

# NEW TIMES



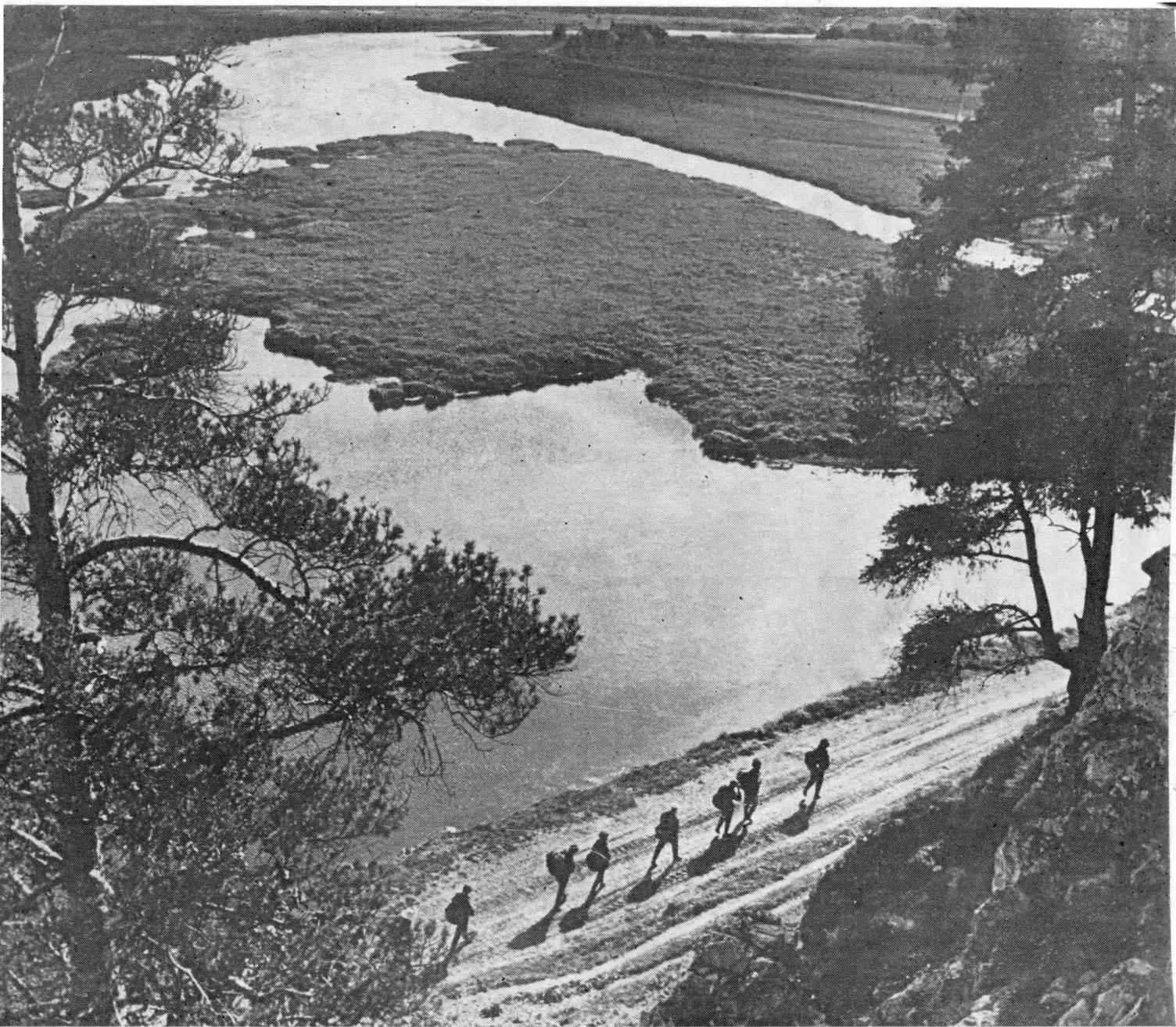
A SOVIET WEEKLY  
OF WORLD AFFAIRS

24

JUNE 1977

Report by Leonid Brezhnev at the May Plenum of the CPSU  
Central Committee ★ Full Text of the Draft Constitution  
of the U.S.S.R. ★ Moscow—Paris: The Dialogue Continues





## THE SOVIET UNION IN PICTURES

Travelling is one of the most popular ways of spending summer holidays with Soviet people. With haversacks on their backs, factory and office workers, university and school students, men and women of the most diverse professions tramp the roads and scale steeps. Though arduous, the long marches repay handsomely with vivid impressions gained from visiting remote

corners of the country, seeing unique cultural monuments and meeting interesting people. And all that besides giving the tourists a goodly dose of vim and vigour.

People choosing this way of spending their holidays have a wide network of tourist centres and camping grounds at their disposal. Almost 500 million rubles have been set aside to expand this network in the current five-year-plan period.

Photos: In the Urals ♦  
Sailing down the River Chusovaya.

Photos by Vyacheslav  
Kruglikov



## PEACE—THE PRIME COMMITMENT

The draft of the new Constitution of the U.S.S.R. gives concern for the preservation of peace among the nations the force of a constitutional requirement, an indefeasible law governing all state activity in the spheres of both internal and foreign policies. The unity of our home and foreign policy, the unity of the words and deeds of the Soviet state, is exemplified by the fact that the Soviet Union has already four years running reduced its defence spending and at the same time has come in the world arena with a constructive programme of disarmament. The Fundamental Law prohibits the propaganda of war in the U.S.S.R. and Moscow considers it its duty to work for the creation everywhere in the world of a climate of intolerance of violations of peace among nations, intolerance of the apologists of violence and conflict, of aggressive wars and encroachments on the free expression of the people's will and the sovereign rights and independent development of nations. While working to ensure favourable external conditions for the building of communism in the U.S.S.R., Soviet foreign policy seeks to promote the creation of such peaceful conditions for all the peoples of the world. "In all the sixty years of the existence of the Soviet state," Leonid Brezhnev said in his interview to the Japanese newspaper Asahi, "our foreign policy has been oriented on ensuring peace and security for our country, for all peoples." For peace is indivisible and is made secure by concrete peace efforts and constructive actions in the struggle against the danger of war and against those engaged in moral and material preparation of war.

These things have to be brought to mind because in the policy of some Western powers a divergence and at times a complete contradiction between word and deed are to be observed. There is no dearth of peaceful assurances and declarations in the West. It is in practical politics that there are deficiencies.

This is manifest at NATO sessions where vows of fidelity to détente are accompanied by

decisions to build up offensive potential. It is manifest in the continued orientation in the West on the arms race, an orientation which clearly is impeding the achievement of accord at the Soviet-American talks on the reduction of strategic offensive arms and at the Vienna talks on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe. It is manifest also in West Berlin being described as the "touchstone" of détente and the whipping up at the same time of an unhealthy hullabaloo around the city.

Moscow thus has every justification for saying that it would be desirable that the leaders of some Western countries display more readiness to consolidate and deepen détente, or at least to refrain from moves capable of creating additional difficulties and problems.

Recording in the new Constitution its commitment to safeguard world peace, the Soviet Union expects the Western powers to undertake the same commitment. Not formally, not only on paper, not just in words. What is needed is a common sense of responsibility, a common concern about the over-saturation of our planet with means of mass destruction, and that this sense should develop into active co-operation to check the arms race and prevent a new war.

