

Y. U M A N S K Y

CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS  
OF  
SOVIET CITIZENS



FOREIGN LANGUAGES PUBLISHING HOUSE 1955

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Moscow 1955

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## CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
FREEDOM OF THE INDIVIDUAL IN THE U.S.S.R. .	7
SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC RIGHTS OF CITIZENS OF THE U.S.S.R. . . . .	15
POLITICAL RIGHTS OF CITIZENS OF THE U.S.S.R. .	26
PERSONAL FREEDOMS OF SOVIET CITIZENS . . .	34
GUARANTEES OF THE RIGHTS AND FREEDOMS OF CITIZENS OF THE U.S.S.R. . . . .	39
UNITY OF RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF CITIZENS OF THE U.S.S.R. . . . .	49

The great thinkers and humanists of the past expressed the cherished hopes of the popular masses in dreams of creating upon earth a system of society in which there would be no social injustice, class antagonisms or national hostility. But in their dreams of a blissful future for mankind they were unable to give the correct solution for the question of the emancipation of the individual, as they proceeded not from the conditions of the material life of society, but from "ideal plans," from the abstract principles of "human reason" and the eternal and immutable "nature of man."

Marxism-Leninism for the first time in the history of human thought created a scientific theory of the struggle for the emancipation of humanity from all economic, political and moral enslavement and showed the way to real freedom for the individual and to the full development of all his physical and mental abilities.

Even in their early works, Marx and Engels showed that the emancipation of the individual is not to be achieved by means of philanthropy and moral improvement. They established that the cause of the sufferings and afflictions of the people and the chief source of oppression of the individual are rooted in the social and economic conditions of man's life. They showed that the destruction of feudalism and the consolidation of capitalism did not affect the foundations of the society of old—private ownership of the instruments and means of production—and did not do away with the mastery of a handful of exploiters over the broad

masses of the exploited. Although the bourgeois constitutions proclaimed freedom and equality as inalienable rights of man, they at the same time consolidated private property and the exploitation of man by man, thereby turning their magnificent and solemn declarations on the rights and freedoms of man into empty talk.

Only as the result of the abolition of private ownership and the establishment of social ownership of the instruments and means of production can genuine freedom of the individual be assured. But without the conquest of political power by the proletariat, these fundamental economic tasks of the new structure of society cannot be carried out. For the real emancipation of the working people, and consequently of the individual, and for the all-round development of the latter, no other way is to be found than the substitution of the dictatorship of the proletariat for the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

This indispensable condition for the effective emancipation of the individual presupposes the union and the consolidation of the forces of all the working people in the revolutionary struggle. Capitalism cannot be abolished by isolated individuals: it can be overthrown only by the efforts of the popular masses rising under the leadership of the working class to fight for their emancipation from exploitation and for socialism. Contrary to the Anarchists, who maintain that the emancipation of the individual is the principal condition for the emancipation of the masses, Marxism has proved that the emancipation of the masses is the main condition for the emancipation of the individual. The individual can be emancipated only through the emancipation of the masses, of the whole people.

Marxism-Leninism teaches that the popular masses, the working people, are the decisive and the chief force in historical development, that they constitute the chief productive force of society. The people, the creator of all material values, is the maker of history. That is why the whole of the activity of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union

from the moment of its birth has been permeated with profound faith in the people and its creative power. The might and vitality of the Communist Party lie in its close contact with the workers, peasants and intelligentsia. "Only he will be victorious and maintain power," the great Lenin teaches, "who believes in the people and plunges into the source of living popular creation."<sup>1</sup>

### FREEDOM OF THE INDIVIDUAL IN THE U.S.S.R.

The 1917 Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia which opened a new era in the history of mankind and the epoch-making victories of the Soviet people in its fight for the building of a socialist society denoted the triumph of the great teaching of Marxism-Leninism.

Overthrowing for ever the rule of exploiters in Russia and establishing instead the dictatorship of the proletariat, the October Revolution laid the unshakable foundations of genuine democracy, of freedom for all workers, and consequently for the individual.

The millions of Russian working people, freed from exploitation, became for the first time active participants in political life, and rose to enlightened and decisive participation in the management of the state.

But the Great October Socialist Revolution was not confined to the granting of just political liberties to the working people. Its characteristic feature consisted in its giving the people material blessings. The lands which had been in the hands of the landlords were handed over for the gratuitous use of all the working people; all the key positions in the national economy—large-scale industry, banks, railways, means of communication, etc.—were also transferred to state ownership, to ownership by the whole people; housing resources were placed at the disposal of the

<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Works*, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. 26, p. 259.

working people; the eight-hour working day was established; annual leave with full pay was instituted for all workers and employees; the broad working masses were drawn into cultural and educational work; science, art, literature, and the press were placed at the service of the people.

Thus, after the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the material foundation was laid and the factual possibilities were created for the concrete implementation by the workers of the democratic rights and freedoms granted them. Despite the enormously difficult conditions the country found itself in, the Soviet state, in the very first years of its existence, created for the overwhelming majority of the population "the factual possibility of making use of democratic rights and freedoms even an approximation of which never existed in the very best and most democratic bourgeois republics."<sup>1</sup>

Notwithstanding the unprecedented scale of Soviet democracy, however, in the first phase of the development of the Soviet state, when one of the features of the country's economy was the presence of various economic structures, when exploiting classes still existed, there could not yet be full democratization of political life. For the implementation of full democratization a most difficult and tenacious struggle had to be waged against the internal and external forces of counter-revolution, the burdensome heritage left by capitalism had to be overcome, and a strenuous fight for the economic rebirth of the country and the building of socialism lay ahead. The Soviet people successfully implemented the plan for the socialist industrialization of the country and the collectivization of agriculture elaborated by the Communist Party. The exploiting classes were finally liquidated and socialism was victorious in the Land of Soviets. The victory of socialism put an end once and for all to the exploitation of man by man, abolished unemployment, and brought the people a radical improvement in its

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<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Works*, Vol. 28, p. 443.

material welfare, creating the necessary conditions for a prosperous and cultured life.

The characteristic feature of the economic basis of socialism, that is, the economic system of socialist society, is the preponderance of public, socialist ownership of the means of production. The mutual relations between people in the production process under socialism are based on comradely collaboration and socialist mutual help of workers who are free from exploitation. The distribution of products in socialist society is effected in proportion to the quantity and quality of work of each member of society.

The basic guiding principle of socialism is: "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work." Under socialism the workers are materially interested in the result of their work, in the development of their knowledge, in the raising of their qualifications. The higher the productivity of the workers' labour, the quicker the rate of development of socialist production, the broader are the possibilities of satisfying the constantly growing requirements of the individual as well as of society as a whole.

Thus, the socialist principle of distribution, which is unswervingly and constantly put in practice by the Soviet state, harmoniously combines the individual interests of the workers in the results of their work with the interests of the development of social production as a whole.

The wolfish laws of capitalism according to which either you rob somebody else or are robbed by him, either you work for somebody else or he works for you, are for ever abolished in socialist society. Socialism is a system of society in which the interests of the individual are combined with the interests of the collective: through the collective the individual receives the satisfaction of his manifold material and cultural requirements on the basis of the wealth of the whole society. The greater the prosperity, the higher the level of development of socialist society, the greater is the rise in the material prosperity of each citizen, the greater is the scope for the application of his strength and abil-

ities for the benefit of society. And the more actively and brilliantly man's individuality—his moral and spiritual forces and his creative abilities—is displayed, the higher and the more cultured the level of the whole society. At the same time, the welfare of the individual is based, under socialism, on the welfare of the whole people, of society as a whole.

In socialist society, the aim of social production is the all-round and complete satisfaction of the constantly growing requirements of man. This aim, just as the means for its achievement—the continuous growth and perfecting of socialist production on the basis of higher technique—constitute the contents of the basic economic law of socialism.

In accordance with the requirements of the basic economic law of socialism, the chief task of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in the domain of internal policy is the maximum satisfaction of the continually growing material and cultural requirements of the workers, collective farmers and intelligentsia, of all the Soviet people. The Communist Party directs the activities of all organs of state power and state management and all public organizations in the Soviet Union towards the fulfilment of each and every aspect of this main task.

Thanks to the all-round and ever growing economic, organizational, cultural and educational activity of the Soviet state, the enormous advantages inherent in the socialist system of economy are realized, the uninterrupted growth of socialist production is assured and the material and cultural level of the Soviet people steadily rises.

The socialist structure is founded on community of basic interests between the workers, peasants and intelligentsia, and a characteristic feature of it is their friendly collaboration in the building of communism. Whereas capitalist society is torn by irreconcilable antagonisms, as a result of the victory of socialism and the community of interests between the working people, great motive powers such as moral and political unity, friendship between the peoples

of the U.S.S.R., and Soviet patriotism have been developed and consolidated in Soviet society.

For the first time in history, the Soviet social and state structure created favourable conditions for the development of the individual members of society as well as of society as a whole and ensured genuine freedom of the individual and reliable guarantees for the safeguarding of his rights.

The epoch-making victory of the Soviet people was legally consolidated in the 1936 Constitution of the U.S.S.R., the constitution of socialism triumphant. Its adoption constituted a change of great significance in the political life of the country and marked a new stage in the development of Soviet democracy.

