutions in our country with more than 4.6 million students.

/The higher school/ [in boldface] is the concluding unit in the USSR public education system. At the beginning of the 1980/81 school year there were 883 higher educational institutions in the Soviet Union with more than 5.2 million students. This is 41-fold more than there were in prerevolutionary Russia. Annually industrial and agricultural enterprises and institutions of science and culture receive about 800,000 specialists of the highest skills, while in 1918-1979 16.5 million of them in all were trained. In the level and scale of the development of higher education the USSR long ago surpassed the leading capitalist countries. The Soviet higher school, which was created under the supervision of the Communist Party, for the most part is completely meeting the needs of the national economy and culture.

Under the conditions of mature socialism the party and state are focusing the attention of the higher school, secondary specialized and vocational and technical

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educational institutions on the further improvement of the quality of the training of specialists and on the strengthening of the relations with production and the practice of building communism. In particular, the decrees of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers: "On the Further Development of the Higher School and the Increase of the Quality of the Training of Specialists," "On Measures on the Further Improvement of the Management of Secondary Specialized Educational Institutions and on the Improvement of the Quality of the Training of Specialists With a Secondary Specialized Education," "On the Further Improvement of the Process of Educating and Training Students of the System of Vocational and Technical Education," which were adopted in recent years, are aimed at this.

Evening, shift and correspondence schools of working and rural youth and evening and correspondence divisions of secondary specialized and higher educational institutions have become firmly established in the public education system. This affords working people an opportunity to study without leave from work. During the 1980/81 school year about 8.7 million people were covered by these forms of training.

/The USSR Constitution guarantees the free nature of all types of education/ [in boldface]--from school to graduate studies--at the expense of public consumption funds. The expenditures of the state per student at general educational schools come to more than 180 rubles a year, at secondary specialized educational institutions--more than 680 rubles and at higher educational institutions--over 1,000 rubles. Moreover, state stipends and benefits are granted to undergraduates and students. Stipends are paid, as a rule, to those who are studying successfully--this is more than 70 percent of the students of secondary specialized and higher educational institutions. Nearly all those needing housing are provided with dormitories, for the use of which, it can be said, a symbolic payment--1 ruble 50 kopecks a month--has been established. At educational institutions there are dining rooms and snack bars, the cost of eating at which is less than at ordinary city dining rooms.

Undergraduates and students, who are studying without leave from work, enjoy great benefits. For the period of the taking of tests and examinations and the preparation of graduation projects additional leave with the retention of pay for up to 40 days is granted to them, half of the cost of travel to the educational institution and back is paid to them, if it is located in another city. While in the final year, correspondence students and evening students can take in addition 1 free day a week with the retention of 50 percent of the pay.

/Moreover, the possibility of instruction at school in one's native language, as well as various forms of self-education/ [in boldface] (lecture bureaus, people's universities, courses and so on), for the development of which all the necessary conditions are being created in our country, /are constitutional guarantees of the right to an education/ [in boldface].

The equality of opportunities for receiving an education are what sharply distinguishes the USSR from the western countries. As, for example, the data of a report prepared by the College Board attest, in the United States in the past 10 years alone the tuition at colleges has increased by 90 percent. A student has to pay on the average about \$10,000 for a year of schooling. In all 40 percent of the boys and 60 percent of the girls from families with "a low socioeconomic status" cannot afford this.

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CHAPTER 8. THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF CULTURE TO THE PEOPLE

USSR citizens have the right to use the achievements of culture.

From Article 46 of the USSR Constitution

The Tret'yakov Gallery in Moscow, which is now world-famous, was opened to the public back before the socialist revolution, but at that time not more than 300 people visited it daily (now more than 4,000 do). The collections of the Hermitage in Petersburg in general were inaccessible to the masses. Its last prerevolutionary director, for example, declared: "The very idea of assigning to the museum the task 'to open to the popular masses a source of esthetic pleasure' does not stand up to criticism...."¹

It is possible to judge the status of the theater in tsarist Russia if only from the fact that it was under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of the Court (what were called "imperial theaters") and police organs (all other theaters). Book publishing was a private business. The working people were deprived or had limited opportunities to read the fine works of A. Pushkin, N. Gogol', F. Dostoyevskiy, L. Tolstoy, M. Gor'kiy and other great writers.

The Great October Socialist Revolution transformed all the achievements of human culture into the property of the working people. Summarizing the results of October V. I. Lenin said at the Third All-Russian Congress of Soviets in January 1918: "Previously all man's intelligence, all his genius created only in order to give some all the benefits of technology and culture, and to deprive the others of what is most necessary--education and development. Now all the wonders of technology, all the achievements of culture will become national property, and henceforth never will man's intelligence and genius be turned into means of coercion, into means of exploitation."²

During the first months of Soviet power the Communist Party began the practical accomplishment of what had been outlined. Museums, including the Tret'yakovskiy Gallery and the Hermitage, and the largest private art collections were nationalized. Tens of the most valuable monuments of architecture and decorative art became the property of the state. Many former nobles' palaces and estates, which surrounded Petrograd and Moscow, were converted into museums.

The Communist Party and the Soviet state assisted in every possible way so that the workers and peasants would actually take advantage of these spiritual benefits. "It

According to the testimony of the American journal U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT, the tuition per student at U.S. private schools during 1962-1980 increased more than fivefold--from \$419 to \$2,015 a year. There is also added to this the crisis of the American secondary school: the decline of the level of education, uncontrollable classrooms, the despair of teachers, the idleness and indifference of students. Today one student in four quits school before graduation. "We risk losing a generation of young people, if we do not quickly improve the situation at secondary schools," warns Stanford University Education Professor R. (Kelfi).

The example of the USSR shows that only the socialist revolution destroys for workers and peasants all the obstacles in the way to knowledge, while the very matter of public education is becoming one of the most important functions of the socialist state and an integral part of the struggle of the working people for the building of communism.

FOOTNOTES

1. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch." [Complete Works], Vol 23, p 127.
2. See VESTNIK VOSPITANIYA, No 1, Section III, 1906, p 42.
3. V. A. Karpinskiy, "Konstitutsiya SSSR" [The USSR Constitution], Moscow, 1937, p 132.
4. "KPSS v rezolyutsiyakh i resheniyakh s"yezdov, konferentsiy i plenumov TsK" [The CPSU in Resolutions and Decisions of Congresses, Conferences and Plenums of the Central Committee], 8th edition, Vol 1, Moscow, 1970, p 63.
5. See "KPSS v rezolyutsiyakh i resheniyakh s"yezdov, konferentsiy i plenumov TsK," 8th edition, Vol 2, Moscow, 1970, pp 48-49.
6. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 51, p 257.
7. Ibid., Vol 41, p 315.
8. Ibid., Vol 44, p 174.
9. Ibid., Vol 45, p 365.
10. PRAVDA, 20 January 1925.

is necessary," it was stated in the second Party Program, "to reveal and make accessible to the working people all the treasures of art, which were created on the basis of the exploitation of their labor and were until now at the exclusive disposal of the exploiters."³

Being concerned about familiarizing the popular masses with culture, the proletarian state during the first postrevolutionary years made the visiting of museums and theaters free. In spite of the exceptional financial and economic difficulties, the necessary steps were taken to ensure the normal operation of museums, art galleries, libraries and other cultural and educational institutions. It is noteworthy that at the very height of the civil war (November 1919) the Council of People's Commissars specially discussed the question of supplying them with fuel.

The working people made extensive use of the opportunities for unrestricted access to the treasures of art. In 1919 alone 500,000 visitors went to Moscow museums.

The "intrusion" of workers and peasants into culture evoked a storm of indignation among the supporters of the capitalist system. The "defenders of true civilization" gave a heart-rending cry about the fact that the Bolsheviks were destroying cultural values, predicted "the death of culture" in Russia and prophesied to the whole world: "The fear for the very existence of our culture is arising in all its horror."⁴

Life has refuted these fabrications. Beginning with the first days after the victory of October the Communist Party and the Soviet state did everything necessary to preserve cultural values and to save them from destruction and theft. In November 1917 on the instructions of V. I. Lenin the Collegium for Museum Affairs and the Preservation of Monuments of Art and Antiquity was organized within the People's Commissariat of Education. The decrees "On the Prohibition of the Export and Sale Abroad of Items of Particular Artistic and Historical Value," "On the Registration, Acceptance for Registration and Preservation of Monuments of Art and Antiquity, Which Are in the Possession of Private Individuals, Societies and Institutions," "On the Preservation of Libraries and Book Depositories" and others were promulgated. During 1918-1920 the state registered more than 550 ancient estates, about 1,000 private collections and nearly 200,000 works of art. The owners of the estates and the most valuable collections received hundreds of governmental protective charters.

RSFSR Deputy People's Commissar of Education M. N. Pokrovskiy wrote at that time: "We go about without boots, while the Hermitage, during the revolution and owing to it, is becoming the foremost collection of the world following the Louvre and the Vatican.... One day monuments to the Russian proletariat will be raised both before the Academy of Sciences and before the Academy of Arts precisely because it, being thrown far from science and art by its entire difficult past and, it would seem, being entirely alien to them, at the critical moments did not let all our rare hothouse plants perish and, being hungry and cold itself, warmed and cared for them for future generations."⁵

Now /the concern about the preservation of spiritual values and monuments of culture and the historical past is the constitutional duty of the Soviet state/ [*in italics*]. More than 150,000 monuments of history, archeology and architecture are on the state books. Much work is being carried out on the collection of works of

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art, implements and oral folk art. New museums of famous writers, composers, artists and actors are being set up. The state is allocating enormous assets for restoration work. Not only individual monuments, but also entire architectural ensembles and even cities are being restored. Among them are such world-famous ones as Suzdal', Bukhara, Samarkand, Khiva and many others.

The reconstruction and restoration of the monuments of culture and history, which were destroyed by the fascists during the years of the Great Patriotic War, should especially be discussed. The palaces of Pavlovsk, Pushkino and Petrodvorets, the monuments of Smolensk, Pskov and Novgorod, the museum-estate of Mikhaylovskoye and many other pearls of culture were reconstructed from ruins and ashes.

Societies for the protection of monuments of history and culture are working actively. "Concern about the preservation of historical monuments and other cultural values is the duty and obligation of USSR citizens," the Soviet Constitution states.

Such is our reality. But there is a reality of a different kind.

"How Is the Museum to Be Saved?", "How Are Works of Art and Architecture to Be Preserved?"--today the newspaper of all the bourgeois states abound in such headlines. In Italy, for example, in the summer of 1977, at the very height of the tourist season, such world-famous museums as the Egyptian Museum in Turin, the Museum of Oriental Art in Venice and the Uffizi Gallery in Florence were closed. It is a typical case. The Italian Government allocated 200 million lira for the restoration of the (Brer) Picture Gallery in Milan, where the ceilings leaked in the halls with pictures of Titian, Raphael, Veronese and other great masters. However, at the last minute these assets were transferred for the upkeep of the San Vittore prison.

It must be said that the Soviet regime inherited from old Russia a very mediocre material base for the spiritual development of the working people. For example, there were only 213 museums, 177 professional theaters and about 14,000 libraries with a book collection of 9.4 million copies (6 books per 100 people) in the country in 1913. The material base of culture, which was weak as it was, was considerably weakened by the imperialist, then the civil war and foreign intervention.

Starting with the first days of Soviet power the workers' and peasants' state took steps to strengthen the material base of the building of culture. In the second Party Program it was stated that one of the immediate tasks in this area was "comprehensive state assistance to the self-education and self-development of workers and peasants (the creation of a network of institutions of education outside of school: libraries, schools for adults, people's houses and universities, courses, lectures, movie theaters, studios and so forth)."⁶

An acute "book famine" was felt in the country, there were a negligible number of books which would have met the needs of the new, Soviet reader. It was necessary first of all to take into one's hands and organize book publishing. For this purpose the nationalization of the paper and printing industry, the largest publishing houses and printing houses was carried out.

The Communist Party and the Soviet state devoted much attention to the radical reorganization of the entire publishing business. The Decree on the State Publishing

House (1917) required that, along with educational, political and other literature, the publication of inexpensive editions of the classics of fiction, which the broad masses could afford, should be set up.

The publication of a series of the "World Literature" library, which was undertaken in 1918 on the initiative of M. Gor'kiy, was one of the first cultural measures of the young Soviet state. Translations of works of the peoples of Persia, Turkey, Arabia, China and Japan and works of Byron, Dickens, W. Scott, Heine, Voltaire, Balzac, Stendhal and many other writers of Europe and America were included in it. Concerning this undertaking Romain Rolland wrote: "...A series of very carefully prepared editions of the classics of Russian and world literature is being published--at a very low price.... The state is incurring a material loss, and it knows this. But it does not attach importance to this. It wants the people to read. And it is managing to accomplish this. The people are reading an incredibly large amount."⁷

In 1918-1919 about 500 different editions of the classics of domestic and foreign literature, textbooks, party documents and other books saw the light. However, under the conditions of the civil war and foreign intervention the Soviet publishing house was unable to ensure the publication of books in the necessary quantity. By the middle of 1921 the Soviet Republic had one twenty-fifth the annual supply of paper that tsarist Russia had in 1914. Wrapping paper came into use, but this did not save it from the "paper famine."

Under these conditions it was necessary to organize the rational and efficient use of the stocks of books, which existed in the country. The Soviet regime nationalized private book collections and libraries, with the exception of the libraries of scientists and figures of literature and art. Millions of books went from them into scientific, public and general libraries.

The party constantly kept an eye on the organization and development of the library business and on the enhancement of the role of libraries in the cultural life of the working people and strove to see to it that as many readers as possible could make use of every useful book. "The main task of our revolution," V. I. Lenin indicated, "is reflected in this small matter."⁸

As the economic situation of the USSR grew stronger, the number of publishing houses grew, the publication of literature increased from year to year, the library network expanded. In 1940 there were 95,400 general libraries in the country with a book collection of about 200 million copies.

The national publishing house made especially great gains. Whereas in 1937 the number of copies of book printed in Russian had increased as compared with 1913 by 6.7-fold, the number of copies in the languages of other peoples of the USSR had increased 21-fold. By the beginning of the Great Patriotic War all the union republics had become equal in the provision of libraries, everywhere their stocks had increased considerably.

The party also placed such means of spiritual influence on man as the theater and the movies at the service of the cultural enlightenment and education of the workers and peasants.

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The Bolshevik PRAVDA back in 1912 wrote that the new workers' and peasants' theater "will develop a repertoire in conformity with its ideals and aspirations for freedom and true beauty, will become generally comprehensible and dissimilar to the present urban city, which strives more for amusement than for art."⁹

After the victory of October, along with nationalization, the profound reorganization of the theater began. The party guided its development in the interests of the new, mass audience member, who wanted to see on the stage the affirmation of the truth and the embodiment of the thoughts and feelings which were disturbing him. Struggling against the trends of demoralizing bourgeois art, it demanded consideration for the leading traditions of the Russian theater, educated and enlisted in the service of the people the old theatrical intelligentsia. This fundamental policy gained sincere recognition on the part of many outstanding figures of culture, who sided with the Soviet regime.

The party attached enormous importance in the matter of cultural enlightenment and education to the movie theater. The birth of the Soviet cinema is connected with Lenin's decree on the nationalization of the film industry (August 1919).

During the first years of Soviet power V. I. Lenin directed particular attention to the development of the newsreel. More than 50 agitation films, in which the tasks of the Soviet regime, the class significance of the civil war, the importance of the struggle against economic dislocation, speculation and so forth were explained, were made during the period of the civil war and foreign intervention.

The decisions of the 12th Congress of the Russian Communist Party (of Bolsheviks), which deemed it necessary to develop movie production in every possible way, to make ideologically valuable movies and to develop the network of movie projectors for the most complete service of the working people as possible, became the program document for Soviet cinematic art. Guided by the decisions of the congress, the Soviet cinema made great gains. The network of movie projectors, which in 1940 came to 28,000, was greatly enlarged.

It must be said that the building of a new, socialist culture, especially at the first stage following the October Revolution, was carried out under the conditions of a fierce class struggle and the desperate resistance of the exploiting elements and their ideologists. The overthrown bourgeoisie attempted by all means, including ideological means, to counteract the Soviet regime.

The bourgeois press represented a great danger. The counterrevolutionary newspapers and journals hurled at the Soviet regime streams of mud and slander and came out with appeals to overthrow it.