The field for such co-operation is wide. Towards the end of June Leonid Brezhnev is to visit Paris, and plans to make another trip to Bonn. In mid-June the representatives of the states which participated in the all-European Conference are to meet in Belgrade. Talks on military détente are continuing in Geneva and Vienna. Preparations are under way for the special U.N. session on disarmament. Steps are being taken towards a Middle East settlement and to prevent the spread of seats of crises on the African continent. Awaiting realization are also such proposals advanced by the U.S.S.R. and its allies as the conclusion among the participants in the all-European Conference of a treaty containing the commitment not to be the first to use nuclear weapons against one another, and the proposals not to expand existing exclusive groupings and military-political alliances or to establish new ones, to prohibit the creation of new types and systems of mass destruction weapons, to agree on the complete and general prohibition of nuclear weapons tests, and to conclude a world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations.

The realization of this programme could serve to bring about a radical improvement in the entire international climate, to deepen and strengthen détente.

## PANORAMA

■ Publication on June 4 of the draft Constitution of the U.S.S.R. and on the 5th of the report by Leonid Brezhnev, CPSU General Secretary and Chairman of the Constitution Commission, on the draft Constitution to the May plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee. This ushered in a countrywide discussion of the draft Constitution, as stipulated in the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee and the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet Presidium. (See pp. 28-48.)

■ The official friendly visit paid to the Soviet Union by a Bulgarian Party and government delegation led by Todor Zhivkov, First Secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party and Chairman of the State Council, ended on June 4. (See p. 10.)

■ Publication on June 7 of CPSU General Secretary Brezhnev's answers to questions put by Shoryu Hata, editor of the Japanese newspaper Asahi. (See p. 4.)

■ On June 6 CPSU General Secretary Brezhnev received Premier Pham Van Dong, Political Bureau Member of the Communist Party of Vietnam. They exchanged information on the implementation of the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress and the 4th CPV Congress, and also discussed key questions concerning Soviet-Vietnamese co-operation as well as international issues. On the same day the Vietnamese Premier met Premier Alexei Kosygin. Pham Van Dong came to Moscow after his official visits to Finland and Denmark.

■ CPSU General Secretary Brezhnev received First Vice-President Mohamed Ali Samantar, Political Bureau Member of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party, on June 1. They expressed confidence that their talk would contribute to better understanding and further development of friendly relations between the Soviet Union and Somalia.

■ Publication on June 2 of CPSU General Secretary Brezhnev's greetings to the Sixth Congress of the Mongolian-

Soviet Friendship Society. He heartily congratulated the members of this Society on its thirtieth anniversary.

■ The CPSU Central Committee's greetings to the Third Congress of the Communist Party of Honduras were published on June 7. It wished the Honduran Communists further success in strengthening their Party's ranks organizationally and ideologically on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

■ Talks between Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko and French Foreign Minister Louis de Guiringaud, on an official visit to the Soviet Union, ended on June 7. On that same day M. de Guiringaud was received by CPSU General Secretary Brezhnev. They discussed relations between the two countries and their co-operation in strengthening European and international security. M. de Guiringaud said that much importance is being attached in France to Leonid Brezhnev's forthcoming visit and that it is believed that it will be a major political landmark in Soviet-French co-operation. (See p. 8.)

■ The International Lenin Prize "For the Promotion of Peace Among Nations" was presented to Janos Kadar, First Secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, in Budapest on June 3. He was awarded it for his outstanding contribution to the struggle for peace.

■ A delegation of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet, headed by Vice-President Pavel Gilashvili, arrived in Phonyngyang on June 2 for an official friendly visit at the invitation of the Supreme People's Assembly of the Korean People's Democratic Republic.

■ The official visit paid to Iraq by President Gustav Husak, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, ended on June 2. An agreement on the further development of Czechoslovak-Iraqi relations in diverse fields was signed during the visit.

■ The Seventh Session of the U.S.S.R.-F.R.G. Commission for Economic, Scientific and Technical Co-operation took place in Bonn on June 2-3 under the chairmanship of Federal Minister of Economics Hans Friderichs. The Soviet delegation was led by First Deputy Premier Nikolai Tikhonov. The sides noted that trade, economic, scientific and technical ties between the two countries were growing at a steady high rate and acquiring an increasingly long-term character. They also voiced confidence that CPSU General Secretary Brezhnev's forthcoming visit to the Federal Republic of Germany would further stimulate the constructive development of relations, notably in the economic field. On June 2 Nikolai Tikhonov was received by Federal Chancellor Helmut Schmidt.

■ Publication on June 3 of a TASS statement on the new brigand invasion of Mozambique by Rhodesian racist troops. (See p. 11.)

■ TASS published a statement on June 6 in connection with reports from various sources concerning the preparations being made with the active participation of the Sudanese authorities and imperialist and other reactionary forces to launch an armed attack on Ethiopia. TASS was authorized to state that this was playing with fire and those who engaged therein would assume a heavy responsibility before the peoples of Africa and the whole world.

■ The 63rd session of the general conference of the International Labour Organization opened in Geneva on June 1. It is attended by delegations from more than 130 countries, including government officials, workers and employers. (See p. 16.)

■ A national referendum was held in Bangladesh on May 30. Preliminary results showed that 98 per cent of those taking part expressed confidence in President Ziaur Rahman, who had assumed office on April 21.



Workers of the Serp i Molot (Sickle and Hammer) Iron and Steel Works in Moscow at a meeting held on June 4 to discuss the draft of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R.

Photo by Alexander Mochalin

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The new Belgrade Palace of Congresses, on the left bank of the Sava, will be the venue of the meeting of the participants in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. A preliminary meeting will open on June 15 to decide on the date, agenda and other procedural matters relating to the main meeting.

Cover picture: the Palace of Congresses.

Photo by Valery Ledkov

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# CPSU GENERAL SECRETARY LEONID BREZHNEV'S ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS PUT BY ASAHI EDITOR SHORYU HATA

**Question:** Sixty years have elapsed since the October Revolution. In this connection, permit me to ask how you assess the achievements made in this period, and what are the further prospects for the development of your country, including the matter of competition with the capitalist system?

**Answer:** In the past 60 years, the Soviet people, led by the Communist Party, have covered a road of which we are rightly proud. In the lifetime of a single generation an end was put to age-old backwardness. Our country has attained a high level of economic, scientific and technological development. Whereas the share of pre-revolutionary Russia in world industrial production was only slightly over 4 per cent, the Soviet Union today accounts for one-fifth of it.

Setting ourselves the goal of building a new society, we forged ahead along paths unexplored in history. One can understand what difficulties we encountered, but today an advanced, mature socialist society has been built in our country. What do we mean by this? First and foremost, that in the Soviet Union the exploitation of man by man was abolished long ago and for good; that all its citizens are guaranteed genuine freedom and real democracy; that it is a society projected to the future and confidently blazing the trail to that future.

I believe that there is no need to cite concrete data testifying to the steady development of the national economy of the Soviet Union. These data have been published in the press. I merely wish to emphasize that the supreme aim of our Party is the steady advance of the economy, of the material and cultural standards of the Soviet people. And this aim is being accomplished in practice.

We have every grounds to view the future optimistically. As you probably know, new targets were set by the 25th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. I shall cite only one indicator. The achievement of the objectives of the tenth five-year plan — and we have no doubt that they will be achieved — will permit us, by 1980, to double the nation's industrial potential in comparison with 1970.