The 1936 Constitution of the U.S.S.R. abolished all the restrictions and exceptions in rights and freedoms existing in the constitutions of 1918 and 1924 because of the presence in the country of exploiting classes, widened the circle of constitutional rights of citizens both by sanctioning new rights (the right to work) and by the inclusion in the constitution of rights hitherto regulated by current legislation (the right to rest and leisure, to maintenance in old age and in case of sickness and of disability). The base was widened and the methods and material means multiplied for the widest possible enjoyment of the rights and freedoms proclaimed by the constitution. With the victory of socialism in the U.S.S.R., Soviet democracy developed from democracy for the majority of the population into democracy for all.

The broad enjoyment by the citizens of the U.S.S.R. of the constitutional rights and freedoms granted to them is a powerful source of the efflorescence of the creative powers of the Soviet people and one of the most vivid manifestations of genuine liberty of the individual in the U.S.S.R.

The bourgeoisie and their learned lackeys have long been spreading the malign calumny that socialism leads to the "extinction of individuality," to the lowering of the intellectual standard of the individual, to the levelling down of

people's requirements and living; that by the very fact that it abolishes private property, socialism abolishes also the individual, whose interests, they allege, are sacrificed to the collective, to the state. Nothing could be falsier than those assertions of the enemies of socialism. In actual fact, it is in capitalist countries, where power belongs to a handful of exploiters, while the majority of the people, the working masses, are subject to the pitiless law of capitalist profit-making and doomed to unemployment and impoverishment, that the individual, if he does not belong to the ruling class, is oppressed and trampled down to the extreme. In capitalist countries, man's place in life and the scope of his rights are determined by his fortune and his class position. In his speech at the XIXth Congress of the C.P.S.U., J. V. Stalin said that formerly the bourgeoisie could afford to play the liberal, to uphold the bourgeois democratic liberties. Now not a trace remains of this liberalism. The so-called "freedom of the individual" no longer exists, the rights of the individual are now extended only to those who possess capital, while all other citizens are regarded as mere human raw material, fit only to be exploited.

The capitalist structure cripples the workers, physically and mentally. Many talented people from working families perish under the yoke of indigence and privation. Freedom in the bourgeois conception, according to V. I. Lenin's definition, means nothing else than "freedom for the rich to make profits and freedom of the workers to starve to death."<sup>1</sup>

Experience shows that it is only under socialism, where economic and social oppression are done away with, that all the requisites are provided for the real elevation of the human individuality; each and every one has the opportunity to apply his creative forces and capacities.

On the basis of the socialist social structure which has

<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Works*, Vol. 28, p. 439.

been firmly established in the Soviet Union, the principle in force is that neither property status, national origin, sex, nor official position, but the personal ability and personal labour of each citizen determine his place in society. In accordance with this principle, every citizen of the Soviet Union is afforded the opportunity of occupying a place in society corresponding to his personal capacity and labour. Thus work, from an instrument of enslavement of man as it was and still is in all societies based on exploitation and class antagonisms, has been transformed in socialist society into a most important means of developing the individual. The Soviet system raised the broad masses of the people to active social and political life and gave birth to abilities and creative forces in the popular masses with the help of which it has become possible to build socialism and advance on the road to communism.

Marx and Engels wrote that in communist society not everybody would be a Raphael, but everybody in whom a Raphael was latent would have every opportunity for the all-round development of his abilities without any hindrance. In whatever sphere the Soviet citizen works, all roads lie wide open for him to develop, perfect and manifest his ability and talent. Every single Soviet citizen who has a disposition to become a scientist, a musician, an artist or a designer can do so, inasmuch as the Soviet social and state system provides unlimited opportunity for the development of society as a whole as well as of its individual members.

Never in history has a people had the opportunities for the all-round development of every member of society, for the display of initiative, for the perfection of his knowledge, the raising of his qualifications, for taking a wide part in the political, economic and cultural life that the Soviet people has.

Socialism has guaranteed genuine freedom of the individual by emancipating him from oppression, exploitation, unemployment, economic crises and indigence. The experi-

ence of socialist construction in the U.S.S.R. has brilliantly corroborated the fact that only through such emancipation can men and women of the people rise to their full stature, develop their talents, find application for them and attain all-round development of their physical and moral abilities. Freedom from exploitation, oppression and want is the basis of all other freedoms. "It is difficult for me to imagine what 'personal liberty' is enjoyed by an unemployed person, who goes about hungry and cannot find employment. Real liberty can exist only where exploitation has been abolished, where there is no oppression of some by others, where there is no unemployment and poverty, where a man is not haunted by the fear of being tomorrow deprived of work, of home and of bread. Only in such a society is real, and not paper, personal and every other liberty possible."<sup>1</sup>

That is precisely the kind of society that has been created for the first time in history in the Land of Soviets.

In Soviet society, freedom of the individual finds its embodiment first and foremost in the great rights guaranteed to Soviet citizens by the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. and presupposes real possibility for every citizen of all-round implementation of his social and economic rights, his political rights and his personal freedoms.

The system of rights and democratic freedoms legislatively sanctioned by the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. includes:

social and economic rights (the right to work, the right to rest and leisure, the right to maintenance in old age and in case of sickness or disability, the right to education, the right to a household in a collective farm, the right of citizens to personal property);

political rights (equality of rights for all citizens irrespective of sex, nationality or race, freedom of conscience, freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of assem-

<sup>1</sup> *Interview between J. Stalin and Roy Howard, Moscow 1936, pp. 12-13.*

bly including the holding of mass meetings, freedom of street processions and demonstrations, the right to unite in public organizations, the electoral rights of citizens);

personal freedoms (inviolability of the person, inviolability of the home and privacy of correspondence, guarantee of the right of the accused to legal defence).

The basic rights together with the basic duties of Soviet citizens legislatively sanctioned by the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. are the expression of the basis of the state and juridical position of citizens of the U.S.S.R., and guarantee the Soviet people the opportunity of taking an active part in all spheres of economic, state, cultural, social and political life of the country. All other rights and duties of Soviet citizens, provided for by current legislation, are the concretization and the further development of the basic rights and duties, established and guaranteed by the Constitution of the U.S.S.R.

## SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC RIGHTS OF CITIZENS OF THE U.S.S.R.

The greatest of the conquests of the Soviet people is the *right to work*,—the right to a guaranteed job with pay for work according to quality and quantity. The right to work is one of the most important principles of socialism, one of its basic foundations. This right is guaranteed by the socialist organization of the national economy, the unflinching growth of the productive forces of Soviet society, the elimination of the possibility of economic crises and the liquidation of unemployment.

Jan Modrin, an old Riga mason who worked for over thirty years on different building sites, says: "I am glad that I now live in the Land of Soviets and enjoy all the great rights of a citizen of the U.S.S.R. None of us need to go looking for work any more. On the contrary, work is looking for us: in the Soviet country, where everyone works for himself and for the whole of society, unemployment has long

been forgotten. And that is a great good fortune for a working man!"

The steady growth and the perfecting of socialist production on the basis of higher technique open inexhaustible possibilities for all citizens to find an application of their labour. This is confirmed by the uninterrupted increase year by year of the number of workers and other employees. Their number in the Soviet Union rose in 1953 to 44,800,000. During the Fifth Five-Year Plan (1951-1955) in accordance with the growth of the volume of production and also in connection with the tasks in the domain of cultural construction, the total of workers and employees in the Soviet Union will increase by about 15 per cent in comparison with 1950.

The elimination of the exploiting classes in the Soviet Union, and the fact that people work for themselves and for society have produced a radical change in the nature of labour. From a degrading and heavy burden, as labour is under capitalism, it has become in the Soviet Union a matter of honour, valour, and heroism for every able-bodied citizen. As a result of the changes that have taken place in the Land of Soviets—the introduction of new technique into production, the mastering of that technique by advanced workers, and the radical improvement in the material position of the working people, socialist emulation between the workers in town and country—the communist method of building a new life on the basis of the maximum activity of millions of working people—has spread with unprecedented rapidity throughout the country. In all branches of communist construction various new forms of socialist emulation for the fulfilling and overfulfilling of norms, for improvement in quality of output and reduction of its cost, etc., are being continually brought into being.

One can judge of the broad scale on which the creative participation and manifold initiative of the Soviet people in the perfection of socialist production is manifested by the fact, among others, that in 1953 alone the inventions, techni-

cal perfections, and rationalization proposals applied in industry, building and transport totalled more than 850,000. Never in the history of mankind was there a precedent of such mass creativeness.

Pursuing their provocative aims, the calumniators from the imperialist camp under the order of the U.S. State Department spread lies about forced labour in the U.S.S.R. In point of fact, however, forced labour is the foundation of the capitalist system, under which the great majority of the population are forced to work to enrich a handful of capitalist exploiters. What the much praised freedom of labour means in the U.S.A. is shown by the reactionary laws like those of Taft-Hartley, Smith, McCarran and others. Robert Byrd, a member of the American House of Representatives, made the following declaration about the fascist-like Taft-Hartley law, by which forced labour and super-exploitation of the workers in the United States received legislative sanction: "When workers *are forced* to work against their will by order of the government they are *victims of slavery*: that is slave labour and it can in no way be conciliated with the idea of liberty."