It is quite understandable that the proletariat and its party needed to wrest these means from the bourgeoisie. The Decree on the Press, which was signed by V. I. Lenin, was published on 28 October 1917. In accordance with this legislative act, there were liable to closing the organs of the press, "which call for open resistance or disobedience to the Workers' and Peasants' Government"; "which sow discord by the patently slanderous distortion of the facts"; "which call for acts of an obviously criminal, that is, criminally punishable nature."¹⁰ By the end of 1918 all the bourgeois newspapers (with the exception of some Menshevik newspapers) had been closed.

At the same time the closing of the hostile bourgeois newspapers by no means implied a deviation from the communist principle of the freedom of the press for the working people. The Communist Party and the Soviet state at the same time as the elimination of the counterrevolutionary press took vigorous steps to create and develop their own, Soviet press. The Bolshevik newspapers headed by PRAVDA, which played a leading role in the preparation for and accomplishment of the October Revolution, constituted its nucleus.

The 12th Congress of the Russian Communist Party (of Bolsheviks), taking into account that "the press is one of the most important tools of agitation and propaganda, while playing at the same time the role of a transfer device between the party and the working class," deemed it necessary "in the quickest manner to take a number of steps on the increase of the circulation... of newspapers and to organize the matter of disseminating the press...."¹¹ Numerous new newspapers and journals, including KREST'YANSKAYA GAZETA, the military-political newspaper KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, the newspaper of Soviet youth KOMSOMOL'SKAYA PRAVDA, the theoretical and political journal of the party Central Committee BOL'SHEVIK (now KOMMUNIST) and others, were founded. The party treated with special attention the creation and development of the national press.

With the strengthening of the printing base the number of published newspapers and journals increased, their circulations rose. In 1940 8,806 newspapers with a single run of 38.4 million copies were published in the USSR (against 859 newspapers with a single run of 2.7 million copies in 1913).

Along with the periodic press the Communist Party devoted much attention to the development of radio broadcasting, which V. I. Lenin regarded as one of the mighty levers of the cultural and political education of the people. "A newspaper without paper and 'without distances'...", he wrote, "will be a great matter."¹²

The beginning of regular radio broadcasting in the USSR dates to the end of the period of reconstruction. Since that time it has gradually become a part of the daily life of the urban and rural population and has become one of the most effective means of contact of the party with the masses and of their familiarization with culture and politics. Before the Great Patriotic War the number of radios in the country exceeded 1 million.

The revolution also brought into being such previously unheard of mass centers of culture as workers' and rural clubs, reading rooms, mobile libraries, agitation trains, agitation steamships and so forth. The Communist Party showed great concern about the expansion of the network of cultural and educational institutions and the improvement of their operation. Starting with the 10th congress these issues were reflected in one form or another in the decisions of nearly all the party congresses and conferences. The party strove to transform and actually did transform clubs into centers of the communist education of the working people, the development of their creative initiative and the organization of wise recreation and entertainment. In 1940 there were 118,000 clubs, houses and palaces of culture in the USSR.

Thus, in the prewar period a firm material base of the new, socialist culture had already been created in our country.

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During the years of the Great Patriotic War enormous harm was done to cultural and educational institutions, as well as to the entire USSR national economy. The fascist invaders stole and destroyed more than 100 million volumes of books, which belonged just to general libraries, and turned thousands of libraries, museums, theaters, clubs and so on into ruins.

The restoration of cultural and educational institutions became one of the priority and urgent tasks in the area of the building of culture following the war. Trade unions, Komsomol, cooperatives and the broad masses of the working people took part in this patriotic cause.

Subsequently the material and technical base of culture was steadily broadened and strengthened. The expenditures from the state budget and other sources for education, cultural educational work and art increased steadily. Whereas, for example, in 1965 they came to 16.1 billion rubles, in 1980 they came to 37.5 billion rubles. On a per capita basis this is 140 rubles a year.

Let us note for comparison that in 1976 in the wealthiest capitalist country--the United States--with an astronomical defense budget (\$94 billion) \$18 per person were allocated for cultural needs (parks and institutions of recreation).

/The USSR Constitution guarantees the right of the Soviet people to use the achievements of culture by the general accessibility of the values of domestic and world culture, which are in state and public funds; by the development and uniform distribution of cultural and educational institutions over the territory of the country; by the development of television and radio, the book publishing business and the periodic press, the network of free libraries/ [in boldface].

In 1980 there were 607 theaters and more than 1,500 museums, 137,000 clubs, houses and palaces of culture and 152,000 movie projectors in the Soviet Union. In the number of attendances of entertainment establishments the USSR holds, according to the data of UNESCO, first place in the world. In 1980, for example, the number of attendances of theaters came to 120 million, museums--156 million, movie showings--4.3 billion.

According to the data of UNESCO, our people also read the most in the world. During the years of Soviet power 52 billion copies of books and pamphlets have been published in the USSR. And with each year the publication of scientific and political literature and fiction is increasing. In 1980 alone more than 80,000 titles of books and pamphlets with a total run of 1.8 billion copies were published.

At present we have 132,000 general libraries with a book stock of more than 1.8 billion copies. More than 700 million books have been collected in the libraries of general educational schools and more than 2 billion books in the repositories of scientific, technical and other specialized libraries. More than half of the population of our country uses the stocks of general libraries. Moreover, there are more than 30 billion books and pamphlets in the private collections of the working people. The stock of home libraries increases annually by 700-800 million copies. And nevertheless the demand of the population for books is still not being completely met.

In 1979 in the USSR more than 13,000 newspapers, journals and other periodic publications were published, more than 200 publishing houses and 2 information agencies--TASS and NOVOSTI PRESS AGENCY--were in operation. The annual circulation of journals and other periodic publications came to 3.2 billion copies, while the single run of newspapers came to 173 million copies. On the average per family in our country there are about six newspapers, journals and other periodic publications.

The entire territory of the Soviet Union is covered by radio broadcasting, while more than four-fifths of the population can watch television broadcasts. In 1980 68 million radios and 67 million televisions were in use by the Soviet people. Via space communications satellites the achievements of artistic culture, theatrical and musical art, the best plays and concert programs reach the most remote corners of the USSR.

Our party is devoting constant attention to the uniform distribution of cultural and educational institutions on the territory of the country and to the convergence of the cultural level of the city and the countryside.

/The expansion of cultural exchanges with foreign countries serves as an important constitutional guarantee of the right of USSR citizens to use the achievements of culture/ [in boldface]. True to the obligation assumed at the Helsinki Conference and on the basis of the interests of the meeting of the cultural demands of the working people, the party and the state are encouraging cultural exchanges in every possible way and are reinforcing them by intergovernmental agreements. The USSR maintains cultural contacts with 120 countries of the world.

During the years of Soviet power the works of foreign authors from 136 countries have been published in the USSR. The number of titles of these works comes to 77,500, while the total circulation comes to 2.42 billion copies. According to the data of UNESCO, fivefold more translated literature is published in our country than in England and twofold more than in Japan, the United States and France. The journal INOSTRANNAYA LITERATURA, which has a circulation of 600,000 copies, acquaints Soviet readers with recent publications of contemporary foreign literature.

The international contacts of Russian art are constantly being expanded. During 1977-1979 40 major exhibits of western art were held in the USSR. Among them were American painting of the second half of the 19th century and the 20th century, pictures from the French Centre National d'Art et de Culture Georges Pompidou, from the collection of Royal Academy of Arts of Great Britain and others.

Plays staged in accordance with more than 130 works of foreign authors are being performed in Soviet theaters. In 1980 alone more than 130 foreign artistic troupes and acting groups, which presented more than 6,000 concerts and plays in more than 170 cities of the country, appeared in the USSR.

The Soviet Union annually purchases and releases for mass showing approximately 60 movies from the socialist countries and just as many from capitalist and developing countries. International film festivals, which have become traditional, have been held in our country for a long time now. In recent years Soviet television viewers have become acquainted with a number of western made-for-television films and series programs.

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Let us noted here that whereas in Soviet film distribution the proportion of films from capitalist countries comes to about 10 percent, the proportion of films of all the socialist countries, which are shown in the West, comes to not more than 5 percent. For example, the film "And the Dawns Are Quiet Here," which received an honorary Oscar, was not allowed on U.S. screens. The film "Liberation," which went around the screens of the entire world, was also not released here for mass showing. The movies purchased in our country are shown in the United States at small movie theaters, without the proper advertising and reviews. The situation in the FRG, Italy and England is no better.

The impression is being created that the opponents of detente are afraid of the expansion of cultural contacts with the socialist countries and are doing everything to hinder the extensive acquaintance of the working people of the capitalist countries with socialist art. On the other hand, they are striving in every way, under the pretext of cultural exchange, to impose upon the socialist countries a product which promotes violence, pornography, racism, aggression and so forth. It is quite understandable that we oppose such a "freedom" of cultural exchange. This is fully in keeping with the spirit and letter of the decisions of the Helsinki Conference. Our country has never hid and is not hiding the fact that we give extensive access only to that culture, that art, which are permeated with the ideas of humanism and democracy and with faith in man and which serve the strengthening of mutual understanding and trust among peoples.

FOOTNOTES

1. Quoted from Yu. Lukin, "Pravo na kul'turu" [The Right to Culture], Moscow, 1978, pp 10-11.
2. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch." [Complete Works], Vol 35, p 289.
3. "KPSS v rezolyutsiyakh i resheniyakh s"yezdov, konferentsiy i plenumov TsK" [The CPSU in Resolutions and Decisions of Congresses, Conferences and Plenums of the Central Committee], 8th edition, Vol 2, Moscow, 1970, p 49.
4. RUSSKIYE VEDOMOSTI, 24 November 1917.
5. "Intelligentsiya i revolyutsiya. Sbornik statey" [The Intelligentsia and the Revolution. A Collection of Article], Moscow, 1922, pp 8-9.
6. "KPSS v rezolyutsiyakh i resheniyakh s"yezdov, konferentsiy i plenumov TsK," Vol 2, p 49.
7. EUROPE, November-December 1965, p 203.
8. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 38, p 332.
9. PRAVDA, 6 May 1912.
10. See SOBRANIYE UZAKONENIY..., No 1, 1917-1918, p 6.

11. "KPSS v rezolyutsiyakh i resheniyakh s"yezdov, konferentsiy i plenumov TsK,"
Vol 2, p 462.
12. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 51, p 130.

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CHAPTER 9. THE FREEDOM OF CREATIVE WORK

The freedom of scientific, technical and artistic creative work... is guaranteed to USSR citizens.

From Article 47 of the USSR Constitution

The fruits of culture are a matter of the hands of man, his mind and talent. "The people," M. Gor'kiy wrote, "are not only the force which creates all physical assets, it is the only and inexhaustible source of spiritual values, the first philosopher in time, beauty and genius of creative work and the first poet, who composed all the great poems, all the tragedies of the world and the greatest among them-- the history of world culture."¹

The culture of mature socialism is deeply rooted in the "popular soil." The Great October Socialist Revolution for the first time in the history of mankind removed the obstacles before the mighty spring of popular talents which, to use the expression of V. I. Lenin, "capitalism crushed, oppressed, suppressed by the thousands and millions."² It not only afforded the working people extensive access to the riches of culture, but also made them the immediate creators of spiritual values and created unlimited opportunities for the display of their creative forces, abilities and talents. In our country, in the words of K. Marx and F. Engels, "everyone in whom there is a Raphael" has the opportunity "to develop freely."³

The Communist Party always devoted much attention to the solution of this creative problem of the cultural revolution. Under the conditions of mature socialism the freedom of creative work was sanctioned in the Constitution as one of the inalienable freedoms of each Soviet individual.

/The USSR Constitution guarantees the freedom of creative work first of all by the extensive development of scientific research/ [in boldface]. At present the number of scientists in our country comes to about 1.4 million, of whom 435,000 have the academic degree of doctor or candidate of sciences. As for the achievements of Soviet science, today they are well known.

It must be said that a pleiad of outstanding scientists, who made the most valuable contributions to world science, worked under the conditions of prerevolutionary Russia. Among them are P. L. Chebyshev, A. M. Lyapunov, P. N. Lebedev, A. G. Stoletov, D. I. Mendeleev, I. I. Mechnikov, A. O. Kovalevskiy, A. M. Butlerov, I. M. Sechenov, K. A. Timiryazev, I. P. Pavlov, N. Ye. Zhukovskiy and many others. But

their discoveries were made not owing to but, rather, in spite of the organization of scientific research, which existed at that time.

Tsarism regarded the Academy of Sciences only as an attribute which was necessary for the external embellishment of the empire. The Russian capitalists and land-owners preferred to purchase the latest machines and other equipment abroad, and not to finance the appropriate research and development in their own homeland. In 1913 there were only 298 scientific institutions in the country, while the number of scientists came to less than 12,000.

One of the members of the State Duma, having investigated shortly before World War I the situation of the Academy of Sciences, expressed his impressions as follows: "If it were not for my own conviction on the spot, it would be difficult to believe that such an attitude toward science and its temple--the Academy--is possible in our capital, in the city of Peter the Great, on the bank of the Neva.... The academician and the rural teacher in the circumstances of their work have not gone far from each other, and it is difficult to say for whom of them it is more convenient to work."⁴

The Great October Socialist Revolution commenced a qualitatively new stage in the development of domestic science, placed it at the service of the interests of the people and transformed it into a most important factor of the economic, social and cultural transformation of society. During the years of the civil war and economic dislocation the Communist Party and V. I. Lenin personally devoted much attention to the creation and development of the network of academic, higher educational and sectorial scientific institutions. The allocations for scientific research were increased considerably.

The most important directions of the policy of the party and the state in the area of science were formulated in V. I. Lenin's work "A Draft of the Plan of Scientific and Technical Work," in the second Party Program, which was adopted by the Eighth Congress of the Russian Communist Party (of Bolsheviks), and in a number of other party documents. Scientific institutions were oriented toward the systematic study of natural resources and toward research connected with the efficient location of productive forces, the supply of raw materials, the electrification of industry, agriculture and transportation and the reorganization of the entire national economy on the basis of the latest technology. "The Russian Communist Party," it was stated in the Party Program, "...is striving for... the creation of the most favorable conditions of scientific work in its connection with the rise of the productive forces of the country."⁵

After the end of the civil war the network of scientific institutions began to be developed rapidly. At the same time, effective steps aimed at the formation of scientific personnel were taken. In 1925 the system of graduate studies, which became the leading form of their training, was established. With each year the expenditures for the needs of science were increased, the material and technical base of scientific research was enlarged. The activity of the Academy of Sciences became fundamentally different in its nature and scope. Its role in the solution of the most important national economic problems especially increased after the adoption in 1925 of the decree of the Council of People's Commissars "On the Recognition of the Russian Academy of Sciences as the Highest Scientific Institution of the USSR."

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In the 1920's the unified statewide network of scientific centers and institutions was created in the country on the basis of academic and sectorial institutes and laboratories. By 1929 the number of scientific institutions (including higher educational institutions) came to 1,400, while the number of scientists came to 43,000. All this was one of the important prerequisites of the reconstruction of the national economy of the country on the basis of the latest scientific and technical achievements.

In conformity with the decisions of the 15th party congress the expenditures on science were increased by many times, scientific institutions were reinforced by new skilled personnel. In 1940 there were 2,359 scientific institutions (including higher educational institutions) in the country, the number of scientists came to 98,300. The national republics accounted for nearly half of the scientific institutions.

During the first months after the start of the Great Patriotic War the party Central Committee and the Soviet Government took the necessary steps to evacuate the most important scientific organizations from the European part to the eastern regions of the country. As a result, in spite of the enormous harm done to our science (the German fascist invaders destroyed 605 scientific research institutes), the scientific potential of the country was not only retained, but also strengthened.

During these harsh years the scientific research institutes and laboratories of the USSR successfully solved problems of the improvement of combat materiel and devoted much attention to questions of the search for and development of natural resources in the eastern part of the country and the creation of new medicinal compounds. Basic theoretical research was also continued.

During the postwar period research was launched in a number of new fields of the natural, technical and social sciences. Here much attention was devoted to the solution of scientific problems connected with the strengthening of the defensive capability of the country. In August 1949 an end was put to the U.S. nuclear monopoly; in 1948 the first Soviet long-range guided ballistic missile was launched; in 1950 the first Soviet electronic computer was installed; in 1954 the first nuclear electric power station in the world was put into operation in our country.

The needs of the socioeconomic development of the country and the scientific and technical revolution, which was launched on a large scale in the middle of the 1950's, were the main factors, which were responsible for the considerable acceleration of the rate of development of the network of scientific institutions and the increase of the number of scientists of the USSR in the subsequent decades. The expenditures on science increased from five-year plan to five-year plan. As compared with 1965 they have increased twofold and in 1980 came to 21.3 billion rubles.