Several days ago, a plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee approved, in the main, the draft of a new Constitution of the Soviet Union. It has been submitted for countrywide discussion. We believe that the adoption of the new Constitution will not only be a major event for our country, but will also have a worldwide impact.

In all the 60 years of the existence of the Soviet state, our foreign policy has been oriented on ensuring peace and security for our country, for all peoples. To ward off the danger of war, to check the arms race, to deepen and expand co-operation that would benefit all states — this is the aim today, as always, of the Soviet Union's initiatives on the international scene. We intend to go on pursuing the policy of détente and working to extend it to all parts of the globe. I believe I shall not be wrong in saying that our dynamic, realistic and balanced foreign policy and our readiness to take the legitimate interest of others into consideration are recognized everywhere in the world, except, of course, in those quarters which deliberately, with ill intent, give a distorted picture of this policy and deceive the public.

Now about that part of your question which concerns the competition of the two systems. I shall say, first of all, that ever since Lenin's time we have consistently followed a policy of peaceful coexistence

with states belonging to a different social system, of settling outstanding issues not in the language of weapons, but at the negotiating table. With regard to the question as to whom the future belongs, we firmly believe in the superiority of the socialist system.

**Question:** I would like to ask this question on behalf of the only nation in the world that has fallen victim to nuclear weapons. What are the prospects for nuclear disarmament and the strategic arms limitation talks?

**Answer:** The Soviet Union has not forgotten the tragedy of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, when the world first learned the meaning of nuclear weapons. We share the feelings of the Japanese people as regards the unnecessary loss of life caused by the first atomic bombings.

The power of these weapons has now increased many times over and everyone agrees that the nuclear arms race endangers peace and security on our planet. It might seem that all states would exert efforts to prevent the further spread of nuclear weapons, to ban their testing, and eventually to end the nuclear arms race and abolish nuclear weaponry altogether. This is what the Soviet Union is working for. Our country has always called for the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons. It has been advocating this ever since these weapons first appeared. As is known, the U.N. General Assembly in 1972 adopted a Soviet-sponsored resolution on the non-use of force in international relations and the simultaneous banning for all time of the use of nuclear weapons. It is also a well-known fact that the United Nations is currently studying the Soviet-proposed draft of a world treaty banning the use of force in international relations, which envisages a commitment by the states to refrain from using any types of weapons, including nuclear weapons. Unfortunately, little progress has been made so far because of the negative position taken by a number of states. I can tell you definitely that the Soviet Union is prepared at any time to sit down at the negotiating table with all other nuclear powers to work out jointly practical ways of resolving the nuclear disarmament problem.

For several years now the Soviet Union has been conducting negotiations with the United States on strategic arms limitation. In our opinion, substantial results have been achieved. The negotiations are still in progress. They are based on the well-known Vladivostok agreements. We are seeking the early and productive completion of the talks. This will be possible provided, of course, that our partners stop trying to obtain unilateral advantages for themselves. We will not accept an agreement that could impair the security of the Soviet Union and our allies.

**Question:** When one considers the situation in Asia, one realizes that the Soviet policy in Asia has an important role to play. What is your opinion about relations with the People's Republic of China, prospects for the development of the situation on the Korean peninsula, and the policy pursued by Southeast Asian nations, including Vietnam?

**Answer:** Historically, economically and geographically, our country has always been inseparably bound up with the Asian continent. It is only natural, therefore, that we earnestly seek to consolidate peace in that area. We believe that having become the dominant trend of world development, détente should not by-pass the Asian continent where more than half of the world's population lives.

The historic victory of the Vietnamese people and the establishment of that large peace-loving state, the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, the settlement of the conflict in Southeast Asia and the withdrawal of American troops from Indo-China — all these events created, in our opinion, more favourable conditions for ensuring lasting peace and security in Asia through the joint efforts of all states on the continent. The Soviet Union is for precisely this trend of developments in Asia.

As regards Soviet-Chinese relations, our position on this score is well known. We want to normalize interstate relations with China. The re-establishment of really good-neighbourly relations between our two countries would be of great importance for the U.S.S.R. and the P.R.C. and would also improve the international situation as a whole.

It is through the fault of the other side that there is no sign yet of any improvement in Soviet-Chinese relations. Unfortunately, the new Chinese leadership is following the old, beaten track, so to speak. It is common knowledge that the campaign of denunciation of the policy of détente continues and everything is being done to thwart any measures in the field of disarmament. Or take the thesis about struggle against "hegemony." Some people may fail to see anything dangerous in it. But isn't this thesis being used as a cover for sowing enmity between states or, at least, for preventing any improvement in relations between them? What is the purpose of all this? Are there not hidden motives here running counter to the interests of peace and co-operation? At any rate, we have a definite opinion on this score, and this opinion is known in Japan.

As regards the situation on the Korean peninsula, we support the proposal of the Korean People's Democratic Republic for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from South Korea and for the creation of favourable conditions for the country's unification on a peaceful and democratic basis without any interference from outside. We are not alone in holding this view. Judging by the U.N. General Assembly resolution urging the creation of favourable conditions for turning the armistice in Korea into lasting peace and speeding the peaceful reunification of Korea, it is shared by most U.N. member countries.

**Question:** What is your view on the questions of peace in the Middle East, the national liberation struggle in Asia and Africa, and the South-North problem?

**Answer:** For many years the Middle East crisis, now flaring up, now abating, has been one of the

sources of international tension. No one any longer doubts the urgent need for its peaceful settlement. In our opinion, the task now is to ensure the resumption of the Geneva Middle East Peace Conference, and without delay.

As to the essence of the Middle East settlement, our point of view, briefly, is as follows: a genuinely lasting and just peace in the Middle East can be established only on the basis of the withdrawal of Israeli troops from all the Arab territories occupied in 1967 and of respect for the right to independent and secure existence of all states and peoples of this region, including Israel and the Arab people of Palestine, on the basis of satisfaction of the legitimate right of the Arab people of Palestine to create their own state.

For its part, the Soviet Union is prepared to do everything in its power to bring nearer such a peace.

Now as to the second part of your question. The whole world sees that a deep-going process of overcoming the colonial legacy, the vestiges of national oppression and inequality and relations that are exploitative by their very nature is gathering momentum in Asia and Africa. These radical changes will certainly proceed in the future as well. Why do I speak of this with such confidence? Because underlying them is the irresistible striving of the peoples for independent development, for national and social progress. It is well known that the Soviet Union has always supported and will continue to support these legitimate aspirations.

You have used the term "South-North." Evidently, it should be understood as applying to the relations existing between the developing countries, no matter on which side of the equator they are situated, and the developed capitalist states.

Our stand on this question is clear. The Soviet Union supports the demands of the developing countries for the restructuring of international economic relations on a just and democratic basis. This means, above all, that the process of eliminating colonialism must be extended to the economic sphere and that the oppression by the imperialist multinationals and the exploitation of the natural and human resources of the developing states by the advanced capitalist countries must be ended.

**Question:** During the visit of former Prime Minister Tanaka to the Soviet Union it was recognized that the problem of the northern territories was an "outstanding" problem between Japan and the U.S.S.R. Is not the stand taken by the Soviet Union in the recent period on this question a departure from the above-mentioned understanding?