Such is the so-called freedom of labour in the United States, by the very admission of an American Congressman.

The socialist system alone has guaranteed the workers genuine freedom and provided favourable conditions for the productive work of citizens. All the latest achievements of Soviet science and technique are aimed at making the labour of the workers and collective-farm peasants lighter and more healthy by every possible means; enormous sums are spent by the state on the introduction of machines to make work easier, on the mechanization and automatization of production, on the protection of labour and on safety devices.

All this can be the case only in a country in which there is no exploitation of man by man, in which every citizen is guaranteed the right to work, in which genuine freedom of labour is a reality. Mary Bowden, a member of an American trade-union delegation that visited the Soviet Union

in 1951, writes: "During our stay in the Soviet Union, we really understood that the greatest value here is man. We found out too that everything which is done in the Soviet Union is done for the workers. The Soviet workers are provided with splendid working conditions."

The right to work in the Soviet Union is inseparable from the *right to rest and leisure*.

In order to guarantee the right to rest and leisure, the Soviet state has established the eight-hour day—and even a shorter working day in a number of professions—and annual leave with full pay for industrial, office and professional workers, and has provided the working people with a wide network of sanatoriums, rest-homes and clubs.

Year by year the Soviet state and the economic and trade-union organizations go on extending the network of hospitals, out-patient clinics, maternity homes, sanatoriums and rest-homes, nurseries and kindergartens. Expenditure on health protection and physical culture rose from 9,000 million rubles in 1940 to 30,500 million rubles according to the state budget for 1955, which means that it was more than trebled. Besides budget assignments, 2,400 million rubles was expended out of state funds for social insurance in 1953 for the purchase of accommodation cards for workers and other employees in sanatoriums and rest-homes, on building and repairing rest-homes, on the maintenance of pioneer camps and the organization of rest for children in summer.

In 1952, about four and a half million persons underwent treatment in sanatoriums and rest-homes, and the figure rose to five million in 1953.

As a result of the solicitude of the state for the protection of the people's health, and the continual expansion of institutions of the people's health services, the sick and death rates in the U.S.S.R. fall year by year, while the birth-rate rises. In recent years there has been an average annual increase of three million in the population of the U.S.S.R.

The Soviet state devotes attention and care to those

citizens too who have lost the ability to work. Accordingly, the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. grants citizens the *right to maintenance in old age and in case of sickness or disability*.

This right is guaranteed by the wide development of social insurance for workers and other employees at the expense of the state, by free medical assistance to all citizens, and by placing at their service an extensive system of health resorts.

All Soviet citizens without exception are entitled to social insurance, no matter where they work—in state, public, or co-operative enterprises or institutions: it is ensured at the expense of the state without any deductions from the workers' wages.

Co-operative insurance in the craft co-operatives is organized on the model of state social insurance for workers and other employees. In accordance with the Model Rules of the Agricultural Artel special funds are assigned out of the social funds of the collective farms for help to invalids, the aged, those who have temporarily lost the ability to work, needy families of men under military service and for the maintenance of nurseries.

Year by year the Soviet state increases the assignments for social insurance of industrial, office and professional workers. If the social insurance budget for 1940 is taken as 100, the 1946 budget shows an increase of 34.4 per cent, the 1950 budget an increase of 127.2 per cent, and the 1952 budget an increase of 143.3 per cent.

The budget of state social insurance amounted in 1953 to 22,700 million rubles, that is, 1,300 million rubles more than in 1952, and in 1954 it reached 24,700 million rubles.

The next great achievement of socialism is the *right of citizens of the U.S.S.R. to education*. This right is ensured by universal and compulsory elementary education, free seven-year education, a system of state stipends for students of higher educational establishments who distinguish themselves in their studies; by teaching in schools being

given in the native language, and by the organization in factories, state farms, machine and tractor stations, and collective farms of free vocational, technical, and agronomic training for the working people.

The cultural and educational work of the socialist state organs guarantees an uninterrupted rise in the culture and education of the whole Soviet people. In recent years a real cultural revolution has taken place in the country; during the years of Soviet power millions of workers have received higher and secondary education, have become intellectual workers or specialists in various branches of learning. In 1952 five and a half million specialists with secondary or higher education—2.2 times as many as before the war—were at work in the Soviet Union and in 1953 there were 8 per cent more than in 1952.

In the year 1954 alone more than 560,000 young specialists graduated from secondary or higher educational establishments.

The time has long since receded into the past when a man with higher education was a rarity in a family of workers. Workers and collective farmers have every opportunity of giving their children higher education because the Soviet state has created the necessary conditions. Here is an ordinary Soviet family—that of an old metal worker, Arkhip Nikitich Spravtsev, living in Dnepropetrovsk. All the Spravtsev children have received higher education. The eldest son Vladimir graduated from Kharkov Pedagogical Institute and is now director of a school. Nikolai, another son, is a railway engineer. The daughters Darya and Valentina graduated with distinction from the Kiev Chaikovsky Conservatoire and became artistes. Nadezhda, the youngest daughter, is studying in the Kharkov Institute of Law. There are many such families in the Soviet Union.

The C.P.S.U. has set itself the task of making all workers and peasants cultured and educated. That grandiose task is being successfully implemented. Tens of millions of Soviet citizens have mastered the achievements of science. The

scope of genuine popular education in the U.S.S.R. may be judged by the total number of students, which was over 57 millions in 1954, while the number of students in Soviet higher educational establishments and technical schools was more than 3 millions. The great striving of the Soviet people to master all the riches of culture, to raise their cultural and technical standard is witnessed by the fact that millions of men and women from works, factories or collective farms study, without interrupting their productive work, at schools of advanced methods of labour and various technical and zootechnical courses, where they raise their qualifications and acquire new specialities.

During the period of the Fourth Five-Year Plan (1946-1950) the transition to universal compulsory seven-year education was completed in the U.S.S.R. The time is not far off when all the young generation in the Soviet land will get secondary (ten-year) education. The XIXth Congress of the C.P.S.U. set the task of completing by the end of the Fifth Five-Year Plan, i.e., 1955, the transition from universal seven-year education to universal secondary (ten-year) education in the capitals of the Union Republics, cities administered by the republics, in the main towns of regions and territories, and large industrial centres. At the same time, the conditions must be prepared for implementing universal ten-year education in the other towns and rural localities in the next five-year plan period.

The Soviet state is not sparing of funds to ensure the fulfilling of the tasks for the cultural development of the people. Expenditure on popular education in 1951 amounted to 57,300 million rubles, more than 2.5 times the sum expended for that purpose in 1940. According to the state budget for 1954, more than 67,000 million rubles out of the total sum assigned for social and cultural activities are allotted to education.

The age-old contradiction between mental and physical labour arising out of the conditions of antagonistic class society founded on private property and the exploitation of

man by man has been for ever abolished in the U.S.S.R. There the situation under which the enormous majority of the members of society are doomed to slavish physical labour while a small number of privileged members devote themselves to the affairs of state, science, art, etc., has been eliminated. The steady rise in the cultural and technical standards of physical workers in the U.S.S.R. ensures the gradual overcoming of the substantial distinctions which still exist between mental and physical labour. All the economic, organizational, and cultural and educational activity of the Soviet state ensures the solving of this problem. The scale of this activity can be judged by the fact, for example, that in 1954 the Soviet state was able to embrace by diverse forms of training 7,700,000 workers and other employees and raise their qualifications.

In the course of communist construction, the substantial distinctions between mental and physical labour will be more and more effaced in proportion with the cultural growth of Soviet society.

Among the constitutional rights of Soviet citizens the *right of personal ownership* of their incomes and savings from work, their dwelling house and subsidiary domestic husbandry, articles of household economy and use, and articles of personal use and convenience, occupies an important place.

The U.S.S.R. Constitution grants Soviet citizens the right to personal property and also the right to inherit such property.

The source of the personal property of Soviet citizens is their work in state, co-operative or social enterprises or organizations. Soviet citizens can freely dispose of their personal property the purpose of which is to satisfy their personal needs and which cannot be made use of to prejudice social interests with a view to obtaining unearned income.

In socialist society, in which personal ownership of the means of production has been liquidated, exploitation of man by man has been abolished and production is not

subordinated to profit-making but to the systematic raising of the material and cultural standard of all the working people, personal property not only does not stand in opposition to social ownership. On the contrary, it is harmoniously combined with it. The greater the success of socialist economy, the more productive the work of citizens, the more complete and all-embracing is the satisfaction of the material and cultural requirements of the working people and the more their personal property increases. All that is produced in the U.S.S.R. is produced, in the long run, for the satisfaction of the constantly growing material and cultural requirements of the people and furthers the rise of the whole Soviet people's welfare.

The working people of the U.S.S.R. receive about three-fourths of the national income for the satisfaction of their personal requirements, the remainder going towards the extension of socialist production and other needs of state and society as a whole. During the period 1928-40 the Soviet Union's national income increased more than sixfold in comparison with 1913. By the end of the Fourth Five-Year Plan the 1940 level of the national income was exceeded by 64 per cent. The directives of the XIXth Congress of the C.P.S.U. provide for an increase of not less than 60 per cent in the national income in the Fifth Five-Year Plan.