Under the conditions of mature socialism science is becoming to a greater and greater extent a direct productive force. At this stage of the development of our society its tasks are specified in the decisions of party congresses and are defined more accurately in a number of decrees of the CPSU Central Committee.

The party of communists, it was noted at the 26th CPSU Congress, is proceeding on the basis that the building of a new society without science is simply inconceivable. The CPSU Central Committee supports the further increase of the role and

responsibility of the USSR Academy of Sciences, the improvement of the organization of the entire system of scientific research and a more attentive attitude toward the needs of science.⁶

The party is directing the attention of Soviet scientists to the even greater subordination of the development of science and technology to "the solution of the economic and social problems of Soviet society, the acceleration of the changeover of the economy to the path of intensive development, the increase of the efficiency of social production."⁷ The USSR Constitution sanctions legislatively the duty of the socialist state to ensure the planned development of science, the training of scientists and the introduction of the results of scientific research in the national economy and other spheres of life.

Historical experience attests that under socialism science becomes a mighty means of the increase of the material and spiritual wealth of the people. The best representatives of the scientific forces of prerevolutionary Russia dreamed precisely about this. The letter of K. E. Tsiolkovskiy, which the great Russian scientist addressed to the party Central Committee a few days before his death, is a moving document which expressed their thoughts and feelings. "Only October," it is stated in the letter, "brought recognition to the works of a self-educated person; only the Soviet regime and the party... gave me effective assistance. I sensed the love of the popular masses and this gave me the strength to continue working, while already being ill. But now the disease does not permit me to complete the begun work.

"I am turning over all my works on aviation, rocket gliding and interplanetary communications to the party of Bolsheviks and the Soviet regime--the true leaders of the progress of human culture. I am confident that they will successfully complete these works."⁸

Only 25 years had passed, and the Vostok spacecraft manned by Soviet pilot-cosmonaut Yu. A. Gagarin made the first orbital space flight in the work. The date of 12 April 1961 has gone down in history and is celebrated annually as the World Day of Aviation and Astronautics.

/The extensive development in our country of inventing and rationalization is an important constitutional guarantee of the freedom of creative work/ [in boldface]. The development of mass creative scientific and technical work is a regularity which is characteristic only of socialism. The traits of the new, communist attitude toward labor, the activeness and creative energy of the Soviet people and the process of obliterating the differences between mental and physical labor are manifested especially vividly precisely in it.

Beginning with the first years after the victory of October the Communist Party attached great importance to the development of mass creative technical work. In the inventing of the workers it saw an important factor of the acceleration of technical progress and the increase of labor productivity, the overall development of the national economy of the country. "...The work on the promotion of capable... inventors from among the masses of workers and peasants should be systematized, expanded and developed,"⁹ V. I. Lenin wrote.

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"The Statute on Inventions" (June 1919) specified the principles of state policy in the area of inventing. Inventing was declared state property, while inventions were placed at the general use of all citizens and institutions. Soviet legislation ensured on a socialist basis the protection of the copyrights of inventors and provided for mandatory rewards for inventions. The management of creative technical work was assigned to the specially created Committee for Inventions.

The first legislative acts of the Soviet state on invention found the support and lively response of the working people. For example, in 1922 twofold more applications for inventions were submitted than in 1919.

Having adopted the policy of the industrialization of the country, the Communist Party took over the leadership of the organization of a mass movement for the rationalization of production. The 15th Congress of the All-Union Communist Party (of Bolsheviks) placed this question at the center of attention of the party and the country. The work on rationalization, it was emphasized in the resolution of the congress, "has as its primary and decisive prerequisite /the extensive involvement in it of the masses of workers and peasants/"¹⁰ [in italics]. The decree of the party Central Committee "On the State of Mass Invention From the Standpoint of Its Influence on the Rationalization of Production" (1930) played an especially important role in the development of creative technical work, rationalization and invention.

For the purposes of developing the movement of rationalizers and inventors the party recommended that production conferences and reviews, competitions and exchanges, technical circles and circles of rationalizers and inventors be used extensively. The All-Union Society of Inventors, of which 500,000 people became members, was founded in 1932.

Mass creative technical work was developed in the campaign for the affirmation of the socialist attitude toward labor. The party indicated that the work on rationalization should be linked as closely as possible with socialist competition and the shock labor movement. It contributed to the development of mass forms of competition for the mastery of new equipment, helped to generalize advanced know-how and to clear the obstacles in the way of the creative technical work of the working people.

The rapid increase of the technical equipment of industry, the increase of the well-being and cultural and technical level of the working class, the national scope of socialist competition and the enthusiasm which arose from the great construction project brought forward thousands and thousands of rationalizers and inventors, shock workers and production innovators. The names of miner Aleksey Stakhanov, forge worker Aleksey Busygin, machine operator Petr Krivonos and many others became well known to the entire country. They broke the old technical norms, came forth as the creators of machines and mechanisms, new, advanced technology.

During the postwar years the All-Union Society of Inventors and Rationalizers, departments and bureaus for invention and rationalization at enterprises and organizations and mass scientific and technical societies by sectors of production were founded on the initiative of the Communist Party. The Committee for Inventions and Discoveries, which was formed in the USSR Council of Ministers, began to carry out the general supervision of creative technical work.

The decisions of recent party congresses, as well as the decree of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers "On the Further Development of Invention in the Country, the Improvement of the Use in the National Economic of Discoveries, Inventions and Rationalization Proposals and the Enhancement of Their Role in the Acceleration of Scientific and Technical Progress" (1973) played an important role in the development of rationalization and invention.

Whereas in 1940 the number of submitted rationalization proposals and applications for inventions came to 591,000, in 1980 it came to more than 5 million. The economic impact from the use of inventions and rationalization proposals increased from 90 million rubles to 6.3 billion rubles. Workers of the new type, who have extensively technical erudition and an inventive frame of mind and combine occupational skill and the talent of a researcher, developed during those years.

At present the All-Union Society of Inventors and Rationalizers unites more than 11 million people. In all 23 scientific and technical societies, which unite in their ranks 9.3 million engineers, technicians, scientists, specialists of agriculture, worker-innovators, leading kolkhoz workers, undergraduates and students of higher and secondary specialized educational institutions, operate in the USSR. In conformity with the USSR Constitution the state is creating the necessary material conditions for the development of mass creative technical work, is giving support to voluntary societies, is organizing the introduction of inventions and rationalization proposals in the national economy and other spheres of life and is protecting the rights of inventors and rationalizers.

/The USSR Constitution guarantees the freedom of creative artistic work/ [in bold-face]. A broad field of activity has been opened for Soviet writers, artists, musicians, playwrights and cinematographers. This finds embodiment in noteworthy works of fiction, the best productions of operas, ballets and plays, the flourishing of symphonic music and singing, painting and sculpture.

Lenin's principles are the basis for the policy of the Communist Party in the area of literature and art. During the years of the first Russian revolution in the article "Party Organization and Party Literature" V. I. Lenin stressed that a writer cannot at all be free from society and the social struggle, that the so-called freedom of the artist from the requirements and dictates of the times is an illusory freedom. In such a great struggle between socialism and capitalism, which mankind had entered, each artist should have specified his stand and should have chosen with whom he sided--with the forces of the reaction or with the working class, which was struggling for a new life. In revealing the true essence of bourgeois literature and art, which hypocritically proclaimed their own "freedom," but in fact expressed the class interests of the bourgeoisie, V. I. Lenin opposed to them the literature and art, which were openly connected with the revolutionary proletariat. He appealed to writers, artists and actors to understand all the falsity of the stand of feigned neutrality and to join in the struggle for a new Russia and a new culture.

While raising the question of the ideological self-determination of the masters of art, V. I. Lenin at the same time categorically opposed any attempts whatsoever at a vulgar interpretation of the slogan of adherence to party principles and the disregard of all the complexity and specificity of creative artistic work. He emphasized that literary work lends itself least of all to mechanical equalization and

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leveling and that here, undoubtedly, it is necessary to provide room for personal initiative, individual inclinations, thought and fantasy, searches in the area of form and content.

The main demand, which V. I. Lenin made on truly socialist art, is to serve the common proletarian cause, "not 'the upper ten thousand, who are bored and suffer from obesity,' but the millions and tens of millions of working people."¹¹ "Art," he said, "belongs to the people. It should be most deeply rooted in the very midst of the broad working masses. It should unite the feeling, thought and will of these masses and lift them. It should awaken the artists in them and develop them."¹²

During the first years of Soviet power the party promoted in every possible way the creation and strengthening of special proletarian organizations in the area of literature and art. During those years the Proletkult (the proletarian cultural and educational organization), which united all types of artistic activity and a large army of professional and semiprofessional writers, who came primarily from a working class environment, was the most massive of them and the closest to the revolutionary tasks.

However, the leaders of the Proletkult took stands alien to Marxism-Leninism and in fact opposed the guiding role of the party in the building of culture. On 1 December 1920 PRAVDA published the resolution of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party (of Bolsheviks) "On Proletkults," in which the policy of the party in matters of literature and art was stated exhaustively. While categorically condemning the erroneous stand of the Proletkult members, the Central Committee at the same time came out against petty tutelage and pressure on the creative work of writers and artists.

The resolution of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party (of Bolsheviks) "On the Policy of the Party in the Area of Belles Lettres" (1925) was also of great importance in this respect. It was emphasized in it that the campaign for socialist ideology in literature should become a campaign for genuine belles lettres, which are close and "comprehensible to /the millions/" [in italics] and that "the party as a whole can in no way bind itself by adherence to any trend /in the area of literary form/"¹² [in italics].

Following Lenin's principles, the Communist Party at all the stages of the building of socialism and communism skillfully and tactfully directed the efforts of writers, artists and composers toward the comprehensive satisfaction of the spiritual needs of the Soviet people, the formation in them of lofty artistic tastes and the creation of works worthy of our people. From Lenin's documents to the materials of congresses and decrees of the CPSU Central Committee of recent years the concern about the ideological orientation of literature and art was and remains the main thing in the party supervision of their development. Of course, this concern has nothing in common with oversimplification and administrative methods of solving questions pertaining to creative artistic work.

Our party combines great demandingness on the ideological stand of creative workers and the concern about the cultivation among them of a sense of responsibility to society with consideration for talent. It supports, L. I. Brezhnev stressed, "an attentive attitude toward creative searches, the complete revelation of the

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individuality of gifted and talented people, the diversity and richness of the forms and styles which are developed on the basis of the method of socialist realism."¹⁴ Soviet writers and artists have complete freedom in the choice of material and artistic form and have a real basis for the exercise of their rights to creative labor and the free embodiment of artistic ideas and conceptions.

The workers of Soviet literature and art live by the deeds and thoughts of their people, by the interests of the socialist homeland. Responding to the recriminations coming from the West that Soviet writers write "on the instructions of the party," Mikhail Sholokhov said: "The situation is somewhat different: each of us writes at the bidding of our heart, while our hearts belong to the party and our own people, whom we serve with our art."¹⁵

In the Accountability Report to the 26th CPSU Congress L. I. Brezhnev emphasized that the national character of art, the genuine adherence of art to party principles consist in "living by the interests of the people, sharing joy and sorrow with them, affirming the truth of life and our humanistic ideals." Speaking about the attitude of the party toward the artistic intelligentsia, he noted: "True to Lenin's cultural policy, our party treats the artistic intelligentsia considerately and respectfully and directs its attention to the solution of lofty creative problems."¹⁶

Creative unions--the voluntary associations of the figures of artistic culture by occupations--play an important role in public life. At present there are 68,000 members in the USSR Union of Journalists, about 17,000 in the Union of Artists, nearly 16,000 in the Union of Architects, about 9,000 in the Union of Writers, nearly 6,000 in the Union of Cinema Workers and more than 2,000 in the Union of Composers. Republic theatrical societies unite more than 50,000 people.

The creative unions and societies are carrying out active publishing work. The USSR Union of Writers has at its disposal 105 newspapers and journals with a total single run of 13.4 million copies. The "Sovetskiy pisatel'" Publishing House in 1980 published 463 titles of books with a run of 21 million copies. The provision of the USSR Constitution concerning the fact that the state creates the necessary material conditions for the development of literature and art, gives support to creative unions and protects the rights of authors, is permeated with concern about the labor of writers, composers and artists.

The network of educational institutions of art is being expanded. Whereas in 1960 there were 1,750 children's music, art and dancing schools with 315,000 students in the system of the USSR Ministry of Culture, in 1980 their number had increased 4.4-fold, while the number of students came to 1.3 million. Whereas in 1940 the higher and secondary specialized educational institutions of art and cinematography graduated 3,000 specialists, in 1980 they graduated about 36,000.

/In accordance with the USSR Constitution, in our country the development of not only professional art, but also popular creative artistic work is encouraged in every possible way/ [in boldface].

The Great October Socialist Revolution gave scope for the liveliest participation of the broad masses in amateur artistic work. People's Commissar of Education A. V. Lunacharskiy noted back during the first years of Soviet power "an enormous

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instinctive outburst of the masses in the direction of art, and particularly in the direction of the theater. Workers' and peasants' theatrical groups blossomed throughout Russia by the thousands, if not the tens of thousands. Young people rushed by the thousands into all kinds of studios and schools, of which an incredible number developed."¹⁷

From the first days after the victory of October the Communist Party and the Soviet state displayed and are displaying constant concern about the development of popular amateur art, about the fact that the talents, creative forces and abilities of people of different occupations, nationalities, education, age, social status and level of culture would be revealed more and more completely. Amateur artistic work, having passed through the decades, has developed into the most diverse forms of folk art and has assumed a truly massive nature.

In our country rayon, city, oblast and republic reviews of collectives of amateur artistic work are held everywhere, in 1976-1977 the First All-Union Festival of the Amateur Creative Artistic Work of the Working People, which was devoted to the 60th anniversary of Great October, was held. The All-Union Review of Amateur Films and the All-Union Exhibition of the Works of Amateur Artists and Masters of Applied Decorative Art became events in the cultural life of the country.

The traditional artistic crafts are the most valuable property of our culture. Lacquered miniatures and painting on wood, lace and engraving, rugs and amber adornments enjoy universal recognition only in our country, but also abroad. At present in the USSR there are more than 200 traditional crafts, in which tens of thousands of masters are employed.

Under the conditions of mature socialism amateur creative artistic work, just as professional art, is actively involved in the formation of the spiritual culture of communist society and serves as a source of joy and inspiration for millions, a means of their ideological enrichment and moral education, a spokesman of their will, feelings and thoughts. The decrees of the CPSU Central Committee "On Artistic Folk Crafts" (1974), "On Measures on the Further Development of Amateur Creative Artistic Activity" (1978) and others, in particular, are aimed at this.

During the years of Soviet power, L. I. Brezhnev noted, "the working people have become active participants in cultural life, the creators of spiritual values. From the midst of the people came a new, socialist intelligentsia which won fame for the homeland by outstanding achievements of science and technology, literature and art. The meeting, about which the best minds of mankind dreamed, the historical meeting of labor and art took place. In the history of our country, in the history of all world culture this was a turn of enormous importance."¹⁸

FOOTNOTES

1. M. Gor'kiy, "Sobr. soch. v 30-ti t." [Collected Works in 30 Volumes], Vol 24, Moscow, 1953, p 26.
2. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch." [Complete Works], Vol 35, p 195.
3. K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], Vol 3, p 392.

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4. G. A. Knyazev and V. A. Kol'tsov, "Kratkiy ocherk istorii Akademii nauk SSSR" [A Short Outline of the History of the USSR Academy of Science], Moscow, 1964, p 50.
5. "KPSS v rezolyutsiyakh i resheniyakh s"yezdov, konferentsiy i plenumov TsK" [The CPSU in Resolutions and Decisions of Congresses, Conferences and Plenums of the Central Committee], 8th edition, Vol 2, Moscow, 1970, p 53.
6. See "Materialy XXVI s"yezda KPSS" [Materials of the 26th CPSU Congress], Moscow, 1981, p 42.
7. Ibid., p 143.
8. PRAVDA, 17 September 1935.
9. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 42, p 14.
10. "KPSS v rezolyutsiyakh i resheniyakh s"yezdov, konferentsiy i plenumov TsK," 8th edition, Vol 4, Moscow, 1970, p 47.
11. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 12, p 104.
12. "V. I. Lenin o literature i iskusstve" [V. I. Lenin on Literature and Art], Moscow, 1976, p 657.
13. "O partiynoy i sovetskoy pechati" [On the Party and Soviet Press], Moscow, 1954, pp 346-347.
14. L. I. Brezhnev, "Leninskim kursom" [By the Leninist Course], Vol 3, Moscow, 1972, p 294.
15. M. Sholokhov, "Po veleniyu dushi. Stat'i, ocherki, vystupleniya, dokumenty" [At the Command of the Heart. Articles, Essays, Speeches, Documents], Moscow, 1970, pp 265-266.
16. "Materialy XXVI s"yezda KPSS," p 63.
17. A. V. Lunacharskiy, "O teatre i dramaturgii" [On the Theater and Dramaturgy], in 2 volumes, Vol 1, Moscow, 1958, p 141.
18. L. I. Brezhnev, "Leninskim kursom," Vol 6, Moscow, 1978, p 580.