**Answer:** We well remember the negotiations with Japanese leaders that took place at that time. Those were, in our opinion, useful negotiations, in the course of which a wide range of questions concerning the relations between our countries, including that of a peace treaty between the U.S.S.R. and Japan, were discussed. As you remember, the joint Soviet-Japanese statement of October 10, 1973,

recorded an arrangement to continue the negotiations on the conclusion of a peace treaty. The Soviet Union is prepared — unless, of course, the Japanese side lays down obviously unacceptable conditions — to carry through this important matter for our countries to its conclusion. Given a sober approach on the part of the Japanese side to the realities that have taken shape as a result of the second world war, this could be done — and done quickly.

It is known that peace treaties, as a rule, cover a wide range of questions, including that of border delineation. This applies also to the Soviet-Japanese peace treaty. To say, then, that in the relations between our countries there is some "outstanding territorial problem" is a one-sided and erroneous interpretation.

Our position has repeatedly been stated at talks with Japanese leaders and is well known.

If our understanding is correct, Japan is not as yet prepared to conclude a peace treaty. Taking this into account, we have suggested that, while continuing the negotiations on a peace treaty, we should exchange opinions and sign a treaty of good-neighbourliness and co-operation embracing those areas in our relations which are already ripe for being placed on a firm treaty basis. It is our belief that this would constitute a sharp turn towards overcoming the remaining distrust and promoting reliable and mutually beneficial co-operation in all spheres.

What we propose we have called a treaty of good-neighbourliness and co-operation. After all, it is not the name, but the substance that matters. We are prepared to consider also the possible initiatives of the Japanese side in this direction. It is important that such a bilateral state document should serve the aim of establishing genuinely good relations between our countries in the interests of the Soviet and Japanese peoples and in the interests of peace and security in the Far East and throughout the world.

**Question:** What can you say about Japanese-Soviet economic relations, specifically the problems of fishing and co-operation in developing Siberia?

**Answer:** I have already said more than once that Japanese-Soviet trade and economic relations have good prospects for development, particularly through mutually advantageous co-operation in developing the natural riches of the Far East and Siberia.

In the past twenty years trade between our countries has grown more than 70 times over. In 1976 it exceeded 2,000 million rubles. Japan is one of the U.S.S.R.'s three biggest trading partners among the developed capitalist countries.

There are grounds to believe that our trade will continue to grow, and it can be expected that our aggregate trade will surpass 10,000 million rubles over the next five years. This will be facilitated by the new five-year trade and payments agreement which was recently signed in Tokyo. I also think that the forthcoming 7th session of the Soviet-Japanese and Japanese-Soviet committees for economic co-operation could discuss on a more concrete plane

the further expansion of trade and mutually advantageous economic co-operation.

I recall with satisfaction the business talk I had in the Crimea last August with the delegation of the Japanese Federation of Economic Organizations led by its President, Mr Toshio Doko. We advanced at that time a number of proposals aimed at the further development of economic ties between the Soviet Union and Japan. In particular, we touched upon the possibility of shaping a long-term programme of economic co-operation covering 10 or 15 years, mostly with a view to more intensive utilization of the resources of Siberia and the Far East. We also spoke about the expediency for our countries of concluding an agreement on the principles of economic co-operation after the pattern of the agreements which the U.S.S.R. already has with Britain, France, Canada and some other countries and which are proving their worth in practice. Could not the Soviet Union and Japan also develop their relations in this field on such a basis? I am sure that they can.

I would not like the readers of your newspaper to get the impression that the Soviet Union cannot develop the tremendous resources of Siberia and the Far East by its own efforts. It is quite clear, and this is proved by the entire history of our state, that we have every possibility of coping with this task. Co-operation with other states merely enables us to accelerate the implementation of our plans for developing these areas. I do not know to what extent the voices which are sometimes heard in your country against extensive business co-operation with the Soviet Union meet the interests of Japan.

A few words about the problems of fishing which exist between the U.S.S.R. and Japan. As is known, fishing has always held an important place in the complex of Soviet-Japanese relations. This is only natural, inasmuch as our countries have been engaged in fishing in the same areas of the sea. In connection with the new situation which has arisen in the field of international fishing due to the establishment of 200-mile zones by many countries, it became necessary to bring Japanese fishing in the regions contiguous to the Pacific coast of the Soviet Union into conformity with the decree of the Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet on temporary measures for the preservation of living resources and the regulation of fishing.

I must say that the Soviet fishing fleet is interested in utilizing the entire catch, permissible from the viewpoint of science, obtained off the Soviet coast to compensate to some extent for the losses sustained by

our fishermen as a result of the limitations introduced by other countries.

Nevertheless, realizing the vital importance of fishing for Japan and its interest in continuing fishing in the waters adjacent to the Soviet coast, we expressed readiness to conclude a relevant agreement. Talks, although they were protracted, led to a mutually acceptable decision and, as is known, an agreement was recently signed.

I would like to say the following in connection with these talks. It was noted in the Soviet Union that some people in Japan tried, clearly not without outside influence, to use the talks for unleashing an unfriendly campaign against the Soviet Union and presenting illegitimate territorial claims to the U.S.S.R. Such actions cannot do anything but harm to Soviet-Japanese relations. They only play into the hands of those who do not want to see genuine good-neighbourliness and friendship between the Soviet and Japanese peoples.

**Question:** Is there a possibility of you and other Soviet leaders coming on a visit to Japan?

**Answer:** I accepted with gratitude the invitation of your government to pay an official visit to Japan and I shall make use of this invitation, provided there will be a suitable situation.

A few words in conclusion. Of late not everything has been developing in our relations as we would like, as, in our opinion, is required by the interests of the Soviet Union and Japan. I would say that you and we have recently lived through a fairly difficult time when we have had to decide in what direction Soviet-Japanese relations will develop further, whether they will follow the road of good-neighbourliness and co-operation or whether their further aggravation is inevitable. I believe that due to the efforts of both sides, the only correct choice has been made, a choice in favour of the further development of co-operation. This fact is encouraging in itself and it gives us grounds to hope that our relations will continue to develop not from the positions of the past, but with an eye to the future.

I can say most definitely that we would like to do business with Japan honestly, on the basis of good-neighbourly co-operation and mutual advantage. The Soviet Union has not had and does not have any other object with regard to your country, which is our close neighbour.

I take this opportunity to convey to the readers of your newspaper, to all Japanese people, my best wishes for their well-being and happiness.

# ON THE EVE OF A LANDMARK EVENT

VLADIMIR KELIN

Another major event in Soviet-French relations is in the offing—CPSU General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev's official visit to France scheduled for June 20-22. The news of this visit has attracted worldwide attention.

Heightened interest is shown both in the coming talks and in the record of Soviet-French co-operation, particularly in the last few years. Top-level meetings and contacts in the past decade or so have raised relations between our countries to a successively higher level. Moreover, the experience of Soviet-French co-operation is valuable insofar as it is helping to assert the principles of peaceful coexistence in the entire system of international relations. It thus reinforces the cardinal trend of our time and lays a more solid foundation for détente and, consequently, for a peaceful perspective.

"United, France and Russia are strong; divided, they both face danger," the late General Charles de Gaulle said. "Their unity, in fact, is dictated by their geographic position, experience and common sense." Realization of the value of historical experience and of its lessons is undoubtedly a good foundation on which to build relations. But that is not enough. Soviet-French co-operation has gained strength and won respect in the world above all because it is oriented primarily on the search for ways and means of ensuring security and co-operation in Europe and other parts of the world.