As a result of the systematic reduction of prices of food-stuffs and manufactured goods and the rise in the real incomes of the workers and employees and in the incomes of the peasants, the material and cultural standard of living of the Soviet people is unswervingly rising. In 1952 the real incomes of workers and other employees, calculated on the basis of an average worker, were already 68 per cent higher than in 1940.

Besides their pay, working people in the Soviet Union receive supplementary payments and advantages. The Soviet state spends thousands of millions of rubles on free cultural and material services for the people, on education,

health protection, social insurance, vocational training, etc. The total of supplementary payments and advantages for the population, which amounted to 40,800 million rubles in 1940, reached 139,500 million rubles, that is, increased more than threefold, in 1953. In 1954, as a result of the increase of expenditures by the Soviet state on cultural and social activities, a further reduction in state retail prices of consumer goods—the seventh since the war—and also of the raising of the procurement and purchasing prices of agricultural produce, and other measures, the Soviet population received from budget sources supplementary benefits to a value of about 45,000 million rubles more than in 1953.

Besides the personal property of citizens, the U.S.S.R. Constitution provides for the personal ownership by the collective farmers of a subsidiary husbandry on the plot allotted to them, of their dwelling house, livestock, poultry, and minor agricultural implements.

Directing its chief attention to the all-round development of the social economy of the collective farms—the source of the prosperous life of the collective farmers—the Communist Party of the Soviet Union at the same time attaches great importance to the subsidiary economy of the collective farmers, inasmuch as the produce of the personal subsidiary husbandry is a great help in the further improvement of their material welfare and in the raising of the general balance of the country's agricultural produce. With these ends in view, the C.P.S.U. and the Soviet Government considered it indispensable in 1953 to effect substantial reductions in the obligatory delivery quotas from the personal subsidiary husbandry of collective farmers, to change the system of agricultural taxation, to lower the tax in money to about one-half on the average for every collective farmer's husbandry, and to cancel altogether the arrears remaining on agricultural taxes of former years. As the result of these measures, the material situation of the collective farmers has still further improved.

The Communist Party and the Soviet Government dis-

play constant solicitude for the development of all branches of socialist economy and for the all-round satisfaction of the constantly growing material and cultural requirements of the Soviet people. The capitalist countries present a complete contrast. There the uninterrupted enrichment of a handful of capitalists inevitably results in the impoverishment of the many millions of working people. Thus even according to official bourgeois sources, the profits of monopoly capital have at present reached fantastic proportions. In the U.S.A., for example, the incomes of the monopolies over the decade 1929-1938 amounted to 30,000 million dollars, an average of 3,000 million per annum. For the five years from 1948 to 1952, they totalled 185,000 million dollars, or an average of 37,000 million per annum, which is more than a twelvefold increase. The profits of the British monopolies rose from 2,000 million pounds sterling in 1949 to 3,000 million in 1951. In the same time the profits of the capitalists in Italy increased threefold on the average.

The unswerving increase of the profits of capitalist monopolies is accompanied by unbridled exploitation of the popular masses, uninterrupted deterioration of the workers' living standard, increasing mass chronic unemployment and the ruin of the overwhelming majority of the population in the capitalist world. Increased expenditure on armaments results in a sharp rise in taxation, the burden of which falls on the shoulders of the working people. Taxes in the U.S.A. have increased twelvefold in comparison with 1937-1938, in France 160 per cent, and in England they have doubled in comparison with 1938.

A systematic rise of the cost of living is taking place in the capitalist countries since the war. Thus, the cost of living in England has increased by 40 per cent, in France by 138 per cent. In the U.S.A. it has risen by 20 per cent, in Western Germany by 26 per cent, in Italy by 23 per cent. Workers' wages in capitalist countries lag considerably behind the rise in the cost of living. As a result, the working people are forced to cut down their consumption.

Everywhere in the capitalist countries the armies of unemployed are swelling and are doomed to extreme want and hunger.

In 1953, Félix Diaz, a Uruguayan docker, published a book in which he summed up his impressions of a visit to the Soviet Union. He wrote how surprised he was when he saw on the gate of a Soviet works an announcement reading: "Workers wanted." Further Diaz wrote that socialist society is a magnificent society under which the factories need workers and the workers do not crowd round the gates looking for work. In the capitalist countries, on the other hand, on factory gates and on building sites hang announcements saying that no workers are wanted, that there are no vacancies.

According to figures which are far from complete and evidently minimized, the total of unemployed and semi-unemployed in the U.S.A., Britain, Japan, Western Germany, Italy and Belgium alone is more than 32 millions. The situation in the colonial and dependent countries is still worse. All these facts show that capitalism brings the workers innumerable hardships and smothers the creative forces of man.

#### POLITICAL RIGHTS OF CITIZENS OF THE U.S.S.R.

The Soviet social system has opened up unlimited possibilities for the popular masses to develop their activity not only in the sphere of material production and culture, but in all domains of social, political and state activity. The popular masses in the U.S.S.R. are not only the creators and masters of all material values, they are the real creators of their own political life too. This is promoted in all ways by the political rights of Soviet citizens guaranteed by the Constitution.

In Soviet society, real *equality of rights for all citizens, irrespective of sex, nationality or race*, is a realized fact.

In the U.S.S.R. men and women are equal in all spheres of economic, government, cultural, social and political life. The possibility of exercising these rights is ensured by women being accorded equal rights with men to work, pay for work, rest, social insurance and education, state protection of the interests of mother and child, state aid to mothers of large families and unmarried mothers, maternity leave with full pay, the provision of a wide network of maternity houses, nurseries, and kindergartens.

There is no domain of economic or social and political life in the U.S.S.R. in which the Soviet woman does not take an active part. Women work in universities and institutes, in schools and hospitals, and have a large part in the management of the state. In scientific, instructional, cultural and educational institutions in the U.S.S.R. there are more than 2,700,000 women workers. More than 1,300,000 women are studying in higher or special secondary educational establishments.

Soviet women are doing great work in the organs of popular education. Over a million schoolmistresses are engaged in the education of the growing generation. More than a million work with good results in polyclinics, hospitals, dispensaries, sanatoriums and rest-homes. A very great number of women are drawn into Soviet state management: 348 women are deputies to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., more than two thousand are deputies to the Supreme Soviets of the Union or Autonomous Republics, and more than half a million are deputies to local Soviets. More than 40 per cent of the people's judges and public assessors are women.

Mothers are the object of exclusive attention and solicitude in the Soviet Union. In the single year 1953 the Soviet state paid out more than 6,500 million rubles in subsidies to women with many children or unmarried mothers, and for new-born children. Hundreds of millions of rubles are assigned yearly for Young Pioneer camps and children's sanatoriums. The network of children's nurseries and kin-

dergartens grows from year to year. Thus it is that the equality between men and women proclaimed in the U.S.S.R. Constitution is realized in deed.

An indisputable law of the Soviet state is equality of rights for citizens regardless of their nationality or race.

From the first days of the existence of Soviet power, after the proclamation of the right of peoples to free self-determination to the extent of secession and formation of an independent state, all and sundry national privileges and restrictions being abolished, the Soviet state set itself as a most important task the ensuring in fact of national equality by the liquidation of economic, political and cultural backwardness in the previously oppressed nationalities in Russia, by helping peoples, which were backward in their development, to form their national cadres and to develop their own culture. Under the leadership of the Communist Party and thanks to the disinterested and self-sacrificing help of the Russian people, actual equality for all nations and nationalities has been realized in the main in the Soviet Union.

In the Soviet Republics which were previously backward outlying areas in old Russia, great creative work is going on. In a relatively short historical period, branches of industry such as machine-building, the iron and steel industry, the coal, oil and chemical industries, have arisen there, and a reliable power base has been created. In all the Soviet national republics a wide network of schools, higher educational establishments, scientific institutions, houses of culture, clubs and theatres has been established. Books, newspapers and journals are published in all the languages of the peoples of the Soviet Union. Each of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. has its own flourishing culture—socialist in content and national in form.

The Communist Party and the Soviet Government have always strengthened by all means and will in the future continue to strengthen the inviolable friendship of the peoples of the U.S.S.R.—the great conquest of the October

Socialist Revolution, the foundation of foundations of the multi-national socialist state.

The U.S.S.R. Constitution grants Soviet citizens *freedom of conscience*. This freedom consists in the right of every citizen to belong according to his choice to this or that religion or not to recognize any religion at all. U.S.S.R. citizens' freedom of conscience is guaranteed by the separation of the church from the state and the school from the church. The U.S.S.R. Constitution gives every citizen of the Soviet Union not only the right to practise any form of religious worship, but also freedom to carry on anti-religious propaganda. Broad education of the popular masses is carried on in the country. The Communist Party by every means helps Soviet citizens to acquire the scientific materialistic world outlook which reveals the laws of the development of nature and society and thereby helps to overcome religious survivals.

In accordance with the interests of the working people and for the purpose of consolidating the socialist system, citizens of the U.S.S.R. are guaranteed *freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of assembly including the holding of mass meetings, freedom of street processions and demonstrations*. These rights of citizens are ensured by placing at the disposal of the working people and their organizations printing presses, stocks of paper, public buildings, the streets, communication facilities and other material requisites for the exercise of these rights.