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PART IV. POLITICAL RIGHTS AND FREEDOMS

Socialism will triumph only when, V. I. Lenin emphasized, "the 10-fold and 100-fold broader masses than before will begin themselves to build a state and to build a new economic life."¹

The USSR Constitution guarantees the Soviet people an extensive set of political rights and freedoms: the right to participate in the management of state and public affairs, in the discussion and adoption of laws and decisions of statewide and local importance; the right to submit to state organs and public organizations proposals on the improvement of their activity, to criticize shortcomings in work; the freedoms of speech, the press, assembly, street marches and demonstrations; the right to unite in public organizations. All these rights and freedoms have a pronounced goal--to enlist the broadest masses of working people in the running of the state and society. The essence of socialist democracy consists precisely in this. For us, V. I. Lenin indicated, "political freedom means the freedom of the people to manage their own national, state affairs."²

Marxism-Leninism teaches that there can be no "pure democracy," political rights and freedoms for man in general. They invariably serve class interests and are determined by the social nature of the social system. The possibility and degree of participation of the masses in the running of the state and whether they have democratic rights and freedoms depend on in whose hands the means of production are. "Freedom, indeed, for any revolution, whether it be socialist or democratic," V. I. Lenin stressed, "is a slogan which is very, very essential. But our program declares: freedom, if it is at variance with the liberation of labor from the yoke of capital, is a deception."³ The experience of history has confirmed the utter correctness of Lenin's idea--real political rights and freedoms of the working people are possible only under the conditions of socialism.

"All power in the USSR belongs to the people," the USSR Constitution reads. Our political system is a set of state and public organizations, by means of which the working masses manage the affairs of society and the state. The Communist Party, which fuses together the will and actions of all state and public organizations, is the guiding and directing force of Soviet society, the nucleus of its political system.

Our party was placed by history itself at the head of the popular masses. It proved capable, in Lenin's words, of *"leading all the people/ [in italics] to socialism,* of directing and organizing the new system, of being a teacher, a director, a leader

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of all the working and exploited people in the matter of arranging their own public life without the bourgeoisie and against the bourgeoisie."⁴

Having arisen before the state and public organizations, the party, it can be said, stood at their cradle, helped them to grow strong and to develop into mighty factors of public life. Historical experience convincingly attests that the main source of their strength and the decisive condition of the success of their activity lie in party supervision. The provisions of the USSR Congress: "The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is the guiding and directing force of Soviet society, the nucleus of its political system, state and public organizations. The CPSU exists for the people and serves the people," serve as national recognition of the role and importance of the party.

The leadership on the part of the party is first of all political leadership. The CPSU determines the general prospect of the development of society and the course of USSR domestic and foreign policy. For state and public organizations it serves as a reference point which makes it possible to maintain the correct course, to avoid a narrow departmental and regional approach to a matter and to organize their activity in the interests of all the people.

The work of the party has nothing in common with compulsion and high-handed measures, but is based entirely and completely on persuasion and ideological influence. State and public organizations settle independently questions which belong to their competence. The Communist Party pursues in them its own policy first of all through the communists who work in state and public organs.

Party organizations in the USSR operate within the framework specified by the Constitution. Party members do not enjoy any privileges as compared with nonparty citizens. The CPSU does not pass laws--in our country the USSR Supreme Soviet engages in this. The party does not issue any instructions to the courts--this would be an infringement upon the independence of the courts and the people's assessors, which is sanctioned by Article 155 of our Constitution.

Under the conditions of mature socialism the further expansion of socialist democracy is the main direction of the development of the political system of Soviet society. The party has been tirelessly concerned about the more and more extensive involvement of the working people in the management of the affairs of society and the state, the improvement of the state machinery, the increase of the activeness of public organizations, the strengthening of the legal basis of state and public life, the extension of publicity and the constant consideration of public opinion. "With the development of socialist democracy," L. I. Brezhnev noted, "the gradual development of our state system into communist public self-government is occurring. This process, of course, is lengthy, but it is steadily advancing."⁵

FOOTNOTES

1. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch." [Complete Works], Vol 37, pp 425-426.
2. Ibid., Vol 7, p 134.
3. Ibid., Vol 38, p 346.

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4. Ibid., Vol 33, p 26.
5. L. I. Brezhnev, "Leninskim kursom" [By the Leninist Course], Vol 6, Moscow, 1978, p 534.

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CHAPTER 10. THE SOVIET PEOPLE ARE THE MASTER OF THEIR COUNTRY

USSR citizens have the right to participate in the management of state and public affairs....

From Article 48 of the USSR Constitution

The right of citizens to participate in the management of state and public affairs is one of the most important achievements of socialism. Precisely under socialism, as V. I. Lenin foresaw, "for the first time in the history of civilized societies the /mass/ [in italics] of the population will rise to /independent/ [in italics] participation not only in votes and elections, /but also in everyday management/"¹ [in italics].

After the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution the enlistment of the working people in the management of state and public affairs was a necessary prerequisite of the creation of a new society. Our party saw its task first of all in helping the workers and peasants to realize: only they are now the absolute masters of the country and all its wealth. "Remember," V. I. Lenin said in the appeal "To the Population," "that /you yourselves/ [in italics] now run the state. No one will help you, if you yourselves do not unite and take /all the affairs/ [in italics] of the state into /your own/ [in italics] hands."²

Of course, the working people, when they came to power, did not yet have experience in running a state. Therefore the party, when elaborating the socialist principles of the management of the state, at the same time directed efforts, in Lenin's words, at "teaching the mass management, not book management, not by lectures, not by meetings, at teaching by experience."³

The first socialist transformations showed the inexhaustible creative and organizing strength and possibilities of the working people, their ability not only to destroy bourgeois orders, but also to organize life independently on a new, socialist basis. The promotion of workers and peasants to managerial posts in state and economic organs formed among them the sense of being the master of the country and the awareness that they were now also the power.

In its second Program the Communist Party set as a goal "the gradual involvement of the entire working population to a man in the work on the management of the state."⁴ It invariably pursued this goal at all the stages of the building of socialism and communism.

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During the years of Soviet power the consciousness and political activeness of the working people increased immeasurably. The people promoted from their midst millions of able organizers and workers of the state machinery, the economy, science and culture. A system of political institutions, which provides the working people with every opportunity for direct participation in the management of all state and public affairs, was created and stood up to the test of time.

Our country is frequently called simply the "Soviets." Such an identification is nature. /The soviets of people's deputies are the political basis of our state. They are organs of representative democracy, through which the people exercise their state power/ [in boldface].

The entire history of our socialist state is inseparably connected with the soviets. They came into being on the initiative of the workers three quarters of a century ago, in the fever of the first Russian revolution, as organs of the struggle of the working people against the autocracy and the protection of the interests of the popular masses. V. I. Lenin perspicaciously saw in the soviets the embryo of a revolutionary government, new organs of the power of the people and the state form of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Under the slogan "All Power to the Soviets!" the party inspired the working class and the poorest peasantry to the overthrow of the power of landowners and capitalists and led them to the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution. This celebrated slogan was the basis for Lenin's plan of the building of a new state as a republic of soviets "throughout the country, from the bottom to the top."⁵

"For the first time in history," V. I. Lenin noted, "the power of the state has been organized here in Russia in such a way that only the workers, only the working peasants, with the exception of exploiters, are forming mass organizations--the soviets, and all state power is being transferred to these soviets."⁶ Lenin's principle of the sovereignty of the soviets was sanctioned legislatively in the RSFSR Constitution of 1918, in the constitutions of the other union republics, and then in the USSR Constitutions of 1924 and 1936. While preserving the continuity of the first Soviet Constitutions, the Fundamental Law of 1977 reads: "The people exercise state power through the soviets of people's deputies.... All other state organs are under the control of and accountable to the soviets of people's deputies."

Everything connected with the soviets and Soviet power always was and remains a matter of the entire party. In defining the place and role of the party and the soviets in the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, V. I. Lenin indicated that "the proletariat, which has been organized in soviets and which the Communist Party guides, carries out the dictatorship," that "all the work of the party takes place through the soviets, which unite the working masses regardless of occupations."⁷ Here the party endeavored "to /direct/ [in italics] the activity of the soviets, but not to replace them."⁸

Beginning with the first days after the victory of October the Communist Party directed efforts toward the fullest realization of the enormous potentials which were incorporated in the Soviet form of state power, toward the increase of the role of the soviets in the revolutionary reorganization of society on a new, socialist basis, and contributed in every possible way to the elaboration of the principles, forms and methods of their activity. It devoted constant attention so that the soviets would operate as "working institutions," which united legislative and

executive functions, so as to enlist *"/all/ [in italics]* the members of the soviets in practical participation in government,"⁹ so that their contacts with the masses would be continuously strengthened.

In overcoming backwardness and illiteracy, the lack of confidence of the population in everything of the state, numerous national and patriarchal prejudices, the party endeavored to adapt the organization and nature of the activity of the soviets as much as possible to the abilities of the deputies, to make them such organs of power, in which, as V. I. Lenin indicated, "the population truly */to a man/ [in italics]* would learn to govern."¹⁰

Under the conditions of mature socialism, while creatively embodying Lenin's principles of the sovereignty of the soviets, the party is promoting in every possible way the strengthening of the organs of state power, the enhancement of their role in the life of society and the development of their initiative and activeness. These questions occupy an important place in the decisions of party congresses and have been repeatedly examined in the CPSU Central Committee. In recent years on the initiative of the party major measures on strengthening the legal and material base of the soviets have been implemented, laws concerning all the units of the Soviet representative system have been passed.

In conformity with the USSR Constitution the USSR Supreme Soviet, the Supreme Soviets of the union and autonomous republics, the kray, oblast, okrug, city, rayon, settlement and rural soviets of people's deputies constitute the unified system of organs of power in our country. In all more than 51,000 soviets, which form as if a multistory building which is crowned by the USSR Supreme Soviet, are now in operation.

The soviets manage all sectors of state, economic and sociocultural construction directly and through the organs created by them. Of course, they differ in their "rank," scale of activity and internal organization. However, any soviet is an element of state power. It not only is empowered to settle all questions belonging to its competence, but also acts as a transmitter of statewide decisions.

In our country the USSR Supreme Soviet is the highest organ of state power. It reviews and approves the state plans of economic and social development and the USSR state budget, improves Soviet legislation and carries out active and productive foreign policy activity. The USSR Supreme Soviet exercises control over the work of all the state organs accountable to it, including the USSR Council of Ministers which is formed by it--the highest executive and administrative organ of state power.

The Supreme Soviets of the union and autonomous republics are competent to settle all question which belong to the jurisdiction of the corresponding republic, while the local soviets are competent to settle those which belong to the jurisdiction of the kray, the oblast, the city and so on.

/The USSR Constitution provides the Soviet people with the opportunity to vote and to be elected to the soviets of people's deputies/ [in boldface]. This is one of the most important guarantees of their right to participate in the management of state and public affairs.

It should be noted that the first Soviet Constitution assigned to the working people the right to vote and to be elected to organs of state power. However, it disfranchised those who lived on unearned income and used hired labor, as well as the ministers of religious cults, former policemen, gendarmes and others. Moreover, not entirely equal suffrage was established: the norms of representation for workers in the elections to the soviets were slightly higher than the norms of representation of the peasants. Only the city and rural soviets were chosen by direct election. All other organs of state power were formed at the corresponding congresses of the soviets. The voting in all elections was open.

The restrictions of suffrage stemmed from the historical circumstances under which the Soviet Republic was. The exploiting classes, relying on the support of foreign imperialists, waged an open war against the working people and fiercely opposed Soviet laws. The peasants were small holders, the influence of the kulaks was still great in the countryside. Under these conditions the disfranchisement of the non-working elements was one of the means of suppression of the exploiters, while the introduction of not entirely equal elections strengthened the leading role of the working class in the state.

However, even at that time V. I. Lenin stressed that the restrictions of suffrage in the Soviet Republic were of a temporary nature, that after the exploiting classes in our country had been eliminated and the cause of socialism had become firmly established, the Soviet state would be able to introduce and is introducing universal suffrage without any restrictions.

The restrictions, which had existed in suffrage for the former exploiting elements, were abolished when the USSR Constitution of 1936 came into force. All the soviets began to be elected on the basis of universal, direct and equal suffrage with secret voting. This means that the right to vote is granted to all USSR citizens who have reached the age of 18; that each voter has one vote; that the deputies of all soviets are elected directly; that control of the will of the voters is not allowed.

The formation of the organs of USSR state power is carried out on a broad democratic basis. The right to nominate candidates for deputies belongs to party, trade union, Komsomol, cooperative and other public organizations, labor collectives, as well as meetings of servicemen. The USSR Constitution guarantees the free and thorough discussion of the political, business and personal qualities of the candidates for deputies, as well as the right of agitation at meeting, in the press, on television and radio. The state assumes all the costs connected with the conducting of elections.

The working people themselves take an active part in the preparation for and conducting of the election campaign. Thus, more than 936,800 election commissions, in the work of which 8.6 million representatives of public organizations and labor collectives participated, were formed for the holding of the elections to the Supreme Soviets of the union and autonomous republics and to the local soviets of people's deputies, which took place in 1980. In all 176.6 million voters (99.9 percent), or practically the entire adult population of the country, directly participated in the elections.

As is known, western propaganda represents universal suffrage as one of the highest manifestations of the democratism of bourgeois parliaments. Here it is not

mentioned that the restrictions with respect to property status, sex, education, age and so on, which were used for centuries to keep the working people from the elections, were abolished or relaxed in the capitalist countries only in recent years, and then under the pressure of the working people. As in the past an extensive set of means, which interfere with the will of the voters, is being used--the artificial recarving of districts, manipulations with various voting systems, the bribery of voters, the falsification of voting results and so forth.

As a result people are losing interest in the elections, many evade voting. Only 52.3 percent of the voters participated in the 1980 presidential elections in the United States. This is the lowest percentage of participation of Americans in elections in the past 32 years. Mass absenteeism is not simply indifference to the "political process," as western sociologists like to explain this phenomenon. It is a distrust, which is becoming inveterate, of a system which does not provide an opportunity for a real choice. The failure of tens of millions of Americans to appear at the polls shows the progressive devaluation of those very civil rights which on the initiative of the Washington administration have become the main item of the ideological exports of imperialism.

The social base of the Soviet form of democracy was continuously broadened as socialism and communism were built in our country. This also found reflection in the name of the soviets. Being initially the soviets of workers', peasants' and Red Army deputies, with the building of socialism they began to be called soviets of workers' deputies, while with the development of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat into the national socialist state they began to be called soviets of people's deputies.

The composition of the soviets convincingly attests to genuine democracy in our country. At present nearly 2.3 million deputies, who represent all the social groups, all the nations and nationalities of the USSR, have been elected to them. They are truly people of labor, "the mighty collective brain of the Soviet regime,"¹¹ as L. I. Brezhnev called the deputies.

More than two-thirds of all the deputies are workers and kolkhoz farmers, about one-third are teachers, physicians, figures of science and culture, workers of party and public organizations, managers of enterprises, students, servicemen and representatives of other categories of the working people. Nearly half of the deputies are women, one in three is under the age of 30, 43 percent are members and candidate members of the CPSU. Here it should be emphasized that professional deputies, who are characteristic of bourgeois parliamentarianism, do not exist in the USSR. The deputies perform their duties without breaking with production or official activity, with those with whom they work together, whose concerns, hopes and needs are close and understandable to them.

The composition of the USSR Supreme Soviet makes it possible to express most fully the general will of the Soviet people and at the same time to take into account the specific interests of the different classes and social groups, nations and nationalities of our country. Among the 1,500 deputies of its two chambers workers and kolkhoz farmers make up more than half. The intelligentsia--workers of the national economy, science, literature and art, education and public health, servicemen--is widely represented. Prominent figures of the party and the state, workers of trade union, Komsomol and other public organizations are included in the

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highest organ of state power. One deputy in three is a woman, one in five is under the age of 30, more than two-thirds are communists. Among the deputies there are people of 61 nationalities.