Speaking over television on May 29, Leonid Brezhnev stressed that there were every grounds to speak of a wealth of accumulated tradition in Soviet-French co-operation. "I have in mind the practically annual summit meetings, the regular consultations with the aim of broadening mutual relations and exchanging opinions on urgent world problems, the doubling of trade

turnover from one five-year period to another, and the extensive exchange of cultural values which already has a long history," he said. At the same time he clearly outlined the prospects of our co-operation as follows: "We want the intensity of contacts between the peoples of our countries to mount consistently and their forms to become ever more diversified and productive. We shall come to know each other better and better, and this leads to mutual trust."

The present state of relations between our countries and the prospects of their development were also highly appraised by President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing in his recent interview to Soviet television. He said our co-operation was distinguished for its constancy and scope and that it was successfully developing in all areas.

These assessments on the eve of the summit talks and the declared intention to go further along the road on which much has already been achieved are a sort of key to the forthcoming dialogue in Paris.

The keen interest evinced in the coming talks between the leaders of the Soviet Union and France is understandable. For obvious reasons it would be premature to speak of the details of their negotiations. Nevertheless, their basic trend is already discernible, for it is logically bound up with the whole preceding period, with the record of the relations between the two countries and with the imperatives of the world situation. The focus will be on the key issues of present-day international relations and of bilateral co-operation.

The French, as may be seen from President Giscard d'Estaing's TV appearance before Soviet audiences, propose to discuss questions relating to the elimination of the risk of nuclear proliferation, to a Middle East settlement, and to the solution of urgent world problems.

Leonid Brezhnev, in his TV address, laid particular emphasis on one of the most crucial tasks of today, that of preventing the further spiralling of the arms race. He stressed that the joint efforts of many states and peoples are needed to tackle it and that such a power as France could make a substantial contribution in this respect.

Similar views are expressed in France in connection with the forthcoming meeting. Asked what he thought about the prospects of co-

Space research offers an excellent example of fruitful co-operation between the Soviet Union and France. Here Soviet and French specialists check a space communications system.

TASS photo



operation between our two countries in the context of détente, National Assembly Chairman Edgar Faure said: "I believe that in this respect we must make Franco-Soviet co-operation more effective. Some areas may be better studied, notably the important question of disarmament, in which I personally am very much interested. I think that it should be dealt with in the spirit of Franco-Soviet co-operation, because this is a very important question."

Thus, the range of questions mentioned at this stage appears to be rather wide and the questions themselves urgent. Common interest has been voiced in the solution of a number of fundamental international issues. There is also another major factor to be taken into account. All these questions come within the framework of the policy of détente and are linked with the efforts to implement the provisions of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. It is only natural to hope, therefore, that the joint creative quest for ways of deepening détente will yield positive results, though no one, of course, closes his eyes to the differences in the approach of the two sides to the settlement of some issues.

Likewise of interest is the experience of co-operation in the basic spheres of our bilateral relations. Since the last summit meeting in October 1975 the range of Soviet-French co-operation has widened and new elements have emerged.

Particularly noteworthy is the Soviet-French accord on the prevention of accidental or unsanctioned use of nuclear weapons. Welcoming French Foreign Minister Louis de Guiringaud in Moscow on June 6, Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko said it could be regarded as the first step in what the French called "averting a nuclear risk." It was becoming increasingly urgent and necessary to take further measures to prevent nuclear proliferation, he said.

A 65,000-ton hydraulic press, the most powerful in Western Europe, has been commissioned in the French town of Issoire. It has been designed and built in the Soviet Union and assembled in France by Soviet specialists. The French are building a 26-storey hotel in Moscow, the first project to be erected

in the Soviet Union entirely by a foreign firm. Incidentally, our trade and economic co-operation is proceeding at a good pace, though specialists are of the opinion that the Soviet share of French trade and the French share of Soviet trade could be greater. There are all the necessary possibilities and reserves for that.

Another novel feature was the Soviet Union Week on French television and the French Week on Soviet television. The main events, the TV appearances of CPSU General Secretary Brezhnev and President Giscard d'Estaing, evoked a wide response not only in the Soviet Union and France, but far beyond their boundaries. The programmes served to promote better understanding and greater trust. Observers say that in this particular case the mass media have played the part in developing relations between two countries that they are expected to play in the conditions of détente. "It looks as though, in this respect, France and the Soviet Union are the trail blazers of a new form of regular exchanges between countries with different social systems," Leonid Brezhnev said in his address over television. "It will be good if such an initiative becomes a tradition."

As may be seen from the above, our traditional co-operation is constantly becoming richer and more diversified. And this testifies to its viability. It should be mentioned also that no few complications of an objective nature, as well as the ill will of certain political quarters towards the Soviet Union, will have to be overcome.

In their relations with each other, our two countries have accumulated ample experience of fruitful mutually advantageous co-operation. This is expressed in the sum total of political, economic and cultural questions on which there is agreement and in the well-adjusted mechanism which makes co-operation dynamic. The statements made latterly by French politicians show that they propose to follow a constructive line in their relations with the Soviet Union. This fully accords with the Soviet Union's intentions. Every possibility exists to usher in a period of particularly intensive efforts towards the development of Soviet-French co-operation in different fields.

■ U.S.A. — CUBA

The Cuban and U.S. governments exchanged notes in New York on May 30, Havana and Washington announced on June 3. It was agreed that Cuba would set up an office attached to the Czechoslovak Embassy in Washington to represent its interests in the United States and the latter would simultaneously open a corresponding office attached to the Swiss Embassy in Havana. The offices would be located in the former buildings of the Cuban and U.S. embassies. It was not announced however when they would start functioning.

This agreement, Cuba's Foreign Ministry said, will facilitate communication between the governments and extend the consular service of citizens of the two countries. The Washington Post stressed that it was the first U.S.-Cuban agreement on diplomatic exchanges over the past 16 years. Though limited, it is nevertheless a step towards restoration of normal diplomatic relations between the United States and Cuba, the newspaper said.

■ THE SEYCHELLES

A coup was staged on the Seychelles on June 5. President James R. M. Mancham, who was in London at the time, was overthrown, and the House of Assembly dissolved. A committee to prepare parliamentary elections has been set up. The Constitution of the republic was suspended. The organizers of the coup said that the reason for their action was Mancham's decision to postpone the general election, due next year, till 1984, as well as the dictatorial methods of his rule. The new head of state is F. A. Rene, Chairman of the People's United Party, who previously held the posts of Premier and Minister of Public Works and Land Development.

The Seychelles, formerly a British

## BONDS OF BROTHERHOOD

The scope of ties linking the Soviet and Bulgarian peoples is vast indeed. There is practically no area in which their fraternal unity is not manifested. The co-operation of the two countries grows steadily, being determined by the relations between their Communist parties and regular meetings between Party leaders.

Reciprocal visits of Party and government delegations have long become a good tradition in the socialist world. They provide an opportunity jointly to consider topical issues of international life, draw up common positions in the struggle for peace and socialism, and outline more clearly the prospects of co-operation. This fully applies to the talks that the Bulgarian Party and government delegation led by Todor Zhivkov conducted with the Soviet leaders in Moscow during its recent visit.

These talks, Leonid Brezhnev stressed, have reaffirmed the important truth: the possibilities for extended co-operation between the Soviet Union and Bulgaria increase parallel with the growth of their potential. This is also true of politics, culture and the economy, as evidenced by the following facts.