U.S.S.R. citizens freely express their thoughts and convictions on all state and public questions, make suggestions concerning the work of enterprises, institutions, collective farms and state farms. In the Soviet Union criticism and self-criticism are one of the basic means of improving the work of all public and state organizations and of drawing all the working people into the active construction of communist society. Developing criticism, and above all criticism from below, drawing the broad masses into the fight against shortcomings, the Communist Party reveals defects

and shows the way they can be overcome. It is in criticism from below that the solicitude of the millions of working people for the consolidation of the Soviet state finds expression.

Freedom of the press is very closely linked with freedom of speech. In the U.S.S.R. the press serves the cause of the enlightenment and the ideological and political education of the working masses, carries into the masses the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, fearlessly criticizes shortcomings in the work of institutions, enterprises and individuals and mobilizes the Soviet people for the building of communism.

In the Soviet Union all profession of national hatred or contempt, the propaganda of strivings for conquest threatening peace and security are prohibited and punishable by law. The Soviet press actively defends the great cause of peace and friendship between peoples, tirelessly unmasks the wily intrigues and criminal machinations of the instigators of a new world war in the camp of imperialism and fights for the rallying of all democratic forces in the freedom-loving nations.

Making wide use of the freedom of the press, the citizens of the U.S.S.R.—workers, collective farmers, and intelligentsia—make active use of the central, republican, regional, district, factory and collective-farm press.

In the Soviet Union there are about 7,800 different newspapers with an average total issue of over 44,000,000 copies per number, about 1,500 journals and other periodicals. Book publishing has acquired wide scope in the U.S.S.R. The number of books published in the Soviet Union is constantly increasing. Whereas in 1940 451,000,000 copies of books were put out, in 1953 962,200,000 copies were published. The works of genius of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin have become the patrimony of the whole Soviet people. The classics of Russian and world literature are published in enormous issues as also are the works of Soviet and modern foreign writers. In the Union Republics and

Autonomous Republics, the Autonomous Regions and National Areas, newspapers, journals and books are published in the mother tongue of the given nationality or people.

In accordance with the interests of the working people and for the purpose of developing the organizational initiative of the masses, the U.S.S.R. Constitution guarantees citizens the *right of uniting in public organizations*.

The whole system of the socialist state, the principles of its organization and activity are calculated to draw all the working people into the management of the state, into active participation in social life. In the U.S.S.R. the organizedness of the masses and their political activity are on a very high level.

Not a narrow group of professional politicians, as is the case in bourgeois countries, but the whole people, the broadest masses are drawn into politics and into a share in the management of the Soviet state. Thus, to the local Soviets of Working People's Deputies alone in February-March 1955 more than one and a half million persons were elected. Several millions of activists take part in the work of permanent and temporary commissions, committees, and conferences organized by the Soviets. If we reckon how many people in Soviet society fulfil this or that great or small social function, the figure will be a gigantic one. The Soviet trade unions unite about forty and a half million members; co-operatives of all sorts unite tens of millions of working people of town and country; the Young Communist League counts in its ranks more than eighteen million young men and girls; tens of millions of Soviet people take part in the work of various voluntary societies of working people—cultural, sports societies and so on.

In the U.S.S.R. there are in operation hundreds of scientific societies, thousands of scientific and technical circles, and thousands of amateur performance groups which embrace millions of Soviet people who want to develop their talents.

Thus has Lenin's prevision become a reality, that only with socialism would a rapid, genuine, really mass movement forward take place in all domains of social and private life with the participation of the majority, and then of the whole of the population.

A higher form of organization of the working people in comparison with all other forms—including the trade unions and the Soviets—is the Communist Party of the Soviet Union—the foremost unit of the working people in their fight for the building of communist society, the leading core of all organizations, social as well as of the state. These organizations are most important levers, transmission belts, linking the Party with the popular masses.

Taking Marxist-Leninist theory for its guidance and with the knowledge of the objective economic laws of the development of human society, the Communist Party has elaborated a policy reflecting the requirements of the material life of socialist society, and the basic interests of the Soviet people and acts as the inspirer and organizer of the revolutionary energy, the revolutionary creative activities of the masses.

A vivid manifestation of the fulness of the political rights of Soviet citizens are their *electoral rights*. Electing all the organs of state power on the basis of the most democratic electoral system in the world, approving or criticizing their activity, daily following their work and helping them, Soviet citizens take part in the solution of questions of the state in general and in determining the policy of the Soviet state and the lines of development of Soviet society.

According to the U.S.S.R. Constitution, elections to all organs of state power, from the rural and town Soviets of Working People's Deputies to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., are carried out on the basis of universal, equal and direct suffrage by secret ballot. The people itself in the person of its representatives takes part in the organization of the elections and in control over the way in which they

are conducted. Electoral commissions are appointed for this purpose, composed of representatives of public organizations.

The Soviet people, making use of the electoral rights granted it by the Constitution and taking part in the election of the organs of state power, invariably shows profound confidence in its Soviet Government, its Communist Party. Thus, more than 120,000,000 people took part in the election of deputies to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. in 1954. This was 99.98 per cent of all the electors. 99.79 per cent of the votes of the electors taking part in the elections were cast in favour of the candidates of the bloc of Communists and non-Party people, which was a demonstration of the indestructible moral and political unity of the Soviet people and of its unreserved devotedness to the great Communist Party and the Soviet Government.

It is a different picture altogether that we see in the capitalist countries. The modern imperialistic bourgeoisie is renouncing the last democratic liberties once proclaimed in bourgeois constitutions. With the help of all sorts of traps and wiles and numerous qualifications, restrictions and reservations broad masses of the working people are practically barred from taking part in elections in the capitalist countries. There are at present in the U.S.A. various restrictions which in fact deprive about twenty million citizens of electoral rights. In 18 states of the U.S.A. there are educational qualifications, in many states qualifications of income or of residence, in a number of states election taxes have been introduced, and so forth.

Elections in bourgeois countries are invariably accompanied by violence, corruption, intimidation and terrorization of electors, as the exploiting classes who are in power strive at all costs to get their own henchmen into the organs of state power and to keep out the representatives of the working masses.

## PERSONAL FREEDOMS OF SOVIET CITIZENS

In the system of constitutional rights of Soviet citizens, besides social and economic rights and political rights, the personal freedoms of Soviet citizens occupy an important place.

In accordance with Article 127 of the U.S.S.R. Constitution guaranteeing *the inviolability of the person of Soviet citizens*, no Soviet citizen may be arrested without an order of a court or the sanction of a procurator. Deprivation of freedom is applied only in extreme cases when it is indispensable for the defence of the interests of society, when leaving the law-breaker at liberty might create a danger for those around him. Soviet law precisely defines all cases in which a court or procurator may have a citizen arrested. Severe responsibility is laid on those who violate the personal freedom of a Soviet citizen unlawfully.

It is absolutely impermissible in socialist society to institute a criminal suit without sufficient grounds, to arrest a citizen improperly or illegally, or to condemn an innocent person without evidence. Such violations of socialist law are prejudicial to the person against whom they are committed and to the whole of socialist society too, to whom the interests of every Soviet citizen, his good name, his honour, his dignity and personal freedom are dear. The Soviet state scrupulously guards all aspects of the personal freedom of its citizens.

Article 128 of the U.S.S.R. Constitution sanctions *the inviolability of the homes of citizens and privacy of correspondence*. For instance, only representatives of authority may enter a Soviet citizen's house without his consent, and only in particular cases laid down by law, that is, when indispensable for the safeguard of state security or the preservation of socialist law and order. Privacy of correspondence is also just as strictly guarded by Soviet legislation.

According to Article 111 of the U.S.S.R. Constitution *the accused is guaranteed the right to legal defence*. This means affording the accused the right to defend himself against the accusation brought against him, to contest it, to prove his innocence, to bring proofs and arguments for the purpose of excusing or extenuating his guilt, and also the right to have an advocate at the trial. Any sentence pronounced by court with violation of the right of the accused is bound to be repealed by a higher court.

Bourgeois propagandists try to prove that only bourgeois democracy guarantees the safeguarding of the personal freedom of man. But that prattle about the inviolability of the individual and his security is refuted by the whole capitalist reality. The arbitrary measures taken against leaders of the Communist parties and other progressive organizations both in court and outside of court, the merciless beating up of demonstrators by the police, illegal arrests, armed suppression of workers on strike—all this is typical of “freedom of the individual” in capitalist countries.

While in the countries of the camp of peace, democracy and socialism, genuine democracy is ever developing and consolidating, in the camp of imperialism the last remains of bourgeois-democratic freedoms are being liquidated and the transition to open terrorist dictatorship of monopolist capital, i.e., to fascism, is progressing.

Unmasking bourgeois freedom, V. I. Lenin pointed out that “under the banner of free trade the most predatory wars were conducted, under the banner of free labour the toilers were robbed.”<sup>1</sup>

Abuse of the word “freedom” is a most habitual occurrence in the policy of modern imperialist states. Imperialism means a sharp turn to reaction on all lines. This is manifested with particular clarity today, in the period of the sharpening and deepening of the general crisis of capi-

<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. I, Part 1, Moscow 1952, p. 210.

talism. In our days too, under the banner of "freedom," in the name of "freedom" and "democracy," the imperialist states exploit and oppress the working masses in their countries, cynically and grossly violate the constitution, promulgate draconic, anti-popular laws, plunder and enslave the colonial and dependent countries, and violate the individual.