Let us note for comparison that, for example, among the 535 members of the U.S. Congress, which Americans themselves call "the club of the rich," there are 243 lawyers, 140 businessmen, 47 workers of the educational system, 30 government employees, 25 farmers, 18 journalists and so on, not a single worker being among them. Of the members of Congress, 95 percent are white. In the Bundestag of the FRG of the 518 deputies only 30 come from a working class environment.

Lenin's principle of the unity of legislative and executive power is in effect in our country. The deputies not only discuss and adopt laws and decisions at the sessions of the soviets, but also perform daily practical work on the management of state and public affairs. They organize and monitor the fulfillment of the adopted laws and decisions, check the work of enterprises, organizations and institutions, review the complaints and petitions of the working people, strive for the implementation of the mandates of voters and so on. In the past 10 years the soviets have accepted for fulfillment 3,250,000 mandates, of which 2,950,000 have been fulfilled. The deputies make extensive use of the right of inquiry as a means of monitoring the work of executive organs and officials.

The standing commissions of the soviets for various directions of their activity are an important form which ensures the effective participation of the deputies in the work of the organs of power. At present there are more than 330,000 such commissions, which unite more than 1.8 million deputies. The preliminary examination and preparation of questions, which are submitted to the sessions and meetings of the executive committees of the soviets, the monitoring of the fulfillment of the adopted decisions and other things are entrusted to them. The creation of deputy groups is being used extensively in practice for the purpose of uniting the efforts of deputies at the place of residence of the voters and at enterprises.

The Law on the Status of the Deputies of Soviets clearly defines their rights and duties, as well as the duties of state and public organizations with respect to them. The basic powers granted to the deputies by this law have been sanctioned in the USSR Constitution.

All the activity of the soviets is carried out on a truly democratic basis and is constantly under the supervision of the masses. It is carried out openly, in view of all the working people, under the conditions of extensive publicity. The soviets inform the population about the decisions being made and the results of their fulfillment. The practice of reports of the executive committees, as well as of deputies to the voters and at meetings of the working people has become widespread. For example, in 1979 the deputies of local soviets delivered reports at 3,767,000 meetings, in which 198 million voters took part. The right of the voters to recall their deputy at any time, if he does not justify the confidence shown to him, is of great importance.

After each election the composition of the soviets is considerably refreshed. In 1980 in the elections to the Supreme Soviets of the union and autonomous republics and the local soviets 47 percent of the deputies were elected for the first time. Thus, newer and newer millions of Soviet people are going through the school of state government directly in organs of power.

/The organs of people's control are one of the important units of Soviet democracy, which guarantee the right of citizens to participate in the management of state and public affairs/ [in boldface].

The socialist mode of production requires the strictest accounting of the output being produced and the monitoring of its distribution in conformity with the principle "to each according to his labor." "Until," V. I. Lenin indicated, "the highest phase of communist begins, socialists demand the /strictest/ [in italics] monitoring on the part of society /and on the part of the state/ [in italics] of the measure of labor and the measure of consumption..."¹²

From the first steps of the Soviet regime the party attached enormous importance to the organization of effective accounting and monitoring and to the enlistment of the broad masses of the people in this work. From the simplest functions of the supervision of the distribution of products and fuel, the operation of dining rooms, which are entirely within the reach of "every honest, capable, practical worker and peasant,"¹³ to the analysis of the most difficult questions of economic and cultural construction, the work of the administrative staff--such is the path which was traversed in our country by the people's controllers.

People's control has firmly taken its place in the Soviet political system and has become truly massive and comprehensive. The organs of people's control are formed by the soviets of people's deputies and combine state control with public control. The groups and posts (1.3 million) at industrial enterprises and construction projects, kolkhozes and sovkhozes, institutions and educational institutions, in military units, as well as in ministries and departments constitute the basis of this system. The members of the groups and posts (9.7 million people) are elected at the meetings of collectives and are accountable to them. Millions of activists from among the workers, kolkhoz farmers and employees participate in the inspections organized by these groups and posts. The people's controllers act on the basis of extensive publicity. Their rights are specified by the Law on People's Control in the USSR.

The main tasks of people's control is to strive for the implementation of the decisions of the party and the government and the plan assignments, to combat violations of state discipline, mismanagement and displays of bureaucracy and red tape. "Not one violation, not one case of abuses, extravagance and lack of discipline," L. I. Brezhnev emphasized at the 26th CPSU Congress, "should slip by the practical eye of the people's controllers. To act more vigorously, to act more aggressively--that is what the CPSU Central Committee is orienting them toward."¹⁴

/The Soviet Constitution guarantees the right of citizens to manage state and public affairs by the opportunity to vote and to be elected not only to organs of state power, but also to the courts/ [in boldface].

On 22 November 1917 V. I. Lenin signed the Decree on the Court, by which the truly democratic principles of the Soviet judicial system were established legislatively: the appointment of judges and people's assessors by election, the open hearing of cases, the guarantee of the right to defense, the participation of citizens in the administration of justice.... These basic principles have stood up to the test of time and are sanctioned in the USSR Constitution.

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The USSR Supreme Court, the Supreme Courts of the union and autonomous republics, kray, oblast, city, okrug and rayon courts, as well as military tribunals in the Armed Forces operate in our country. All the courts are formed on the basis of the appointment of the judges and people's assessors by election. The people's judges of the rayon courts are elected on the basis of universal, equal and direct suffrage in secret voting, while the people's assessors are elected at meetings of the working people at the place of their job or residence by open vote. The higher courts are elected by the appropriate soviets of people's deputies. The judges and people's assessors are responsible to the voters or the organs which elected them, report to them and can be recalled in accordance with the procedure established by law.

/In accordance with the USSR Constitution, the right of citizens to participate in government is guaranteed along the lines of not only state, but also public activity. They have the opportunity to take part in the work of public organizations and organs of public initiative, in the meetings of labor collectives and at the place of residence/ [in boldface].

The Soviet people participate in government through trade union, Komsomol, cooperative and other mass associations of the working people. These organizations will be discussed in greater detail in the next chapter. Here I would like to note the right of legislative initiative, which is granted to public organizations by the USSR Constitution and enables them to directly influence the policy of the state and to participate in its formulation and implementation.

Various organs of public initiative--street and house committees, comrades' courts, patrols for the maintenance of public order, parents' committees at schools, councils of libraries, clubs and houses of culture, women's councils and many others--became widespread. These are voluntary assistants of the Soviet regime. Now more than 31 million people are learning the art of participation in state management at them.

An important place in the political system of Soviet society belongs to labor collectives. In reality, they are the primary units of not only the economic, but also the sociopolitical organism. Many important questions of state and public life, the organization of production management, cultural and general construction and others are discussed and settled at the meetings of labor collectives. The rights and duties of labor collectives are set forth in the USSR Constitution.

During the years of the building of socialism and communism the practice of the direct participation of millions of working people in the management of state and public affairs was steadily extended. Now /the participation of USSR citizens in the discussion and adoption of laws and the most important decisions of statewide and local importance and in national votes is sanctioned as their constitutional right/ [in boldface].

In our country it has become a tradition to discuss and settle all important questions of political, socioeconomic and cultural life with the direct participation of the workers, the peasants and the intelligentsia. And when it is a question of fundamental tasks of the development of the country, the drafts of decisions and laws are submitted for national discussion. These drafts are published in the press, and everyone is given a practical opportunity to express their opinion on them.

The national discussion of the draft of the USSR Constitution of 1977, in which more than 140 million people, or four-fifths of the adult population of the country, took part, can serve as a vivid example. It is also characteristic that not one five-year plan of economic and social development has been adopted in recent times without thorough discussion not only at sessions of the Supreme Soviets, but also in collectives of the working people and through the mass media. The Soviet people also discussed extensively the drafts of such major legislative acts as the fundamentals of legislation on labor, marriage and the family, housing legislation, laws on pensions, nature conservation and others.

Of course, the forms of the direct will of the masses are not limited to the framework of national discussions. The party is showing tireless concern about the development of criticism as an effective means of the combatting of shortcomings and the implementation of socialist democracy. /The right of citizens to submit to state organs and public organizations suggestions on the improvement of their activity and to criticize the shortcomings in their work is sanctioned in the new USSR Constitution/ [in boldface]. Our Fundamental Law obligates officials within a set period to review the suggestions and statements of the working people, to issue responses to them and to take the necessary steps and prohibits prosecution for criticism. Persons guilty of this are called to account.

/The Soviet people are using extensively the freedoms of speech, the press, assembly, meetings, street marches and demonstrations, which are guaranteed to them by the USSR Constitution/ [in boldface]. Public buildings--clubs, palaces of culture, theaters, the streets and squares of cities and population centers--the press, radio, television and other mass media are placed at their disposal for this.

The party makes great demands on the work with the letters and oral appeals of the working people. "Every party worker, every executive," L. I. Brezhnev said at the 26th CPSU Congress, "is obligated to regard the sensitive, attentive treatment of the letters, requests and complaints of citizens as his duty to the people, to the party."¹⁵

For the party this work always was and is a matter of great political importance, an effective means of the mass and direct participation of the working people in the running of the state. V. I. Lenin repeatedly indicated this. The letters of working people and the oral appeals of "petition bearers" were for him a most valuable source of information on "the topic of the day,"¹⁶ which he deemed necessary to generalize and to turn into political decisions.

The very number of letters and statements of the working people testifies to the importance of this work. For example, during the past 5 years (between the 25th and 26th party congresses) the CPSU Central Committee received more than 3.2 million letters and oral appeals, the party committees locally examined in all 15 million. The suggestions and remarks, which are expressed by the authors of letters, are used in the preparation of party and state decisions and in the practical activity of management organs.

The more and more extensive and active participation of the masses in the management of state and public affairs has become firmly established as the central direction of the political development of Soviet society. "Our party," L. I. Brezhnev emphasized, "has and henceforth will displayed constant concern about the fact

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that the working people should not simply have the opportunities granted by the Constitution to participate in the management of society, but should also actually and genuinely take part in it."¹⁷

FOOTNOTES

1. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch." [Complete Works], Vol 33, p 116.
2. Ibid., Vol 35, p 66.
3. Ibid., Vol 37, p 451.
4. "KPSS v rezolyutsiyakh i resheniyakh s"yezdov, konferentsiy i plenumov TsK" [The CPSU in Resolutions and Decisions of Congresses, Conferences and Plenums of the Central Committee], 8th edition, Vol 2, Moscow, 1970, p 45.
5. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 31, p 115.
6. Ibid., Vol 38, p 238.
7. Ibid., Vol 41, pp 30, 32.
8. "KPSS v rezolyutsiyakh i resheniyakh s"yezdov, konferentsiy i plenumov TsK," Vol 2, p 77.
9. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 36, p 204.
10. Ibid., p 203.
11. L. I. Brezhnev, "Leninskim kursom" [By the Leninist Course], Vol 6, Moscow, 1978, p 385.
12. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 33, p 97.
13. Ibid., Vol 35, p 201.
14. "Materialy XXVI s"yezda KPSS". [Materials of the 26th CPSU Congress], Moscow, 1981, p 65.
15. Ibid., p 74.
16. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 54, p 144.
17. L. I. Brezhnev, "Leninskim kursom," Vol 6, p 544.

CHAPTER 11. MASS ORGANIZATIONS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

...USSR citizens have the right to unite in public organizations....

From Article 51 of the USSR Constitution

Whereas the soviets, being a form of state power, first of all express the common interests of all the Soviet people, trade unions, the All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League, cooperatives, sports, defense, creative and other societies and organizations express the specific interests and aspirations of different social, occupational, age and other groups.

Public organizations are created on a strictly voluntary basis, draft and adopt their by-laws themselves and settle independently the questions which are within their competence. All their activity is organized on the basis of self-government, democratic norms and principles. Soviet legislation provides public organizations with the conditions for the successful fulfillment of their authorized tasks. Buildings, transportation, printing houses, stocks of paper, means of information and so on are provided to them.

In accordance with the USSR Constitution, the trade unions, Komsomol, cooperative and other public organizations in conformity with their authorized goals participate in the management of state affairs and in the settlement of political, economic and sociocultural questions and have in the person of their all-union organs the right of legislative initiative. Moreover, individual functions, which were previously performed by state organs, have been turned over to them.

Public organizations set up their work in close cooperation with the state. Their representatives are included in the collegia of ministries and departments. State organs submit the drafts of their decisions for approval to public organizations. The practice of their adoption of joint decrees has also become widespread.

Each of the public organizations plays its own special role in the political system of Soviet society and has its own specific tasks, nature and scope of work and peculiarities of organizational structure. At the same time they all make their own contribution to the common cause of building communism. Precisely this highest goal serves as the decisive constitutional principle of their founding and activity.

/Trade unions hold an important place in the political system of socialism/ [in boldface]. This is the most massive organization of working people, there are more

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than 129 million workers, kolkhoz farmers, employees and students of higher, secondary specialized and vocational and technical educational institutions in it. As was noted at the 26th CPSU Congress, the party regards the trade unions as its own reliable support among the masses and a powerful means of the development of democracy and the involvement of the working people in the building of communism.¹

Trade unions are organized according to the production principle. All the workers at one enterprise or institution belong to a single trade union. In turn, the workers and employees of enterprises and institutions, who belong to one or several sectors of the national economy, are united in sectorial trade unions.

Primary organizations, which are created in the collectives of industrial enterprises, construction projects, sovkhozes, kolkhozes, institutions and so on, are the basis of each sectorial trade union. Factory, plant and local committees, which are elected at trade union meetings or conferences, head them. The corresponding trade union committees are elected for the management of the primary organizations of one sector or another on the scale of the rayon, the city, the oblast, the kray, the republic, as well as a single railroad or water basin. Each sectorial trade union has its own Central Committee.

In the republics, krays and oblasts the councils of trade unions carry out the coordination of the activity of the sectorial trade unions and the settlement of inter-union questions, while the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions (AUCCTU) does so on the national level.

In Russia trade unions emerged during the period of the upsurge of the first Russian revolution (1905-1907) under the immediate direction of the Communist Party. The party contributed to their creation, saw its task in joining and working in them and educated "the workers involved in the trade unions in the spirit of a broad understanding of the class struggle and the socialist tasks of the proletariat."² "The trade unions," it was emphasized in a resolution of the Sixth Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Workers' Party (of Bolsheviks), "being drawn more and more by the logic of events into the struggle for socialism, should /in all their statements/ [in italics] be guided by /the principles of the consistent class struggle/ [in italics], should defend vigorously and systematically the common interests of the working class, by spurning all attempts to restrict the professional movement and to subordinate it to the interests... of the ruling classes."³

Under the direction of the Communist Party the trade unions took over the leadership of the economic struggle of the Russian proletariat against the capitalists, did much work on the organization and increase of the class consciousness of the working people and took an active part in the preparation for and the carrying out of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

After the victory of October a new type of trade unions in reality began to be formed in our country. First of all, along with the elimination of private property the economic basis of the exploitation of the working people disappeared, the working class became the master of production. As a result, the trade unions lost, as V. I. Lenin noted, "such a basis as the /class/ [in italics] economic struggle."⁴

State power passed into the hands of the working class. Therefore the trade unions inevitably became, to use the expression of V. I. Lenin, "an immediate and

indispensable collaborator of state power, which the conscious vanguard of the working class, the Communist Party, guides in all its political and economic work."⁵

Thus, the trade unions were transformed from a tool of the struggle against the capitalists and the bourgeois state into a creative force of the building of socialism and communism.

V. I. Lenin substantiated thoroughly and comprehensively the role and place of trade unions in the political system of Soviet society. The trade unions, he indicated, "as an educational organization, an organization of involvement and training, they are a school, a school of management, a school of communism."⁶ "Being a school of communism in general," V. I. Lenin stressed, "the trade unions should be, in particular, a school of the management of socialist industry (and then gradually of agriculture as well) for the entire mass of workers, and then for all working people."⁷ Lenin's ideas were the basis for all the activity of Soviet trade unions.

Immediately after the October Revolution, when the state machinery of the management of the national economy had not yet been set up, the trade unions were nearly the only organs which, along with workers' control, were able to take upon themselves and should have taken upon themselves the work on the organization of production and the management of enterprises. The First All-Russian Congress of Trade Unions, which was held in January 1918, noted in its resolution: "The center of gravity of the work of trade unions as this time should be shifted to the economic organizational area. The trade unions as class organizations of the proletariat, which have been set up according to the production principle, should take upon themselves the main work on the organization of production and the reconstruction of the severely damaged productive forces of the country."⁸ During the next period the trade unions performed this work concurrent with and in conjunction with state organs, the weakness of which not only explained, but also justified such parallelism.