In addition to many-sided co-operation between the Communist parties broad contacts have been established between the Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet and the State Council of Bulgaria, between the parliaments and governments of the two countries. There are now direct ties between Soviet and Bulgarian ministries, twin regions, districts and cities, and the workers of mills and factories.

In the past five years trade between the two countries has nearly doubled. An appreciable contribution to Bulgaria's economic growth is made by Soviet organizations and specialists who take part in the construction of large industrial enterprises and the modernization of existing ones. Bulgarian workers and experts are



Members of the Bulgarian Party and government delegation visit the Lenin Memorial in Ulyanovsk.

TASS photo

employed at a number of Soviet enterprises, with part of their products being supplied to Bulgaria.

Soviet-Bulgarian ideological and cultural co-operation has been enriched substantially. Many new problems are being jointly tackled in the fundamental and applied sciences.

In short, all-round Soviet-Bulgarian co-operation and rapprochement have become an inalienable component of the constructive efforts of the two peoples, an important factor in consolidating the positions of world socialism.

At their talks in Moscow the Soviet and Bulgarian sides discussed what should be done to extend and deepen ties between their countries and to enhance the effectiveness of these ties. They also mapped out measures to help achieve these aims. In fact, as the joint communiqué shows, a concrete programme of

broader co-operation has been defined.

There was a fruitful exchange of views on prospects of extending economic, scientific and technological co-operation, with emphasis on higher efficiency of the two countries' economies. Various means and ways will be used in approaching this cardinal task. It is planned, in particular, to develop further the specialization and co-operation in production, co-ordinate efforts in the use of manpower resources, jointly conduct research, design and development work, and set up joint economic and other organizations. Both sides agreed that their planning bodies would draw up a master plan of specialization and co-operation in their manufacturing industries up to 1990.

The historically new process of the drawing of our countries still closer together stems from the common striving of our parties and peoples for the happiness of the workingman, for lasting peace in the world. The Soviet Union and Bulgaria jointly work for peace, for the freedom and independence of the peoples, and against imperialism and other reactionary forces.

The complete identity of views and the common positions of the Soviet and Bulgarian governments and Communist parties in world affairs were reaffirmed during the Moscow talks. The sides discussed a wide range of topical international issues and questions relating to the world communist movement. They stressed the importance of strengthening peace and security in different regions of Europe, notably on the Balkan Peninsula. The Soviet side noted the great constructive significance of Bulgaria's efforts in this direction. Both countries agreed to continue their efforts towards establishing good-neighbour relations and promoting mutual understanding and co-operation in the Balkan Peninsula and in the Black Sea area.

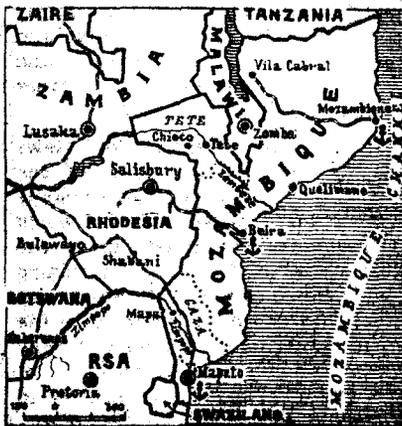
The results of the talks have been received with satisfaction not only in the Soviet Union and Bulgaria but also in the other fraternal states. And this is quite natural, for friendship, all-round co-operation and the drawing together of the Soviet Union and Bulgaria benefit the common cause of the entire socialist community.

A. PIN

# RACIST DESIGN FOILED

On May 29 large units of Rhodesia's racist regime, supported by fighter-bombers and heavy artillery, invaded the Gaza and Tete provinces of Mozambique and attacked the positions of its Popular Liberation Forces. This attack was beaten off. Three Rhodesian planes and a helicopter were shot down during the fighting. A spokesman for the general staff of the Mozambique army said that on June 2 the entire territory of the country had been cleared of the invading troops.

This rebuff may damp the aggressive ardour of the Smith regime. But for how



long? There are weighty reasons to believe that Salisbury is out to exacerbate the situation in southern Africa, to aggravate military tension in that region. It is clearly being instigated by external forces too. The British Guardian voiced the assumption that Rhodesian troops invaded Mozambique with the knowledge of Pretoria, which poses as Rhodesia's "big white brother" and virtually authorizes its aggressive actions.

Nor should world public opinion overlook the criminal role which the imperialist West has played in instigating the aggressive designs of the Rhodesian brass. In planning the anti-

Mozambique operation the racists, to all appearances, took into account the refusal of the U.S., British and other Western representatives at the recent Maputo conference for solidarity with the Zimbabwe and Namibian peoples to support broader international sanctions against the Smith regime. Washington and London were certainly aware that in this way they gave the racist military a free hand in committing new crimes against the African peoples. The recent statement of the British government that it will in no circumstances use force against the Rhodesian regime can be taken as direct encouragement of the racists to armed attacks against neighbouring states. Ian Smith seized this opportunity to escalate the military confrontation with independent African countries in the hope that the West will support him on the international scene. The latest proof of this is the racist provocation against Botswana.

But the indignation of world public opinion at the racists' perfidious actions upset the plans of Ian Smith and his patrons. Instead of being a demonstration of strength designed to consolidate their positions, these actions were a demonstration of their insolence and unwillingness to respect the universally accepted norms of international life.

The news of the Rhodesian attack against Mozambique evoked profound indignation in the Soviet Union. "TASS is authorized to declare," says the June 3 statement of the agency, "that all responsibility for the consequences of the invasion rests with the racist regimes in southern Africa and their patrons."

It is clear that the racists' attempt at intimidating and blackmailing the African peoples has failed. The more savage and aggressive the racists, the more evident it becomes that their regime is doomed.

**V. SIDENKO**

colony, were proclaimed an independent republic on June 28, 1976. They cover an area of 405 square kilometres and have a population of over 60,000.

## ■ TURKEY

The entire Majlis (Lower Chamber) and a third of the Senate were re-elected on June 5, before the expiry of Parliament's term. Victory was won by the opposition Republican People's Party, the country's largest, which got 218 of the 450 seats in the Majlis and 27 of the 50 contested seats in the Senate. The election results allow the party, described as "Left-of-Centre," to form a new government. Recently the Republican People's Party, led by Bulent Ecevit, decided to enter the Socialist International.

The Right-wing bourgeois Justice Party, led by Premier Suleiman Demirel, which heads the four-party government coalition, found itself far behind the RPP. Observers explain this defeat not only by the government's inability to cope with the economic difficulties, pressing foreign-policy problems and the internal political crisis, but also by the party's frantic anti-communism.

The election campaign was accompanied by outbursts of violence reportedly provoked by extremist groups which back the reactionary parties of the coalition. As many as 70 people were killed and about 800 injured during these riots.

## ■ ISRAEL

The leaders of the Likud bloc, which scored a success in the May 17 parliamentary election, are engaged in consultations with the aim of forming a new Cabinet. Lacking a majority in the Knesset (43 seats out of 120), Likud wants a coalition including the Demo-

# THE STATE ELECTIONS

From Our Own Correspondent  
VASILY TRETYAKOV

The election to the Indian Parliament's Lok Sabha (House of the People), held in March, was not accompanied by elections to the state legislative assemblies, whose terms of office in most cases expire only in 1978. For the first time in the thirty years since the declaration of independence the reins of the central government passed into the hands of the bloc of four former oppositionist parties—the Janata Party, consisting of the Organization Congress, the Bharatiya Lok Dal, the Jana Sangh Party and the Socialist Party. This bloc was voted into office by the bulk of the electorate in the northern states, the so-called Hindi belt, where most of the population live. The defeated Indian National Congress (INC) nevertheless won strong support in the south.