The bourgeoisie, which at the dawn of its development began with fine words about boundless faith in man and man's reason, has become at its dusk the principal enemy of the liberation movement and the suppressor of human freedom; it tramples in the mud the elementary rights of man, striving to prove his worthlessness, and humiliates him in a way unheard of.

Arbitrariness and lawlessness, mockery of the individual and the trampling underfoot of human dignity rage with particular violence in the chief capitalist country—the U.S.A. This is confirmed by the promulgation of reactionary laws, the work of the McCarthyists' notorious un-American Activities Committee, and the Federal Bureau of Investigation (secret police), whose agents tap in on progressive people's telephone conversations, open their letters, illegally search their flats and arrest whom they wish. Thousands of honest American citizens are persecuted in all possible ways on false accusations, rumours, and the denunciations of paid agents. One can judge of the atmosphere reigning in the U.S.A. by the words of the American professor Harold Lasswell, who in his book *National Security and Individual Freedom* writes that the American of today, in constant fear, wonders whether his "... office or home telephone is tapped; or whether a microphone has been installed in the room; or whether the reading of the meter yesterday was done by an agent who was actually sent to look over the books in the library; or whether the new girl at the office is a police agent; or whether an old friend is now adding to his income by writing reports about what goes on at private dinner parties; or whether one

ought to cancel a subscription to a 'liberal' magazine for fear a hostile neighbour will send in a denunciation; or whether one should stop writing letters to a schoolmate (who may possibly belong to a 'front' organization) for fear private correspondence is being tampered with by police agents; or whether one should express no views whatever about matters of controversial public policy for fear of adding to a dossier in the police department; or whether one should caution his wife and children to avoid controversial topics so that suspicious acquaintances will not gossip about a 'subversive' atmosphere in the home." Such is the "American way of life."

The foreign policy of the U.S.A. is not less reactionary. American imperialism has become the world's gendarme striving to smother freedom wherever it can.

J. V. Stalin pointed out that the bourgeoisie has trampled in the mud the principle of equal rights for men and nations, substituting for it the principle of full rights for the exploiting minority and no rights for the exploited majority, and has thrown overboard the banner of bourgeois-democratic liberties.

The attack of imperialist reaction on the democratic rights and freedoms of the working people, the fascization of social and political life is meeting growing resistance from the popular masses in the capitalist countries. Day by day the resoluteness of the peoples in the countries of the imperialist camp to defend their vital rights is becoming stronger. Mass political strikes, demonstrations and other actions of the working masses in the lands of capital show the enormous scope of the working people's struggle for their rights.

The Communist Parties in the capitalist countries march in the front ranks of the defenders of the democratic rights and freedoms, peace and democracy, showing the peoples the right way to their emancipation. These parties raise the banner of democratic liberties and national independence

thrown down by the bourgeoisie, rally the broad popular masses in defence of their rights, in the fight for peace and for the vital interests of the working people.

Socialist society alone affords firm guarantees safeguarding the interests of the individual.

The great social and economic and political rights and freedoms of citizens won by the Soviet people and sanctioned by the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. inspire the working people of the whole world to fight for genuine rights and freedoms and tell them that what has been realized in the Soviet Union can fully be realized in other countries too. The peoples of the whole world are becoming more and more aware of the fact that the social and state system of the Soviet Union is a great example of genuine democracy.

By the experience of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union the Communist and Workers' Parties in the People's Democracies are learning to fight and to win. Relying on the successful development of socialist economy, the People's Democracies have done away with unemployment and provided all citizens with the guaranteed right to work, have instituted the eight-hour working day—or a six- or seven-hour day for those working under conditions injurious to health—have handed over to the peasants the estates of the landlords and the church, have consolidated the right of the workers to education, rest, medical treatment, and maintenance in old age and have made equality of citizens regardless of sex or nationality a reality.

Taking the teachings of Marxism-Leninism for their guidance, profiting by the great wealth of experience of the Soviet Union and relying on its brotherly help, the Communist and Workers' Parties in the lands of People's Democracy consider solicitude for the good of the working people the supreme law governing their activity and they subordinate every step they take to the basic interests of the working class, the toiling peasantry and intelligentsia.

## GUARANTEES OF THE RIGHTS AND FREEDOMS OF CITIZENS OF THE U.S.S.R.

Effective rights and freedoms of citizens exist but where they are guaranteed and safeguarded.

Marx wrote with unconcealed sarcasm for bourgeois democracy: "It is easy to proclaim constitutions on paper, the right of citizens to education, to work, and first and foremost to a definite minimum of means of subsistence. But it does not mean that everything is done because those magnanimous desires are written on paper: it still remains to fructify those liberal ideas by material and reasonable social institutions."<sup>1</sup>

That task, we know, has not been fulfilled, and cannot be fulfilled, by capitalist society.

Time and again the capitalist reality illustrates the yawning gap between the rights formally proclaimed in the constitution and the absence of any measures whatsoever towards their realization. This truth is becoming more and more evident for the working masses in capitalist countries. Here is one eloquent example of this: the American, Edward Taylor, a carpenter foreman working on a housing project not far from San Francisco, says: "We have lots of freedom here. We have free speech if you have the money to rent the hall and are not attacked by the fascist hooligans. You have a free press here if you have the money to own a paper. You have the freedom to travel all over the country in a first-class train if you have the money. You have the freedom to fly like a bird if you have wings. In other words, you have the abstract rights, but not the material rights."

Pressed down by hard work and relentlessly pursued by unemployment, poverty and everyday anxiety for bread, the broad masses of the working people in the capitalist lands cannot, in fact, enjoy even the emasculated rights written down in the bourgeois constitutions.

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<sup>1</sup> K. Marx and F. Engels, *Works*, Vol. III, pp. 687-688.

In the Soviet socialist state the rights and freedoms of citizens have for the first time in history been not only proclaimed, but, which is the most important, assured in fact by political, economic, and juridical guarantees.

The guarantee of the rights and freedoms of Soviet citizens is rooted in the very organization of the socialist social and state system, it follows from its social nature.

Contrary to bourgeois states, the Soviet state is the creation of the popular masses themselves. The mighty power of the Soviet socialist system lies in its having been created by the people itself, enjoying the all-out support of the people and ensuring the full bloom of all material and moral forces of the people.

The vital basis of the Soviet system is the policy of the Communist Party, which expresses the matured requirements of the development of society's material life, the basic interests of the people. That is why this policy meets with the ardent support of the millions and is actively put into practice by them.

In the interests of the people the Communist Party forged the mighty alliance between the working class and the toiling peasantry, prepared for and organized the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution. In the interests of the people, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, raising the masses of the working people to active, conscious effort, organized the victorious building of socialism in the country. Thanks to the wise leadership of the Communist Party, the Soviet people effected in a short period transformations in the political, economical and cultural life of society that were unknown in the history of mankind. From a backward, semi-feudal country in which foreign imperialists were the masters, Russia was transformed into a mighty socialist state. The policy of the Communist Party ensured the liquidation of the exploiting classes and of unemployment and indigence in the country, created a sound basis for a prosperous life for all the working people and opened

majestic perspectives for the advance of Soviet society towards communism.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union holds that socialism does not mean the cutting down of personal requirements but their all-out extension and efflorescence, not the limiting of or the refusal to satisfy those requirements, but the all-round and complete satisfaction of the requirements of the Soviet people. The good of the Soviet citizen, the prosperity of the people, is the highest law of the Communist Party. All the greatest conquests in the realm of economic construction, in the realm of the development and consolidation of Soviet socialist democracy which has guaranteed the great rights and freedoms of Soviet citizens—all this the Soviet people owes to the Communist Party.

Thus the greatest political guarantee of the implementation of the rights and freedoms of the citizens of the Soviet Union is government by the people itself led by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the organizing and directing force in all the social and state life of the country.

In the conditions of capitalism, which is based on the oppression of the working people, the popular masses are obliged to wage a fierce struggle to defend the last remains of the niggardly democratic freedoms won by them. The bourgeoisie, however, by means of numerous tricks and all sorts of wiles and reservations, is trying to limit those rights as much as possible and to reduce them to nil.

It is quite a different situation under socialism. Being the expression of the interests of the working people, the socialist state itself unflinchingly extends the democratic freedoms and rights of its citizens, it is itself interested in the creation of a reliable material base for the real enjoyment by citizens of their rights, in the greatest possible drawing in of the people into the active political life of the country. It is natural, therefore, that a most important and characteristic peculiarity of Soviet socialist democracy is the transfer of the centre of gravity from the formal proc-

lamation and recognition of the rights of citizens to the guarantees and the material means of realizing those rights. In the reality and effectiveness of the rights and freedoms of the working people V. I. Lenin saw the meaning and the contents of the Soviet Constitution.