As the state machinery of management grew stronger, the party pursued in its work a policy of the clear differentiation of the rights and duties of trade unions and economic organs and fought resolutely against the attempts of some trade union workers to interfere in the management of enterprises. It must be said that during the first years of Soviet power the influence of petty bourgeois chaos was strong in our country. It inevitably evoked among a portion of the proletariat vacillations in the direction of anarchism. This found reflection, in particular, in the demands of what was called "the workers' opposition," the essence of which reduced to the transfer of the management of the national economy to "an all-Russian congress of producers who are united in trade and production unions."⁹ These demands were objectively aimed at the undermining of the leading role of the Communist Party in the building of socialism and at the belittling and even the complete elimination of the economic organizing activity of the Soviet state.

It is quite understandable that the anarcho-syndicalist view of "the workers' opposition" were condemned by our party. Along with them V. I. Lenin and the Communist Party also fought irreconcilably with other political trends and deviations, which were hostile to the cause of the working class: the attempts of the Trotskyites to turn the trade unions into a simple appendage of the state machinery, the ideas of the "freedom" of the trade unions from the struggle for the ultimate goals of

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the working class and of their "independence" from the interests of all the working people. V. I. Lenin called such views "either bourgeois provocation of the crudest manner or an extreme lack of understanding, servile repetition of the slogans of yesterday."¹⁰

The party stressed that the trade unions should "vigorously support the undertakings of managers, which are aimed at the increase of labor productivity, coordinating them with the interests of the workers represented by them and with the possibility of the most successful /implementation of these measures/"¹¹ [in italics]. At the same time it opposed the indiscriminate approval by the trade unions of all the measures and suggestions of the administration, while forgetting that their most important function is to represent and defend the interests of the workers.

At all the stages of the building of socialism and communism the party has directed and is directing the trade unions toward the effective defense of the rights of the working people and constant concern about their vital interests. For this it has extensive means--legal, organizational and material. In conformity with the law not one measure, which concerns the interests of workers, kolkhoz farmers and employees, working conditions and wages, social security, the improvement of housing and living conditions and the increase of the standard of living, is elaborated and implemented in our country without the trade unions.

The drafts of the national economic plans by sectors and for the country as a whole are reviewed by executive trade union organs. Jointly with the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems the AUCCTU elaborates and approves the main statutes on bonuses and the documents on the rate setting of labor. The wage rates and salaries of workers, engineering and technical personnel and employees of all the sectors of the national economy are approved by joint decrees of the government and the AUCCTU. Many important laws and decrees of the party and government, which are aimed at the improvement of the working and living conditions and the conditions of the relaxation of the working people, have been adopted on the initiative of trade unions.

Important rights in the settlement of questions of economic operations have been granted to the primary trade union organizations. These rights are sanctioned in a special statute, which has the force of law. The factory, plant and local committees of the trade unions participate in the drafting of the plans of the socio-economic development of collectives, as well as the plans of capital, housing, cultural and general construction. They have the right to hear the reports of economic managers on the fulfillment of plans, the results of production operations, the implementation of measures on the improvement of the organization of labor and working conditions, the material, personal and cultural service of workers and employees.

An important aspect of the activity of trade union organizations is the annual conclusion of collective agreements between the administration and the collectives of working people. They guarantee mutual responsibility in the relations of the rank and file worker and the director, the managers and the executives. When concluding collective agreements, the trade union committees jointly with the administration determine how best to use the assets which are allocated for the development of the enterprises, sociocultural measures, housing construction and material incentives. If a difference of opinion arises between the administration and the trade unions,

superior trade union and economic organs review the draft of the collective agreement.

The trade unions see to it that the labor collectives and the administration meet their obligations. If economic managers violate the terms of the collective agreement, they are held strictly accountable.

The right to monitor the observance of labor legislation and the organization of labor safety procedures has been granted to the trade unions. An important role here belongs to the 6,200 technical inspectors, who are not subordinate to managers and are accountable only to the sectorial and territorial trade union organs. The orders of these inspectors are mandatory for the administrator of any rank. The technical inspector has the right to go freely into any enterprise, he can fine both the foreman and the general director and can raise the question of shutting down a shop or even an enterprise, if he finds there violations of labor safety practices and the requirements of labor safety procedures.

The administration cannot dismiss a worker from the enterprise or put into operation any production plant without the consent of the factory-plant and local committee of the trade union. If the administration introduces new norms of time or output without approval from the trade union organization, they are invalid.

In 1979 for shortcomings in labor safety procedures, the allowance of injuries and the failure to meet the obligations stipulated by collective agreements 6,174 managerial workers were held administratively liable, while 146 of them at the request of the trade unions were released from the positions occupied by them.

The defense of the rights and interests of the working people always was and will be the most important aspect in the activity of the trade unions. Of course, under socialism this "protective function" has a different political and socioeconomic basis than under the conditions of capitalism. For the director, who aspires for the enterprise to derive a profit, serves the interests of the working people in the same way as the trade union committee which strives for the increase of their standard of living. In turn, while showing concern about the interests of the workers and employees, the trade unions cannot but be concerned about the development of the national economy, the increase of production and the improvement of its qualitative indicators. "Such," L. I. Brezhnev stressed, "is the two-in-one task of the trade unions."¹²

Trade unions effectively influence the activity of enterprises through permanent production conferences, which are elected at workers' meetings. At present there are more than 139,000 such conferences in the country. They unite about 6 million people, nearly two-thirds of them are workers. The rights and duties of the production conferences are specified by a special statute which was approved by the USSR Council of Ministers and the AUCCTU. In conformity with this statute the conferences review questions of planning and the introduction of new equipment, adopt decisions and make suggestions, the implementation of which is organized by the economic managers. In the past 2 years the economic impact from the introduction of these suggestions came to 1.4 billion rubles. By taking part in the work of production conferences, workers learn the skills of the management of enterprises.

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The All-Union Society of Inventors and Rationalizers, scientific and technical societies and councils of innovators operate under the supervision of the trade unions.

The trade unions in the USSR directly control state social insurance. Under their jurisdiction there are 930 sanatoriums, holiday hotels and holiday homes, nearly 2,500 sanatorium-dispensaries, almost 1,000 tourist centers, hotels, camping grounds and shelters and more than 57,000 Pioneer camps. There are 22,200 clubs, houses and palaces of culture, more than 56,000 movie projectors and over 19,000 libraries at the disposal of the trade unions. In all 33 voluntary sports societies, at the disposal of which there are 2,800 stadiums, 12,300 gymnasiums, nearly 900 swimming pools, 5,300 ski centers and 4,800 therapeutic sports camps, operate under the supervision of the trade unions. The trade unions publish their own newspapers and journals.

The tasks and rights of the trade unions, it was noted at the 26th CPSU Congress, are extremely broad. However, at times they still lack initiative in the exercise of these extensive rights. The congress also demanded that the monitoring by trade unions and labor collectives of the settlement of all questions of the labor, life and way of life of the people be stepped up further, that their participation in planning and production management, the selection and placement of personnel and the efficient use of the assets of enterprises and organizations be expanded.¹³

Our party always considered and considers contact with the masses to be the most basic, most important condition of the success of any trade union activity whatsoever. Communists who are promoted to trade union posts, it was emphasized in the decisions of the 11th party congress, "should live the life of a worker, know it thoroughly, be able to determine accurately on any question at any moment the mood of the masses, their actual aspirations, needs and thoughts, be able to determine without a trace of false idealization the degree of their consciousness and the strength of the influence of certain prejudices and vestiges of old times or others, to be able to win the infinite trust of the masses by a friendly attitude toward them and the careful meeting of their needs."¹⁴ These requirements of the party are also in effect today.

/The mass youth organization--the All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League (Komsomol)--is playing an active role in the sociopolitical life of the country/ [in boldface]. There are more than 40.5 million boys and girls in its ranks, they are workers and peasants, employees and students, young army members. In all 23.6 million Komsomol members are working in the different sectors of the national economy.

Komsomol is organized according to the territorial production principle. This means that the primary organizations, which have been set up at the place of work or studies of the Komsomol members, are united into rayon, city and okrug organizations, which in turn form the Komsomol organizations of oblasts, krays and republics. The congress is the highest organ of Komsomol, while during the intervals between congresses the Komsomol Central Committee is the highest organ.

The origin, formation and entire history of Komsomol are inseparable from the name of V. I. Lenin and the activity of the Communist Party. The first revolution workers' youth organizations arose after the February (1917) Bourgeois Democratic

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Revolution. At that time, in attaching enormous importance to this movement, the sixth party congress adopted the special resolution "On Youth Leagues." It was stated in it: "Our party should... see to it that young workers create independent organizations, which organizationally are not subordinate to, but are only spiritually connected with the party. But at the same time the party is trying to see to it that these organizations from their very emergence would assume a socialist nature.... /The interference of the party in the organizational construction of the young workers/" [in italics], it was stressed in the resolution, "/should not have the nature of guardianship over them/"¹⁵ [in italics].

The socialist leagues of young workers and peasants, which were formed in conformity with the decisions of the congress, became the vital assistants of the party, one of the shock detachments of the revolutionary proletariat during the days of Great October.

The First All-Russian Congress of Leagues of Worker and Peasant Youth (October 1918), which was convened on the initiative of V. I. Lenin, proclaimed the creation of a communist youth league--the Russian Communist Youth League. For the first time in the history of the revolutionary movement a youth organization of a new type was created: proletarian in its nature, communist in its goals and tasks, mass and independent in its character. Its formation enabled the Communist Party and the Soviet state to take more completely into account the interests of young people and to combine the struggle for national interests with the meeting of the specific demands of boys and girls.

In the resolution "On Work Among Young People," which was adopted by the Seventh Congress of the Russian Communist Party (of Bolsheviks), it was emphasized: "Communist work among young people can proceed successfully only through independent organizations which march under the banner of communism, in which young people could display the maximum initiative which is certainly necessary for their communist education. The Russian Communist Youth League is such an organization.... The Eighth Congress of the Russian Communist Party deemed necessary the further existence and development of the Russian Communist Youth League. The Russian Communist Party should give the most active ideological and material support to the Russian Communist Youth League."¹⁶

The role and place of the communist youth league in the struggle for socialism and communism and the program of the ideological, political, labor and moral education of youth were specified in the historic speech of V. I. Lenin, "The Tasks of Youth Leagues," at the Third Congress of the Russian Communist Youth League (1920). This is the most important theoretical document of our party on the communist education of young people. The main task of the Communist Youth League--to study communism--was formulated and revealed in it.

The party indicated that the Russian Communist Youth League, while being the transmitter of party influence on the broad masses of young people and having at the same time specific tasks which differ from the partywide tasks, should be a self-governing organization. At the same time it fought all kinds of trends of isolation and withdrawal from the party, which were observed among a portion of the members of the league (the theories of "neutrality," "equal rights" and so forth), and emphasized that outside party supervision the communist youth league would not be able to perform its role in the sociopolitical life of the country. The party taught the Russian Communist Youth League to coordinate the personal and group

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interests of boys and girls with the interests of the working class and to subordinate everyday work to the common revolutionary tasks of the proletariat.

Taking in 1924 the name of the great Lenin, Komsomol swore to learn to live, work and fight in the Leninist way. This oath became the oath of loyalty of all Komsomol generations to the behests of V. I. Lenin, to the cause of the Communist Party and to the ideals of communism.

Komsomol sees its priority task in raising and training ideologically confirmed, courageous champions of the cause of communism. It actively helps the party to educate the young generation in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism, the revolutionary, military and labor traditions of the Communist Party and the Soviet people and the readiness to stand with arms in hand in defense of the gains of Great October.

Komsomol has diverse forms of the ideological and political education of young people. About 20 million young workers, kolkhoz farmers and specialists are studying in the system of party and Komsomol political training and in mass forms of economic education. The majority of undergraduates and students take part in the annually held all-union reviews of compositions on sociopolitical themes and the competitions of student works on the social sciences, the history of Komsomol and the international youth movement. Lenin Lessons and Lenin Tests, which promote their better learning of Lenin's theoretical legacy and the formation among them of an active position in life, hold an important place in the ideological and political education of boys and girls.

The All-Union Tour of Sites of Revolutionary, Military and Labor Glory found fervent support among young people. When participating in it, millions of boys and girls familiarize themselves with the heroic history of the Soviet people and with the feats of their fathers and mothers and surround with concern and attention the people who devoted much effort and health to the struggle for the happiness of the homeland.

Komsomol is scrupulously fulfilling Lenin's behest: "Only in labor together with the workers and the peasants is it possible to become real communists."¹⁷ Shock Komsomol construction projects have become a real school of life for hundreds of thousands of boys and girls. In 1980 alone 125,000 volunteers were sent to them in accordance with Komsomol travel authorizations. The movement "The Enthusiasm and Creative Work of Young People for the Five-Year Plan of Efficiency and Quality!" acquired a broad scope after the 25th CPSU Congress. All-union reviews of the creative scientific and technical work of young people, in which nearly 20 million boys and girls regularly engaged, have become traditional.

Komsomol is performing much work on the training and education of a worth reinforcement of the working class and the kolkhoz peasantry, on the sponsorship of vocational and technical schools and on the assignment of young people to services, animal husbandry and other sectors of the national economy, in which a shortage of workmen is being felt.

Student youth are making a significant contribution to the national economy. In the summer of 1980 the fighters of the All-Union Student Construction Detachment performed an amount of work, which exceeded 1.5 billion rubles, more than 10 million school children worked at kolkhozes, sovkhoses and enterprises.

An important section of the work of Komsomol is the utmost assistance of the Communist Party in the formation of a harmoniously developed generation. Komsomol organizations are drawing young workers, kolkhoz farmers and employees into evening and correspondence schools, higher educational institutions and tekhnikums. Millions of Komsomol members and young people not belonging to the league are engaged in physical culture, sports and amateur artistic work.

The school is surrounded by the special concern and attention of Komsomol. Komsomol organizations are actively promoting the improvement of educational and training work, the drive for the thorough and solid knowledge of students, their preparation for socially useful labor and the conscious choice of an occupation.

Considerable rights have been granted to Komsomol for the performance of its functions. Komsomol is actively participating in the formation of the representative organs of state power, in legislative activity and in the monitoring of the observance of the laws on the labor, training and material and cultural support of young people.

Today, as was already noted, one deputy in four of the USSR Supreme Soviet, one deputy in five of the Supreme Soviets of the union republics and one deputy in three of the local soviets are young people up to the age of 30. In recent years the Komsomol Central Committee has adopted a number of special decrees on the strengthening of the contacts with the soviets of people's deputies, the improvement of the work with young deputies and the enhancement of their role in organs of power.

Many young deputies are members of the youth affairs standing commissions of the soviets. Often Komsomol workers are elected as their chairmen. The youth commissions jointly with Komsomol organs study questions of the labor, education and relaxation of young people and submit their own suggestions for the consideration of the soviets and their executive committees.

Komsomol makes extensive use of the right of legislative initiative, which is granted to it by the Constitution. After the 18th Komsomol Congress (April 1978) the Komsomol Central Committee jointly with state and public organizations adopted more than 560 decrees on questions of the labor, education and relaxation of young people. Komsomol organizations are taking an active part in the discussion of the most important bills and the elaboration of other decisions, which directly affect the interests of young people.

Komsomol representatives are members of the collegia of many ministries and departments, which are engaged in the education and training of young people, and actively participate in the management of socialist production. About 2 million young production workers have been elected to trade union management organs and to the factory-plant and local committees of the trade unions. A third of the trade union group organizers are also young people. Komsomol workers and activists are members of the permanent production conferences.

The right of Komsomol organizations to participate in the review of questions of the payment of bonuses to young workers and employees, the allocation for them of housing and rooms in dormitories, the labor safety procedures of adolescents, the hiring and firing of young people and the use of assets for mass cultural and

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sports work is being actively exercised. Komsomol organizations take an active part in the elaboration and implementation of collective agreements and the plans of the social development of collectives.

In recent times the activity of such public formations as the councils of young workers and specialists, public personnel divisions, bureaus of economic analysis and technical information, design and technological bureaus and many others has undergone extensive development.

/On the instructions of the party Komsomol supervises the All-Union Pioneer Organization imeni V. I. Lenin/ [in boldface], which unites about 19 million children.