The election has brought about a situation in which central administration has been taken over by the Janata Party and its allies, and local administration—in 19 of the 22 states—has remained in INC hands. Hence the particular significance of relations between the ruling party and the opposition, between the central government and the state authorities. It should be added that the INC has retained a two-thirds majority in the Council of States (Parliament's Upper House).

The presidential election is slated for August. The head of state is chosen by an electoral college consisting of representatives of the two chambers of Parliament and the state legislative assemblies. The now oppositionist INC still enjoys the majority there.

The Janata Party government decided to call early elections in a number of states in order to strengthen its position in the electoral college. This was announced by Home Minister Charan Singh at his news conference on April 18. He said letters had been sent to the

Chief Ministers of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, West Bengal, Orissa, the Punjab, Haryana, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh and Himachal Pradesh, asking them to recommend state governors to dissolve the legislative assemblies and appoint new elections. Commenting on the central government's decision, the Home Minister pointed to the "virtual rejection in the recent Lok Sabha election of the Congress candidates in several states," and added that "a climate of uncertainty has come to prevail in these states."

The pro-Janata Party press welcomed Charan Singh's announcement. The INC, however, reacted differently. The National Herald, which is close to the Congress, said the government decision was "illegal, undemocratic and immoral." It had been prompted, it wrote, by the fear that the Janata Party would not be able to fulfil its election promises to institute unemployment benefits of

Monument to labour in Madras, the capital of Tamil Nadu.

TASS photo



200 rupees a month, fix the maximum income tax at 50 per cent and bring the prices of necessaries down before 1978. Hence the fear that the party would not repeat its success in the elections to the legislative assemblies if they were held later.

The decision to hold early elections in the states was also opposed by the Communist Party of India.

Most of the elections to the legislative assemblies will be held from June 10 to 14. Besides the above-mentioned nine states, they will also take place in Tamil Nadu, Jammu and Kashmir, and four union territories.

In anticipation of the elections the four Janata bloc parties have held congresses and announced their self-dissolution and merger into a single organization. The Rules adopted at the merger congress say the Janata Party wants a state system ensuring decentralization of economic and political power. The Janata Party has also been joined by the Congress for Democracy, its ally at the general election.

The All-India Congress Committee met in May and elected K. Brahmananda Reddy, Home Minister in Indira Gandhi's government, as its new chairman. This shows, says the local press, that the majority in the INC leadership is still enjoyed by people responsible for abuses of office and excesses during the state of emergency which led to the INC's defeat in the general election. Former West Bengal Chief Minister Ray, representing the group of Congressists advocating the party's democratization, polled but a third of the vote.

In the present political situation it is indispensable for the Left and democratic forces to unite, says the Communist Party of India. The parallel Communist Party, however, has rejected the CPI proposal for a pre-election agreement and has again decided to throw in its lot with the Janata Party. In some states the CPI and local INC organizations have agreed to form election blocs. In an appeal issued in mid-May, the CPI said the present situation called for efforts enabling the working people to be broadly represented in the new state legislative assemblies.

Delhi

## PREPARING FOR THE MEETING

Yugoslav construction workers completed ahead of time the compact building on the bank of the Sava in which the representatives of the Foreign Ministers of the states signatory to the Helsinki Final Act are to assemble on June 15 in preparation for the Belgrade meeting.

Yugoslavia is doing much to promote security and co-operation in Europe, so it is only natural that the forthcoming meeting is in the focus of attention here. First of all, the organizational aspect has to be seen to, from accommodating the delegations to equipping a press centre. But the main thing, observers in Belgrade note, is to create an atmosphere conducive to businesslike deliberations.

That is the concern of a special team set up by the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs. Its head, Milorad Pesic, a former Yugoslav Ambassador to the U.S.S.R., is a very busy man. He has recently visited a number of countries, including the Soviet Union. Nevertheless, he found it possible to receive your correspondent.

"Confrontation and mutual accusations," he said, "are not the means to promote co-operation and détente in Europe or the world at large. What is necessary is open dialogue, mutual respect and genuine readiness to co-operate on the basis of the principles set forth so trenchantly in the Final Act. In our view, the situation in Europe has become calmer and more stable of late, so one may expect that the meeting will be held in a normal, businesslike atmosphere."

Yugoslav political leaders and the local press comment extensively on the various questions relating to the meeting. Edward Kardelj, prominent Party leader and statesman, considers that it must above all "confirm the need for comprehensive and constructive efforts by all European countries to implement the Helsinki decisions, as co-operation and the security of the European states are interconnected and are the essential elements of détente as a whole, which is the only alternative

to the policy of positions of strength and war. . . . The Belgrade meeting," Edward Kardelj stresses, "would fail of its purpose if it were turned into a polemic about who was abiding by the Helsinki decisions and to what extent. Such a polemic would only deepen mutual distrust. Therefore, the most important thing, in my opinion, is that all the participants should reaffirm their willingness to contribute by practical deeds to the accomplishment of the tasks that have been set in Helsinki. All the more so since some results of the conference are already evident in European practice and others may be expected to manifest themselves in due course."

Along with positive assessments of the processes at work in Europe, there is concern here over the attempts by ultra-Right imperialist quarters to poison the atmosphere on the eve of the Belgrade meeting. Aleksandar Grlickov, secretary of the Executive Committee of the Presidium of the Yugoslav League of Communists, has pointed out that "arrant anti-communists, who clearly find détente not to their liking, are trying to undermine the Helsinki agreements, aggravate distrust and sow discord by their anti-communist actions and cold-war attitudes." Such actions by enemies of co-operation and security in Europe have been sharply criticized in Yugoslavia.

The questions involved in preparing the meeting were recently discussed by the Presidium of the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia, the country's supreme organ of power. It stated that although the Helsinki decisions were being implemented slowly and in the teeth of considerable difficulties, the results achieved so far "unambiguously confirmed that there was no alternative to the policy of détente, co-operation and security in Europe and the world — a policy which was so clearly reaffirmed by the Helsinki Conference."

V. GAVILEVSKY  
Our Own Correspondent

Belgrade

cratic Movement for Change, led by Yigael Yadin, and the National Religious Party. As a condition for his consent, Yadin demands that the bloc moderate its extremist foreign policy. (In one of his first post-election speeches Menachem Begin, the Likud leader, announced plans for the setting up of 20 more Jewish settlements on the West Bank which he called "the liberated land of Israel.")

It is believed in Israel and the neighbouring Arab states that Likud's advent to power would create a grave danger to peace by delaying the Middle East settlement. The attitude of the Arabs in the occupied territories to this course was shown during the mass demonstrations of protest held there on June 5, the tenth anniversary of the 1967 aggression. Clashes with the police took place in Nablus and other towns of the West Bank and in the Gaza area.

### ■ WEST—THIRD WORLD

A conference on international economic co-operation, dubbed in the Western press the "North-South dialogue," closed in Paris on June 3. The "dialogue" was conducted between 19 developing nations and 7 industrial capitalist states plus a representative of the European Economic Community.

The developing nations noted in the final communiqué that though some of their proposals had been accepted the "dialogue" did not attain its objective of working out an equitable and comprehensive programme of action to establish a new international economic order.