The great rights and democratic freedoms of Soviet citizens proclaimed in the U.S.S.R. Constitution are guaranteed above all by the economic basis of socialist society. The economic foundation of the U.S.S.R., says Article 4 of the Constitution, is the socialist system of economy and the socialist ownership of the instruments and means of production, firmly established as a result of the liquidation of the capitalist system of economy, the abolition of private ownership of the instruments and means of production, and the elimination of the exploitation of man by man.

The Communist Party and the Soviet state, guided by the basic economic law of socialism, ensure the steady consolidation of the economic basis of the U.S.S.R., the growth of the whole social production, and on its basis a further extension and strengthening of the material guarantees of the rights of Soviet citizens.

The Directives of the XIXth Party Congress on the Fifth Five-Year Plan for the Development of the U.S.S.R. (1951-1955) are an expression of the exceptional solicitude of the Communist Party for the strengthening of the economic system of the U.S.S.R. and the raising of the material and cultural standard of the Soviet people.

In the interests of a more rapid rise in the material welfare and the cultural level of the Soviet people there is being implemented in the U.S.S.R. a steep rise in the production of goods of popular consumption, an extensive programme of development of the light and food industries, a further rise of agriculture and a substantial extension of the trade turnover.

The U.S.S.R. state budget is a vivid manifestation of the solicitude of the Communist Party for the raising of the material and cultural standard of the Soviet people.

While the main and almost the only source of revenue for the budget in capitalist countries is taxation, which bears with all its weight on the shoulders of the popular masses, taxes in the Soviet Union form only a small part of the state budget. Only by their external form do taxes in the U.S.S.R. seem to be irrecoverable, in reality they are recoverable. Thus, for instance, according to the state budget for 1953 the people's contribution to the budget in the form of levies and taxes amounted to 46,100 million rubles. At the same time the population of the Soviet Union received in 1953 from state budget funds 192,000 million rubles for the satisfaction of their needs in the domain of education, health protection, social insurance and other social and cultural measures. In the state budget for 1954, taxes amounted to only 8 per cent of budget revenue.

By the new law on the agricultural tax adopted in 1953 a substantial lowering of the agricultural tax is provided for. In 1953 the amount of that tax was decreased by more than 4,000 million rubles, i.e., by 43 per cent. In 1954, the agricultural tax was 2.5 times lower than in 1952.

The untiring solicitude of the Communist Party for the increase of the well-being of the working people is witnessed by the Decisions of the September 1953, February-March 1954, and January 1955 Plenary Meetings of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., which are of first-rate importance for the Party, the country, and the whole Soviet people. As the Plenary Meetings pointed out, a powerful heavy industry has been created in the country. In the struggle for the further consolidation of the might of the Soviet state, say the Decisions of the January Plenary Meeting, the Communist Party considers the further development of heavy industry its main task. It is on the basis of its uninterrupted rise that the light, food, and other branches of industry and socialist agriculture are developed. All conditions now exist in the country to ensure a further rise in all branches of national economy, to raise still further the supply of the whole population with food-

stuffs, and at the same time to guarantee the entire mass of the collective-farm peasantry a still higher level of material welfare.

Never in the whole course of human history was there such a lofty and noble task as the achievement on a state-wide scale of a level of food consumption based upon the scientific dietary standards required for the all-round and harmonious development of a healthy individual. Such is the task set, and it will be fulfilled by the Communist Party and the Soviet state in the next few years.

In our days V. I. Lenin's prevision is being fulfilled that "only socialism will create the possibility of widely spreading and properly subordinating social production and the distribution of products according to scientific considerations, concerning the way in which the life of all the workers may be made easier and may afford them the conditions for their welfare. Only socialism can realize this."<sup>1</sup>

All the enormous economic and organizational, cultural and educational work of the Soviet state is directed to strengthening the might of the Soviet land and furthers the maximum satisfaction of the material and cultural requirements of Soviet man and the creation of reliable material guarantees of the rights and freedoms of citizens.

It is necessary to dwell also on a few of the more important juridical guarantees of the rights and freedoms of citizens of the U.S.S.R. It must be noted first of all that in the *Fundamental Law* of the Soviet state—the 1936 Constitution of the U.S.S.R.—legislative sanction is given to the socialist system of society in which all power belongs to the working people of town and country represented by the Soviets of Working People's Deputies, which are the political basis of the U.S.S.R. Legislative sanction is given in the Constitution to the economic foundation of the U.S.S.R. too, the socialist system of economy and the socialist ownership of the instruments and means of production. On these

<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Works*, Vol. 27, p. 375.

two buttresses of socialist society Soviet democracy and consequently all the rights and freedoms of Soviet citizens are based. Besides, the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. legislatively sanctions the concrete material guarantees of each single right.

The rights of citizens sanctioned in the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. are concretized in the various sections of Soviet socialist law (civil, labour, collective-farm, family and other sections of law) which by their regulations guarantee the all-round realization by citizens of the U.S.S.R. of their rights and freedoms in the various spheres of economic and social and political life.

The socialist legislation and the socialist law and order established in the Land of Soviets protect in every way the rights and freedoms of citizens, guard the inviolability of their person and dignity, their personal and property rights. Those who violate those rights are severely punished by the Soviet state.

The U.S.S.R. Constitution binds a number of state organizations unflinchingly to guard and defend the rights and freedoms of Soviet citizens. For instance, defining the competence of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., the Constitution points out, in particular, that the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. adopts measures for the maintenance of public order, the protection of the interests of the state, and the safeguarding of the rights of citizens. The self-same task is imposed on the governments of the Union and the Autonomous Republics as well as on the local organs of power. The supreme supervisory power to ensure the strict observance of the law by all ministries and institutions subordinated to them, as well as by officials and citizens of the U.S.S.R. generally, is vested in the Procurator-General of the U.S.S.R.

The safeguarding of the rights of Soviet citizens by measures of criminal and civil law is the responsibility of the judicial organs. Safeguarding the rights and interests of citizens, the court severely punishes those who commit

crimes against the individual, who violate the rights of Soviet people.

In accordance with the Law on the judicial system of the U.S.S.R., the Union and the Autonomous Republics, promulgated on the basis of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R., one of the most important functions of Soviet courts is to defend against all infringements the political, labour, home and other personal and property rights and interests of Soviet citizens guaranteed by the Constitution of the U.S.S.R., the Union and the Autonomous Republics. This responsible task is carried out by Soviet courts by examining criminal and civil cases at sittings of the courts and applying the measures fixed by the law to enforce the observance and safeguarding of the rights and interests of citizens. At the basis of the trial of all criminal and civil cases in all U.S.S.R. courts are genuinely democratic principles which guarantee the objective and correct judgement of cases.

Besides the all-out defence of the production interests of socialist institutions, enterprises and organizations, one of the most important duties of Soviet courts is to guard against all attacks the labour rights of citizens guaranteed by the Constitution. To enable citizens to enjoy their right to work, Soviet law prohibits refusal to accept anybody for work for such motives as social origin, former condemnation in court, condemnation of parents or relatives, etc., unless it is so provided for by special laws. In examining cases of dismissal from work, courts are obliged themselves to take steps to procure the required documents if it is difficult for the plaintiff to supply proof to substantiate his suit, and in judging the facts of the case, carefully to ascertain whether dismissal from work was not a way of getting rid of people who were disagreeable to the administration. If a case of illegal dismissal from work is established by the court, the latter is obliged not only to rehabilitate the dismissed person in his work, but also to bring the illegal dismissal to the knowledge of the prosecuting organs or the organs

under whose jurisdiction the institution or enterprise is, so that the officials guilty may be made to answer by criminal or disciplinary measures. In the same way the labour rights of members of collective farms or craftsmen's artels are also guarded by every possible means.

Soviet legislation takes all measures to ensure the safeguard of the right of the working people to receive pay according to the quantity and quality of their work, to assure normal conditions of labour, the right to rest and leisure and maintenance in case of sickness, disability etc.

In the U.S.S.R. there is consistent safeguard by law of the personal ownership by citizens of their earned incomes and savings, of their subsidiary economy, of objects of household use and items of necessity or comfort. Property which is the personal possession of citizens may be sold by them, given away, pawned, transferred to the use of other persons, enterprises or institutions. Besides the safeguard by civil law of the rights of citizens to personal property, the Soviet state also safeguards personal property by criminal law. In order to reinforce the safeguard of Soviet citizens' personal property, a decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. was promulgated on June 4, 1947, entitled "Further Measures to Safeguard Personal Property of Citizens," fixing severe measures for the punishment of theft of personal property.

The Communist Party and the Soviet state are carrying on a resolute fight against attempts to sow ill-will and hostility between people of different nationalities, to fan nationalist survivals which are profoundly alien to the socialist system and the ideology of equality and friendship between peoples, reigning in the Soviet land. All Soviet people, no matter what nation they belong to, are equal members in the brotherly family of peoples of the Soviet Union, welded together by unity of interests and aims.

The U.S.S.R. Constitution safeguards the equality of Soviet citizens, regardless of their nationality and race, in all spheres of economic, state, cultural and social and polit-

ical life. "Any direct or indirect restriction of the rights of, or, conversely, the establishment of any direct or indirect privileges for, citizens on account of their race or nationality, as well as any advocacy of racial or national exclusiveness or hatred and contempt, is punishable by law," says Article 123 of the U.S.S.R. Constitution.