The Pioneer organization, which was founded in 1922, along with the school, the family and the public educates the Pioneers as conscious champions of the cause of the Communist Party. It instills in them a love for knowledge and labor and the elementary skills of community work. In the Pioneer organizations children are educated in the spirit of collectivism and comradeship, love for the Soviet homeland, the fraternal friendship of the peoples of the USSR and proletarian internationalism. The Komsomol organizations select leaders and supervisors of various groups for work with the Pioneers. The supervisory organ of the All-Union Pioneer Organization is its Central Committee, which is set up by the Komsomol Central Committee.

The most important, primary thing in the work of Komsomol is to promote the formation of a generation of politically active people, who are well-informed, love labor and know how to work and who are always ready to defend their homeland. This was emphasized with new force in the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress. The party sees a reliable guarantee that Soviet youth will also carry high the banner of communism in the conveyance to them of its experience and the certainty, which has been tested by the decades, of the correctness of Marxism-Leninism.¹⁸

/Cooperatives, especially the collective farms of the peasants--the kolkhozes--are playing an important role in the life of Soviet society/ [in boldface]. At the beginning of 1980 there were 26,000 of them. They have united 13.8 million Soviet peasants.

Prior to the Great October Socialist Revolution poor peasants, who were dependent on landowners and kulaks, made up two-thirds of the many millions of Russian peasants. Private ownership of land was abolished with the establishment of Soviet power in the country. The peasants received for free use more than 150 million hectares of land which had previously belonged to landowners, the bourgeoisie, the tsar's family, churches and monasteries. They were exempt from the payment of annual rent payments for the land and the expenditures on its purchase. "In the peasant country," V. I. Lenin wrote, "the peasants were the first to gain, gained the most and gained immediately from the dictatorship of the proletariat..."¹⁹

V. I. Lenin saw the main path of the movement of the peasantry toward socialism and communism in the development of production cooperatives and in radical socio-economic changes of the entire style of life of the workers of the countryside. "For the present we are living in a small peasant country," he indicated, "in Russia there is a stronger economic base for capitalism than for communism."²⁰

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The cooperative plan elaborated by V. I. Lenin became the basis of the policy of the Communist Party in the countryside. He developed the ideas of K. Marx and F. Engels on the gradual transition of the small-scale peasant farms to a public basis and took into account the peculiarities of our country and the experience of the leading collective farms in the Soviet countryside.

V. I. Lenin and the Communist Party understood that immediately after the revolution it was impossible to accomplish a transition to a large-scale public sector. And it was a matter not only of the fact that the material and technical prerequisites did not yet exist for this. The peasants who had received land needed time in order to overcome the age-old force of the habit of the small holder and to be convinced of the advantages of collectivization by the practice of running an individual farm. And the party agreed to this. "We," V. I. Lenin said, "did not want to impose on the peasantry the idea, which was alien to it, of the uselessness of the equalizing division of the land. We believed that it is better if the working peasants themselves would see by the sweat on their own brows, for themselves that equalizing division is nonsense.... The solution lies only in the public tilling of the land."²¹ Practice confirmed the correctness of this policy.

By the late 1920's the small-scale individual farms had almost completely exhausted their potentials. They could no longer ensure the further increase of production. Not only the poor peasants, but also the middle peasants were convinced that the individual farm did not have economic promise and did not save them from poverty, a half-starved existence and exploitation on the part of the rural bourgeoisie--the kulaks. The aspiration of the peasants to join collective farms increased.

The ideological, political and organizing work of the party had an enormous influence on the change of the consciousness and views of the peasantry. By its economic policy, measures on the supply of kolkhozes with machinery and the establishment of various privileges it promoted the increase and strengthening of collective farms and the growth of their labor productivity.

By this time the necessary prerequisites for the mass kolkhoz movement had been prepared. The construction of powerful tractor, combine and other plants of agricultural machine building proceeded rapidly. Such forms of cooperatives as the consumer cooperative, the agricultural cooperative and the handicraft cooperative played a greater and greater role in the countryside. This accustomed the peasants to the collective management of affairs. In the countryside the socialist sector grew appreciably and became stronger, two poles came clearly into view: at one there were poverty and the bulk of the middle peasantry, at the other there were the kulaks. The alliance of the working class and the working peasantry became stronger.

Under these conditions the Communist Party shifted to the thorough collectivization of agriculture. The policy of collectivization was proclaimed by the November (1929) Plenum of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (of Bolsheviks), which indicated that the pursuit of this policy required the strictest consideration of the level of the economic and cultural development of the different regions of the country.

The poor peasants willingly joined the kolkhoz, many middle peasants followed them, but the most well-to-do section of the countryside opposed the very idea of the

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collective farm. The property of kolkhozes was destroyed, terrorist acts, of which party workers, state employees and kolkhoz activists were the victims, were committed.

On 30 January 1930 the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (of Bolsheviks) adopted the decree "On Measures to Eliminate Kulak Farms in Regions of Thorough Collectivization." The provisions of this decree were sanctioned in legislative acts of the Soviet state. An individualized approach to the kulaks was used when implementing them. The organizers of armed demonstrations were subject to isolation, the kulaks were resettled on lands located within the kolkhozes.

For the implementation of the program of socialist changes of agriculture 2,500 party workers, more than 27,000 experienced workers and specialists were sent to the countryside. The state allocated considerable monetary assets and machinery. All this gave the kolkhoz movement a broad scope.

However, during the initial period, along with great gains, errors caused by the lack of experience of transforming tens of millions of individual peasant farms into kolkhozes, by the hostile actions of the class enemy and by the underestimation of the strength of attachment of the middle peasant to the individual farm were also made in the matter of collectivization. Here and there the pursuit of a high percentage of collectivization began, the principle of voluntariness was violated, the diverse conditions of different regions of the country were not taken into account. The Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (of Bolsheviks) reacted promptly to cases of the distortion of party policy in collectivization and took steps to rectify them. The 16th party congress stressed: "Kolkhozes can be built only /on the basis of voluntariness/ [in italics]. Any attempt at the use of coercion or administrative compulsion with respect to the masses of poor and middle peasants for the purpose of associating them with the kolkhozes is a gross violation of party policy and an abuse of power."²²

Owing to the proper guidance of the party, the strengthening of the kolkhozes and the increasing might of the Soviet state, collectivization assumed a rapid pace. By the end of 1931 62 percent of the peasant farms had joined kolkhozes, while by 1937 the socialist transformation of agriculture had been completed. The kolkhozes united 93 percent of the peasant farms and had at their disposal more than 99 percent of the sown areas. The socialist style of life in the countryside became the undividedly predominant style of life, the division of the peasantry into poor peasants, middle peasants and kulaks was eliminated forever, a new, socialist class--the kolkhoz peasantry--was formed.

The kolkhozes made it possible to carry out agriculture, by using the latest achievements of science, on a modern industrial basis. During the years of the building of socialism and communism an enormous amount of work was performed on its technical equipment. Thus, the power-worker ratio of agriculture by early 1979 had increased 23-fold. In 1980 there were 2.58 million tractors, 713,000 grain harvesters, 1,607,000 trucks and millions of other machines in the village. The kolkhozes provided all the peasantry with prosperity and a steady increase of material well-being, education and culture.

"The ideas of the great Lenin on cooperation and party policy in the settlement of the peasant question," L. I. Brezhnev noted, "have completely stood up to the test

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of time. The experience of the USSR and the other socialist countries has shown in all obviousness that the building of socialism in the countryside is the only path to happiness for the peasantry and the basis of the well-being of all the working people."²³

/Other public organizations are also playing an active role in the life of our country/ [in boldface]: consumer and house building cooperatives, scientific and technical, scientific educational, sports and defense societies, creative unions, societies of book lovers, nature conservation, hunters and fishermen and so on. In all about 7,000 all-union, republic and local voluntary societies are in operation in the USSR. The Committee of Soviet Women, the Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace, the Soviet Committee of War Veterans and others are mass popular movements. The group of public organizations is constantly increasing, they encompass with their influence practically the entire population of the country. Each of them operates on a broad democratic basis, freely discusses and settles questions which pertain to its activity.

In the course of the building of communism our party is acquainting newer and newer millions of Soviet people with the management of the affairs of society and the state, is steadily increasing the level of the sociopolitical activeness of the masses and is developing the initiative and independent action of all public organizations. The more actively these organizations operate, the greater the contribution they make to the cause of building communism. Therefore, the party is directly interested in the increase of their role in the life of society and in their more complete utilization of their forces and potentials.

FOOTNOTES

1. See "Materialy XXVI s"yezda KPSS" [Materials of the 26th CPSU Congress], Moscow, 1981, p 66.
2. "KPSS v rezolyutsiyakh i resheniyakh s"yezdov, konferentsiy i plenumov TsK" [The CPSU in Resolutions and Decisions of Congresses, Conferences and Plenums of the Central Committee], 8th edition, Vol 1, Moscow, 1970, p 160.
3. Ibid., p 493.
4. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch." [Complete Works], Vol 42, p 297.
5. Ibid., Vol 44, p 346.
6. Ibid., Vol 42, p 203.
7. Ibid., Vol 44, p 346.
8. "KPSS v rezolyutsiyakh i resheniyakh s"yezdov, konferentsiy i plenumov TsK," 8th edition, Vol 2, Moscow, 1970, p 226.
9. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 43, p 41.
10. Ibid., Vol 36, p 160.

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11. "KPSS v rezolyutsiyakh i resheniyakh s"yezdov, konferentsiy i plenumov TsK," 8th edition, Vol 3, Moscow, 1970, p 272.
12. L. I. Brezhnev, "Leninskim kursom" [By the Leninist Course], Vol 6, Moscow, 1978; p 322.
13. See "Materialy XXVI s"yezda KPSS," p 66.
14. "KPSS v rezolyutsiyakh i resheniyakh s"yezdov, konferentsiy i plenumov TsK," Vol 2, p 326.
15. "KPSS v rezolyutsiyakh i resheniyakh s"yezdov, konferentsiy i plenumov TsK," Vol 1, p 499.
16. "KPSS v rezolyutsiyakh i resheniyakh s"yezdov, konferentsiy i plenumov TsK," Vol 2, p 84.
17. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 41, p 317.
18. See "Materialy XXVI s"yezda KPSS," p 67.
19. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 39, p 276.
20. Ibid., Vol 42, p 158.
21. Ibid., Vol 37, p 179.
22. "KPSS v rezolyutsiyakh i resheniyakh s"yezdov, konferentsiy i plenumov TsK," 8th edition, Vol 4, Moscow, 1970, p 450.
23. L. I. Brezhnev, "Leninskim kursom," Vol 2, Moscow, 1970, p 491.

PART V. PERSONAL RIGHTS AND FREEDOMS

The requirements in the area of personal rights and freedoms were set forth back in the first Party Program, long before the socialist revolution. Included here were: the inviolability of person and the home; unrestricted freedom of conscience; freedom of movement and trades; the right of every person to prosecute before the court any official.¹ The CPSU is also steadfastly following these requirements today, being the ruling party.

The USSR Constitution guarantees state protection of the family; the inviolability of person and the home; the protection of personal property and private life; the right to legal defense and damages; the freedom of conscience.

The respect of the individual and the protection of personal rights and freedoms are in our country the duty of not only all state organs, public organizations and officials, but also each Soviet individual. "The USSR citizen," it is stated in the Constitution, "is obligated to respect the rights and legal interests of other persons, to be intolerant of antisocial actions and to assist in every possible way the maintenance of public order."

The practical realization of rights and freedoms in our country does not involve great monetary expenditures, while in the West it entails material costs--legal costs, the payment for legal advice and so forth, which frequently many cannot afford. Our laws and everyday practice do not permit the exercise of rights and freedoms to depend in only some way on the social and financial status of a citizen.

What are the legal guarantees of personal rights and freedoms in the USSR?

/The constitutional right to state protection of the family/ [in boldface] is defined more accurately in a number of legislative acts and first of all in the Fundamentals of Legislation of the USSR and the Union Republics on Marriage and the Family. In this document it is stressed that concern for the family, which combines public and private interests, is one of the most important tasks of the Soviet state.

In our country only such a marriage, which has been concluded through the voluntary consent of the husband and wife, is recognized by the law. The Fundamentals of Legislation on Marriage and the Family stipulate the duties of spouses with respect to each other, as well as to the children, and actively promote the elimination of the vestiges of the unequal status of women in daily life.

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The rearing of the rising generation in the spirit of communist morality has been proclaimed as the most important duty of the family. "USSR citizens," it is stated in the Constitution, "are obligated to show concern for the rearing of children, to prepare them for socially useful labor and to raise them as worthy members of socialist society." In turn the concern for parents and the providing of assistance to them are the constitutional duty of children.

In the West they often reproach us for the fact that our citizens are ostensibly not permitted to conclude marriages with foreigners, that we do not have the freedom of emigration. This does not correspond to reality. For example, in the past 10 years more than 15,000 Soviet citizens have concluded marriages with foreigners. Many of them at the same time continued to live in the USSR, 10,500 left for the place of residence of their spouses in more than 100 countries. As for emigration, Soviet legislation and regulations are completely in line with the UN International Pact on Civil and Political Rights. In it, in particular, it is stated that the right to emigrate to another country can be restricted in instances connected with the protection of "national security, public order, the health or morality of the population or the rights and freedoms of others..."² In individual cases the decision on emigration can be postponed until close relatives settle their relations, including material relations. The decision on the emigration of people, who have secret state information or who have recently undergone military training in the most important military specialties, can be postponed. After the expiration of the established period of secrecy the question of emigration is reviewed. We have no other reasons for the denial of emigration.

/The right to the inviolability of person/ [in boldface] means that in our country no one can be subject to administrative prosecution or arrest other than on legal grounds. A court decision or sanction of the prosecutor can be such grounds.

The militia worker or investigator is obligated within 24 hours to report to the prosecutor the detention of a person suspected of a crime. If after this the prosecutor does not issue a sanction for arrest within 48 hours, the suspect should be freed. But even after the sanction of the prosecutor the detainee cannot be in custody for more than 10 days, if in this time a charge of the commission of a crime is not brought against him. Soviet criminal legislation establishes strict liability for illegal arrest or detention, for the passage of an unfair sentence and for false denunciations or unfounded charges of the commission of a crime. The Ukaze of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet on the compensation of the harm done by the illegal actions of officials of state and public organs was promulgated on 18 May 1981.

/The USSR Constitution guarantees the protection of the private life of citizens/ [in boldface]. In our country no one has the right without legal grounds to enter the home against the will and consent of the people living in it, to open others' letters or telegrams and to listen in on telephone conversations. The state guarantees the secrecy of monetary deposits in savings banks and their safe keeping. The making of a search and acquaintance with correspondence are permitted only when the investigation of a crime, for which there is the sanction of the prosecutor or a court decree, is carried out in conformity with the law. These constitutional provisions are also supported by other laws, which establish the civil and criminal liability for their violation.

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No thoughts and convictions, no matter how reprehensible they may be from the point of view of the authorities, involve legal liability in the USSR. Only criminal acts are punishable. Our criminal legislation states that only a person, who is guilty of committing a socially dangerous deed stipulated by the law, is subject to criminal liability and punishment. Moreover, the Criminal Code contains an exhaustive list of specific acts which are recognized as criminal and punishable. No broad interpretation of the articles of the code is permitted.

/USSR citizens have the right to own property and to inherit it, which is protected by the state/ [in boldface]. Earned savings, a residence, a private plot, a motor vehicle and other items of daily use, personal consumption and convenience may be in their private possession. Parcels of land, which are provided by the state and kolkhozes for the keeping of a private plot (including the keeping of livestock and poultry), horticulture, gardening and individual housing construction, can also be used by the working people.

At present, for example, the majority of rural residents live in their own house and have private plots. Tens of millions of head of domestic livestock and poultry, agricultural implements and tools of labor are in their private possession. Rural inhabitants use the products obtained on the private plot for personal consumption, and sell the surpluses through procurement organizations to the state or sell them at kolkhoz markets. In accordance with the USSR Constitution, the state and kolkhozes give assistance to citizens in the keeping of the private plot (the sale of fodders at preferential prices, assistance in the purchase of mineral fertilizers, various machines and so forth).

Individual labor activity in the sphere of agriculture, cottage industry and personal service, as well as other types of labor activity, which are based exclusively on the personal labor of citizens and the members of their families, are permitted in the USSR.

/The USSR Constitution guarantees the right of every citizen to legal protection against infringements upon his life and health, personal freedom, honor and dignity, property/ [in boldface]. Civil and criminal legislation establishes strict liability for such infringements, no matter by whom they are committed.

The Soviet people have the right to lodge complaints against the actions of officials, state and public organs. Our legislation specifies a precise procedure and period of the review of the complaints of citizens. If these actions were carried out with a violation of the laws, with the exceeding of authority and with the encroachment upon the rights of a citizen, complaints can be lodged against them in court in accordance with the procedure established by the law. In the case of harm, which is caused by the illegal actions of state or public organizations or officials in their performance of official duties, citizens have the right to compensation for it in the full amount.

Thus, in the Soviet Union the right to protection against arbitrary or illegal interference in the private life of a person is guaranteed to the full extent by legislation.

/Freedom of conscience is also an important constitutional guarantee of the personal rights and freedoms of the Soviet people/ [in boldface].

"Everyone should be completely free to profess whatever religion he wishes or not to recognize any religion, that is, to be an atheist.... No differences between citizens in their rights subject to religious beliefs are permissible at all"³-- the essence of the attitude of communists toward religion lies in these words of Lenin.

The Marxist-Leninist principle of the freedom of conscience stems from the dialectical materialist interpretation of the nature of religion and its essence as a distorted form of social consciousness, which arises and forms on the basis of the social and political conditions of the life of each people.

The exploiting classes are interested in religion as a tool for strengthening their domination over the masses. They impede in every possible way the spread among the working people of correct, scientific views of nature and society, believing not without reason that it is easier to keep in submission and easier to oppress backward people who believe in God. The state of affairs with religion in our country before the Great October Socialist Revolution can serve as an example of this.

Under tsarism the profession of any religion was the duty of every subject of the Russian Empire. The spread of materialistic views and antireligious propaganda were prohibited and persecuted. The "spiritual shepherds," as the priests called themselves, in fact were tsarist officials in cassocks.

Being a part of the state machinery, the church had an exceptionally great influence on all the public and private life of the people. Birth, marriage and death certificates were issued by church authorities. A marriage concluded without a religious ceremony was considered illegal, while the children born from such a marriage were considered "illegitimate." Dismissal from work threatened whoever did not meet the religious requirements. For example, the great Russian scientist K. A. Timiryazev was dismissed "for atheism" from the Agricultural Academy, which now bears his name.

Nearly half of the schools in the country were in the hands of the church. At all schools, state and private, the "scripture" (Orthodox dogma) was taught as a mandatory subject, while at elementary and parochial schools it was the main subject. The school authorities saw to it that the students attended services and performed religious rites. Religion was also forcibly imposed at higher educational institutions.

The demands of the Communist Party in the area of religion were formulated in its first Program. They included unrestricted freedom of conscience, the complete equality of all citizens regardless of religion and the separation of church and state and of school and church.⁴

With the victory of October the Marxist-Leninist principle of freedom of conscience found its complete embodiment and sanction in Soviet legislation. The decree of 20 January 1918 "On the Separation of Church and State and of School and Church" (it was signed by Lenin) established the right of every citizen to profess any religion or not to profess any, abolished all restrictions of rights, which were connected with any faith whatsoever, and sanctioned the equality of all religions before the law. This decree not only proclaimed, but also guaranteed the freedom of conscience.

The Communist Party and the Soviet state, having proclaimed and implemented the Marxist-Leninist principle of freedom of conscience, created the political and legal bases for the complete liberation of the working people from the influence of religious ideology, put an end to the extensive opportunities of clergymen to secure their domination over the minds of people and made room for the spread of a scientific world outlook. "With respect to religion," it was stated in the second Party Program, "the Russian Communist Party is not satisfied with the already decreed separation of church and state and of school and church.... The party is striving for the complete destruction of the tie between the exploiting classes and the organization of religious propaganda, by promoting the actual liberation of the working masses from religious prejudices and organizing the most extensive scientific educational and antireligious propaganda."⁵

It is well known that K. Marx responded to the question of the fate of religion under socialism as follows: "Religion will disappear as socialism is developed. Its disappearance should occur as a result of social development, in which a major role will belong to education."⁶ The practical experience of building socialism and communism in our country has completely confirmed the correctness of this conclusion.

During the years of Soviet power, as a result of enormous revolutionary changes in the life of society and much educational work of the Communist Party, millions of Soviet people have broken with religion. In the middle of the 1930's two-thirds of the adult population in the cities and one-third in the countryside were already nonbelievers. Since that time atheistic convictions have become even more widespread.

The sociological studies conducted in a number of oblasts, cities and rayons show that now among the adult population only 8-10 percent are active believers (observe fasts more or less regularly, confess, attend church and so on). Among young people up to the age of 20 97-98 percent are atheists. The most socially active categories of the population--skilled workers, rural machine operators, the intelligentsia--have come out from under the influence of the church. And those who are still devoted to religion are for their most part no long deeply religious people. The consciousness of many of them is double-faced, religious and scientific ideas are struggling in it. The further development of this process in the future leads to a society which is completely free of a religious world outlook.

However, religion is a tenacious vestige of the past, which has deep social and gnoseological roots. The vitality of religious delusions stems also from the activeness of religious organizations, the promotion of idealistic religious ideology from abroad and shortcomings in our atheistic work. Moreover, the still existing differences between the city and the countryside, mental and physical labor, in the level of education and material security of the population and others have an effect on them.

Religious prejudices, as a rule, are interwoven with the vestiges of private ownership and with the aspiration to withdraw into a narrow little philistine world and to evade broad public interests and border on displays of nationalism and chauvinism. For example, by cultivating the individual psychology of "the repenting and soul-saving sinner," religion hinders the development of collectivism and comradeship, while, in expounding the superiority of one faith over another, hampers the

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development of international friendship among peoples. That is why atheistic education remains even today one of the important area of the work of our party, /while the right to conduct atheistic propaganda is a constitutional right of USSR citizens/ [in boldface].

Here it should be emphasized that, while opposing religion, communists are fighting not against the believer, but for him, for his truly humane, and not illusory life. For our party the struggle against religious prejudices always was an ideological struggle of the scientific, materialistic world outlook against an antiscientific, religious world outlook. It is waging this struggle only by ideological, thoroughly humane and democratic means--by the means of training, persuasion and education. "We demand the complete separation of church and state," V. I. Lenin indicated, "in order to combat religious haze with purely ideological and only ideological weapons, with our press, with our word."⁷

In atheistic work the Communist Party always proceeded from the fact that all attempts to force believers by forcible measures to repudiate their convictions are not only unsound, but also harmful, that the spread of atheism is possible not as a result of the prohibition of religion, but by the gradual change of the mind of believers and their involvement in active social life.

In its decisions the party has repeatedly stressed how important it is to avoid any hurting of the feelings of believers, which leads only to the reinforcement of religious fanaticism. It resolutely put a stop to instances of administrative interference in the activity of religious associations and groups, the coarse treatment of the clergy and abusive attacks on believers who perform religious rites. "It is necessary to bear in mind," it was stated in the decree of the CPSU Central Committee "On the Errors in Conducting Scientific Atheistic Propaganda Among the Population" (1954), "that abusive actions with respect to the church, the clergy and believing citizens are incompatible with the policy of the party and the state of conducting scientific atheistic propaganda and are at variance with the USSR Constitution, which grants Soviet citizens freedom of conscience."⁸

The protection of the rights of believers and the loyal attitude of the Soviet state toward the church are one of the requirements of socialist legality. /The USSR Constitution guarantees Soviet citizens the right to profess any religion and to practice religious cults, prohibits the incitement of hostility and hatred in connection with religious beliefs/ [in boldface]. Soviet legislation contains special legal norms, which protect believers, religious associations and ministers of religion against encroachments upon their legal rights. Liability, up to criminal liability, for hindering the performance of religious rites, if they are carried out within the framework of Soviet laws, is envisaged.

While granting and protecting the rights of believers and the church, the USSR Constitution at the same time emphasizes that the observance of the laws and legal norms prevailing in our country is the most important duty of all Soviet citizens, including believers. The organization of those religious groups, the activity of which is accompanied by the causing of harm to the health of citizens or by their inducement to refuse to perform civic duties, is prohibited in the Soviet Union.

It must be said that for its most part the clergy is honestly meeting the requirement of Soviet laws. If individual church or church-affiliated extremists, as a

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rule, for selfish purposes attempt to evade them, it is quite understandable that they bear responsibility for such actions.

There is in the Soviet Government the special Council for Religious Affairs, the basic task of which consists in monitoring the proper enforcement of the laws which pertain to the activity of religious associations, without any interference in their internal life.

Imperialist propaganda often presents the attitude of the Communist Party and the Soviet state toward religion and the church in a distorted light. It is spreading lies about persecutions of clergymen and believers in the USSR, concerning the fact that Soviet legislation on religious cults encroaches upon freedom of conscience, that religion in our country is being eradicated by forcible methods, that in the Soviet Union there is only "compulsory atheism." The flimsiness of such claims is obvious to everyone who is if only a little familiar with the actual status of believers and the church in the Soviet Union. The leaders of the clergy in the USSR also testify to this, numerous foreign guests visiting our country are also convinced of this.

"For western propaganda," noted (Seid Baraka Molla Shamsuddovla), editor in chief of the journal (ISLAM IN THE PRESENT CENTURY), "the assertion that Moslems in the USSR are subject to oppression, has become customary. Unfortunately, some people believe these cock and bull stories. Having visited this country, and in particular flourishing Tajikistan, we saw that the Moslems here live well, enjoy all the good things of civilization and education, do not suffer from unemployment. The USSR is not a Moslem country, but the Government of the Soviet Union has granted the Moslems such rights and opportunities, which were never granted in the Moslem countries."⁹

In recent years religious organizations in our country at their major intrachurch forums confirmed their sincere support of the Soviet social and state system and the new USSR Constitution and expressed approval of the domestic and foreign policy of the Communist Party and the Soviet state. Along with all the Soviet people they are speaking out in defense of peace and for the strengthening of friendship between peoples. The World Conference "Religious Figures for a Lasting Peace, Disarmament and Just Relations Among Peoples," which representatives of nearly all religions from 107 countries of the world attended, was held in the USSR in 1977. An international symposium on the theme "The Contribution of the Moslems of Central Asia, the Volga River Region and the Caucasus to the Development of Islamic Thought and to the Cause of Peace and Social Progress," in which religious figures from the different republics of the Soviet Union, as well as prominent representatives of the Moslem clergy from 25 countries participated, was held in 1979 in the capital of Soviet Tajikistan, Dushanbe.

FOOTNOTES

1. See "KPSS v rezolyutsiyakh i resheniyakh s"yezdov, konferentsiy i plenumov TsK" [The CPSU in Resolutions and Decisions of Congresses, Conferences and Plenums of the Central Committee], 8th edition, Vol 1, Moscow, 1970, p 63.

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2. "Human Rights. A Collection of International Agreements of the United Nations," New York, UNIPUB, 1973.
3. V. I. Lenin. "Poln. sobr. soch." [Complete Works], Vol 12, p 143.
4. See "KPSS v rezolyutsiyakh i resheniyakh s"yezdov, konferentsiy i plenumov TsK," Vol 1, p 63.
5. "KPSS v rezolyutsiyakh i resheniyakh s"yezdov, konferentsiy i plenumov TsK," 8th edition, Vol 2, Moscow, 1970, p 49.
6. K. Marx and F. Engels, "Ob ateizme, religii i tserkvi" [On Atheism, Religion and the Church], Moscow, 1971, p 470.
7. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 12, p 145.
8. "KPSS v rezolyutsiyakh i resheniyakh s"yezdov, konferentsiy i plenumov TsK," 8th edition, Vol 6, Moscow, 1971, p 517.
9. PRAVDA, 14 July 1980.

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CONCLUSION

The 64th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution appears on our calendars. Much, very much has changed in the world during these years. Monarchies have fallen, fascist dictatorships have been swept away, the colonial system of imperialism has collapsed. The world system of socialism arose, has been growing and has become stronger, newer and newer countries and people have entered the path of a socialist orientation. Imperialism is losing one position after another. And one of the main reasons for the triumphant progress of socialism consists in the fact that precisely it serves as an example of the most just organization of society, ensures genuine human rights, creates the most favorable conditions for the development of the individual and is not in words, but in deed a society of equal opportunities for all working people.

The more than 60 years of experience of the USSR convincingly attest: socialism and human rights are inseparable. Socialism is inconceivable without human rights and freedoms just as genuine human rights and freedoms are inconceivable outside socialism.

As for the campaign about imaginary "violations" of human rights in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, their organizers miscalculated and stepped on too thin ice. The book "The Human Rights Situation in the United States," which was prepared by the Communist Party of the United States, convincingly attests to their pharisaism and hypocrisy. In it the American communists draw the correct conclusion: "Capitalism is a system which arose on the basis of slave labor and many centuries of slavery, child labor, the oppression of women, contempt with respect to those who work and produce, the extolling of the superiority of men, elitism and racism and its derivatives: colonialism and predatory wars, and this capitalism with the aid of its politicians and writers still dares to teach morals and human rights to the socialist world!"¹

"Freedom and justice for all," which are declared in bourgeois society, are only a dream for the overwhelming majority of the population of the capitalist countries. "And what," L. I. Brezhnev said, "can the apologists of the capitalist orders oppose... to the real achievements of mature socialism? What are the real rights and freedoms, which contemporary imperialist society grants to the broad masses of working people?

"The 'right' of tens of millions to unemployment? Or the 'right' of the ill to go without medical assistance, which costs an enormous amount of money? Or the 'right'

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of national minorities to humiliating discrimination in labor and education, in daily life and in political life? Or, perhaps, the 'right' to live in constant fear of the omnipotence of the organized crime world and to see how the press and movies, television and radio do everything in order to raise the young generation in the spirit of egotism, cruelty and violence?"²

Such is the real state of things.

On what do the "defenders" of human rights and freedoms base themselves in their attacks on socialism? One provision does not suit them. In the USSR Constitution it is stated: "The exercise by citizens of rights and freedoms should not do harm to the interests of society and the state, to the rights of other citizens." In these words, in the fundamental unity of the rights and freedoms of citizens with their duties they see an "intolerable restriction" of the rights of the individual, a contradiction of democracy.

Such assertions do not stand up to any criticism. The connection of rights and duties is a universally recognized principle of the democratic organization of social life. In the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which was adopted by the United Nations in 1948, it was stated: "...Every person has duties to the society in which the free and complete development of his personality is also only possible. When exercising his rights and freedoms every person should be subject only to such restrictions which are established by the law exclusively for the purpose of the assurance of the proper recognition and respect of the rights and freedoms of others and the satisfaction of the justifiable requirements of morals, public order and general well-being in democratic society." This provision was recorded in the International Pacts on Human Rights, which were ratified and are being strictly observed by our country. The Soviet Constitution sanctions this principle in the interests of our entire society and each citizen.

In this connection it is impossible not to note that the international pacts on human rights, which have been signed and ratified by all the countries of the socialist community, so far are not recognized by those who are causing the greatest stir about human rights. Not by chance did American sociologist G. Green write back in 1956 that for the United States "it will be hard to accept an agreement which contains economic, social and cultural rights, since they go beyond the framework of the rights which found expression in the U.S. Constitution."³

The Soviet people, whose will is expressed in our Fundamental Law, are unanimous on the fact that socialist democracy is the unity of rights and duties, genuine freedom and civic responsibility, the harmonious combination of the interests of society, the collective and the individual. And the very nature of discipline in socialist society is thoroughly democratic. In the words of V. I. Lenin, this is "comradely discipline, discipline of all kinds of respect, discipline of independence and initiative in the struggle."⁴

Socialist democracy is constantly being improved. As the programs of socioeconomic and cultural development are fulfilled, the socialist system ensures the extension of the guarantees of rights and freedoms and the continuous improvement of the life of the working people. And Lenin's party is the main guarantor of this progressive development.

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"We have not yet achieved communism," L. I. Brezhnev said. "But the entire world sees that the activity of our party and its aspirations are aimed at doing everything necessary for the good of man, in the name of man. Precisely this highest, humane goal of the party creates a bond between it and the people, unites it with all the Soviet people by strong, indissoluble bonds."⁵

FOOTNOTES

1. "The Human Rights Situation in the United States," Moscow, 1978, p 86.
2. L. I. Brezhnev, "Leninskim kursom" [By the Leninist Course], Vol 6, Moscow, 1978, p 531.
3. G. Green, "The United Nations and Human Rights," Washington, 1956, p 40.
4. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch." [Complete Works], Vol 36, p 500.
5. L. I. Brezhnev, "Leninskim kursom," Vol 5, Moscow, 1976, p 549.

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