The political rights of Soviet citizens are also strictly guarded by Soviet law. In particular the Soviet state established rigorous responsibility for the violation of the electoral rights of citizens of the U.S.S.R. By Soviet electoral law, criminal responsibility is established for anyone who, by violence, fraud, threat or bribery, prevents a Soviet citizen from freely carrying out his right to elect or be elected to a representative organ. Still greater criminal responsibility is laid on official persons or members of electoral commissions who try to misrepresent the people's will.

A substantial guarantee of the observation of the rights of Soviet citizens is the fact that all officials in the U.S.S.R. are answerable for their activity to the people and that citizens have the right to lodge complaints about any unlawful activities of officials. The Soviet state really guarantees citizens the opportunity of lodging complaints about unlawful actions of officials or state organs. At the same time it imposes on state organs the obligation of receiving those complaints, examining them within a time limit established by law, and of judging the facts.

The importance of the right to lodge complaints about the unlawful activity of official persons can be seen by the fact that Lenin pointed out the necessity of "*not failing* to teach the population that business-like complaints are of serious importance and lead to serious results."<sup>1</sup>

The significance which the Communist Party and the Soviet Government attach to complaints and statements of Soviet citizens in the fight against violations of the laws, red-tape and bureaucracy in the organs of state administra-

<sup>1</sup> *Lenin Miscellany*, Vol. XXI, p. 227.

tion is apparent also from the fact that the Soviet state has set up a number of special organs intended to safeguard socialist law. Such organs are the court, the procurator's office, state control, special inspectorates, etc.

In the interest of the further consolidation of the Soviet state and the successful carrying out of the tasks set it, the Communist Party is continually perfecting and improving the work of the state apparatus and taking measures for the absolute observance of socialist law which is intended to safeguard the rights and liberties of Soviet citizens guaranteed by the U.S.S.R. Constitution.

The Soviet people—workers, collective-farm peasants and intelligentsia—live and work, actively participating in the realization of the gigantic task of building communist society with the assurance that their rights are under the reliable protection of the Soviet state.

Not a single act violating the rights of Soviet citizens must remain unpunished. The consolidation of socialist law is one of the most important conditions for the further development of the Soviet state on the road to communism.

#### UNITY OF RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF CITIZENS OF THE U.S.S.R.

In the U.S.S.R. an end has been put for ever to the gaping gulf between rights and duties—the age-old evil of exploiting society in which nearly all rights are the privileges of the ruling classes, of exploiters, while duties are the lot of the exploited. In the Soviet land we see the triumph of an organization of society according to which, in fulfilment of the tenet of Marx: "there are no rights without obligations and no obligations without rights."<sup>1</sup>

Affording Soviet people great rights and liberties, the U.S.S.R. Constitution at the same time lays on them serious duties.

<sup>1</sup> K. Marx and F. Engels, *Works*, Vol. XIII, Part I, p. 14.

In his remarkable work *On Communist Education*, M. I. Kalinin pointed out that the articles of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. are not only the juridical embodiment of the rights and duties of citizens, but also a mighty factor in the education of the Soviet people. In the U.S.S.R. Constitution are formulated not only the juridical duties of citizens, but also the moral demands made on the citizen of the U.S.S.R. by the socialist state.

One of the most important duties of the citizen of the U.S.S.R. is the exact observance of the U.S.S.R. Constitution—the Fundamental Law of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and also the fulfilment of all other Soviet laws. Soviet laws express the will of the Soviet people: they are directed towards the establishment, consolidation and further development of the order desired by and beneficial to the working people and are a sharp weapon in the fight against the enemies of the people, against various anti-social elements; they further the overcoming of the survivals of capitalism in people's consciousness, the education of the Soviet people in the spirit of Soviet patriotism.

The unconditional and exact observance of Soviet laws by all state organs, public organizations and institutions, officials and individual citizens is one of the most important demands of socialist legislation, one of the mighty means of realizing the tasks of communist construction.

The U.S.S.R. Constitution binds all Soviet citizens to be conscientious in their attitude to work and to maintain labour discipline. In the U.S.S.R. labour is the first and main condition for the development and prosperity of socialist society, the foundation for the consolidation of the economic and military might of the Soviet Union. Without conscious socialist labour discipline there can be no building of communism.

The U.S.S.R. Constitution imposes on every citizen the obligation honestly to perform public duties and to respect the rules of socialist community. Soviet society obliges every

citizen of the U.S.S.R. to strengthen the foundation of the social order established in the country, to strengthen friendship between nations, to respect the work and dignity of his fellow men, to behave towards women as towards equal members of society, to be solicitous for children and the aged, and to be honest and truthful.

One of the most important duties imposed by the Constitution on citizens of the U.S.S.R. is that of safeguarding and strengthening public socialist property.

Socialist property—state, co-operative and collective-farm—is the economic foundation of the Soviet system, the source of the wealth and might of the Soviet land, the source of a prosperous and cultured life for all working people. Those, therefore, who violate socialist property are enemies of the people.

With the victory of socialism the safeguarding of socialist property became one of the principal functions of the socialist state. The Constitution of the U.S.S.R. proclaimed socialist property sacred and inviolable. This obliges Soviet people vigilantly to safeguard socialist property, to be solicitous about its constant strengthening and development, to observe a strict control in the correct use of public property, to be strictly economical of state funds, to fight against bad management, wastefulness and negligence in regard to public property.

The sacred duty of every Soviet citizen is to defend his socialist motherland. To safeguard the security of the country it is indispensable further to consolidate the might of the Soviet socialist state. Defence against attack from without is one of the basic functions of the socialist state. In accordance with the law on universal military service, all male citizens of the U.S.S.R. without distinction of race, nationality, creed, education, social origin or status are obliged to do military service in the Armed Forces of the U.S.S.R. "Military service in the Armed Forces of the U.S.S.R.," says Article 132 of the Constitution, "is an honourable duty of the citizens of the U.S.S.R."

The Soviet state demands that in case of enemy attack all citizens of the U.S.S.R. should rise in defence of their motherland and defend the interests of the Soviet state. Treason to the motherland—violation of the oath of allegiance, desertion to the enemy, impairing the military power of the state, and espionage are punished with all the severity of the law as the most heinous of crimes.

In every antagonistic society, and above all under capitalism, the working masses are filled with great hatred and mistrust towards the state which is the instrument of their oppression and exploitation. Quite different is the attitude towards his obligations to the state of the citizen in the land of socialism, where for the first time in history exploiters and exploitation have been done away with for ever and the state fulfils the function of the main instrument for the building of communism and the defence of the conquests of the workers from attack from without. In this case the state no longer stands opposed to the people, above the masses, as does the bourgeois state, but on the contrary, fuses with the masses, and relies on them. The people in the Soviet country are perfectly justified in saying: The state is us. The policy of such a state enjoys the sympathy and love, the ardent and most unreserved support of all the people. It is natural that the fulfilling by the citizens of their duties in socialist society is in keeping with their most cherished vital interests.

Any obligation imposed on the citizen of the U.S.S.R. and carried out by him voluntarily and with full consciousness of his civic duty and responsibility, is aimed, in the final resort, at satisfying his own interests as a member of socialist society. Thus, guarding and strengthening socialist public property as the sacred and inviolable foundation of the Soviet system, Soviet citizens consolidate the source of the good of the whole people and, therefore, the source of the prosperity of each member of Soviet society.

The indissoluble unity of citizens' rights and duties in socialist society can be seen in the fact that the right to

work, which is the greatest right of the Soviet citizen, is at the same time the duty of and a matter of honour for every citizen capable of working. Only the uninterrupted growth and perfection of socialist production on the basis of higher technique can ensure the raising of the living standard and the material welfare of the Soviet people, the maximum satisfaction of the constantly growing material and cultural requirements of the Soviet people.

The honest and conscientious compliance of Soviet citizens with their obligations towards the state is determined by the noble sentiment of love for their socialist motherland, of solicitude for her might and prosperity, and it is there that lies the source of the welfare of Soviet citizens, the guarantee of the realization of their great rights and freedoms.

During the years of Soviet power, in the course of socialist construction, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has reared a new type of man. He is characterized by new virtues: a conscious attitude to work, solicitude for the safeguarding and increase of public property, a deep realization of his social duty towards his socialist motherland and solicitude for her prosperity, life-giving Soviet patriotism, a brotherly attitude towards working people of all nationalities, proletarian internationalism.

However, in the consciousness of some people in the country there still remain survivals of capitalism inherited from the society of old and supported from without. There are still backward elements who do not wish to work honestly but prefer to live at the expense of society; there are workers who violate socialist discipline. One meets people too, who are out to fraud the state, and there are still plunderers of the national wealth.

In the conditions of the gradual transition from socialism to communism the communist education of the working people acquires great significance. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union sets itself the task of considerably improving political and educational work among the masses,

the education of the whole people in the spirit of the great cause of communism, of whole-hearted devotedness to their socialist motherland.

On the efforts of all Soviet people for the honest and conscientious fulfilment of their duties to society depend the strength and might of the Soviet socialist state, and the solution of the epoch-making task—the creation of communist society.

In the vital and indissoluble unity of the interests of the people and the interests of the socialist state lies the indestructible power and the invincibility of the great cause of the building of communism in the Land of Soviets.