It was decided to transmit the results of the conference to the U.N. General Assembly and to all other relevant international bodies "for their consideration and appropriate action." The West, the Swiss newspaper *La Tribune Le Matin* noted, faced in Paris a more solid front of developing nations than it expected, and the concessions it had to make did not satisfy its partners in the "dialogue."

# THE "SECOND BASKET" — SUMMING UP

ALEXEI CHERTANOV

If the ten principles of interstate political relations contained in the "first basket" of the Helsinki Final Act might be called the framework of the European security structure, the provisions of the "second basket" could be considered its foundation.

Indeed, the aim of economic co-operation is to give material substance to détente, to strengthen by concrete actions confidence among states with different social and economic systems. This is what the people in 35 countries of Europe and North America expect of their governments. Will détente bring more jobs, a healthier environment, and technical progress making work and life easier? It is from this angle that millions of men and women judge of progress in carrying out the Helsinki agreements.

No one thought, of course, that East-West business contacts would expand and improve, as if by magic, immediately after the Helsinki Conference. Some countries have gained a certain amount of experience in assessing the possibilities and requirements of their business partners, have created a trade and political climate favourable for co-operation and tried out various forms and methods of co-operation. Other countries are only taking the initial steps in this direction. The Final Act outlines in detail what the participating states should do to raise the level of their economic exchanges to the present-day requirements of the international division of labour. At the same time, the doors are open in the document for initiatives in new spheres of international economic relations, such as multilateral co-operation and the carrying out of joint projects in the fields of energy, raw materials, transport, communications and environmental protection. Never before have international economic

problems been tackled on such a scale. It would therefore, be no exaggeration to say that the "second basket" paves the way to the future of the world economy.

Nevertheless, it would be a mistake to assume that the second section of the Final Act is an enumeration of good intentions for the future. Its importance for the present has been demonstrated by the practical implementation of the Helsinki agreements.

The post-Helsinki period has been a difficult time for the world economy. International trade was seriously affected by the 1974-75 economic crisis in the capitalist world. The rate of its growth, which usually exceeds that of industrial production growth, fell considerably. The volume of international capitalist trade declined by 6 per cent in 1975, and the 10 per cent increase registered in 1976 did not stimulate business activity in general. The rate of capital investment in expansion of production is still very low in the West, while unemployment and the inflation rate are high.

The capitalist economic crisis has affected the foreign trade of the socialist countries as well. The export of a number of their traditional goods to the industrial capitalist states has dwindled and the cost of imports, owing to inflation, has risen, thus creating balance of trade deficits. Nevertheless, neither the Soviet Union nor the other socialist countries have curtailed their business contacts with the West. The U.N. Economic Commission for Europe noted last December that "East-West trade had generally resisted satisfactorily the recessionary and inflationary pressures on the international economy." In keeping with the letter and spirit of the Final Act, the East European countries, the Commission's Executive Secretary Janez Stanovnik said, were planning long-range co-operation with the West despite the imbalance in trade. Especially promising, in the opinion of the Commission, is

industrial, scientific and technological co-operation among the countries which took part in the Helsinki Conference, accounting as they do for 92 per cent of the world's scientific and technological potential.

The opportunities afforded by this trend in business co-operation are evident from the fact that, according to the Commission, about 300 contracts on industrial co-operation were concluded between organizations of the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance members and Western firms in the period from July 1975 to July 1976. Towards the end of last year the Soviet Union had concluded some 50 large deals on a compensatory basis. Among them are an agreement with the French firm Pechiney on the construction of an aluminium plant, a general agreement with West German, French and U.S. firms on the construction in the U.S.S.R. of a complex to produce polyester fibre, and an agreement with the U.S. Occidental Petroleum Corporation on the construction of a nitrogen fertilizer complex.

Détente has also had a highly beneficial effect on trade, the traditional form of business exchanges. Western experts have estimated that between 1965 and 1976 the volume of East-West trade rose sevenfold, a rate unprecedented for the industrially developed states. In 1975 and 1976 alone Soviet trade with Western countries increased by 50 per cent. And the Soviet tenth five-year plan envisages a further expansion of this trade.

The policy of developing business contacts with the West rests on a solid foundation of intergovernmental agreements. Since the Helsinki Conference, the Soviet Union has concluded new bilateral agreements on commercial and scientific and technological co-operation with a number of countries which took part in the Conference: France, Denmark, Cyprus, Portugal, Norway, Italy, Iceland, Sweden, Canada and Ireland. A long-range programme of economic, industrial, scientific and technological co-operation has been agreed with the Belgian-Luxemburg Union. A programme for expanding and deepening co-operation with Finland up to the year 1990 was recently signed in Moscow. Its scale and diversity indicate the potentialities of East-West co-operation and commercial exchanges. "Realization of this pro-

Continuation of a series of articles on the realization of the Helsinki Final Act, published in connection with the forthcoming Belgrade conference. See *New Times* Nos. 22 and 23.

gramme," the Finnish newspaper Tiedonantaja wrote on May 27, "opens broad opportunities for eliminating unemployment and ensuring a stable growth of the national economy of Finland."

In line with the recommendations of the Final Act, the methods of co-operation, too, have been improved. Mixed intergovernmental commissions and joint committees for the promotion of trade are acquiring ever greater importance in the expansion of economic ties. There has been an increase in the activity of the chambers of commerce, in the number of exhibitions, particularly specialized ones, in the amount of economic and commercial information exchanged, and in business contacts. Soviet foreign trade organizations have been developing ties not only with big but also with small and medium-size Western firms.

Mention should also be made of new steps towards expanding multilateral co-operation, as envisaged in the "second basket" of the Final Act. At the end of 1975, the Soviet Union, Iran, Czechoslovakia, West Germany, Austria and France concluded an agreement on the supply of natural gas to Western Europe and the purchase of pipes and other equipment for gas mains. That this agreement concerns as important a branch as energy, and that it was signed for so long a term (up to the year 2003) is eloquent proof of the mutual benefit of large-scale projects of this kind. The Soviet Union had precisely such projects in view when it proposed holding all-European congresses on energy, transport and the environment as an initial step towards the solution of economic problems that concern all countries of the continent. At the 31st session of the U.N. Economic Commission for Europe last year the Soviet initiative was acclaimed as a contribution to European co-operation, and at its 32nd session in April the Commission decided to study the question of the convocation of a congress on environmental protection.

Another important initiative in the promotion of multilateral co-operation was made in February 1976 by the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance, which proposed concluding an agreement with the European Economic Community on the basic principles of relations between the two organizations. The exchange of

letters on this question shows that the proposal found response in Brussels and that contacts may be initiated before long.

In pursuance of the ideas of the Helsinki Conference, the CMEA members are willing to consider constructive proposals by the Common Market members and other Western countries. The Soviet Union believes that an active contribution should be made by all the countries that took part in the Conference and that the effectiveness of their co-operation depends on the ability of the two groups of states to find mutually acceptable approaches to unresolved problems. But to facilitate the solution of these problems a favourable trade and political climate must first be created. It is also necessary to fulfil the provisions of the Final Act that call for ending discrimination and inequality in economic relations.

The two years since Helsinki have shown that the preservation of trade barriers directly affects the volume and quality of mutually advantageous East-West trade. Of late, the West European states have somewhat moderated their trade policy towards the socialist countries. For instance, in 1975 France, Sweden, Britain and Denmark annulled the quota restrictions on some Soviet imports. A number of items were deleted from the list of the NATO Co-ordinating Committee of East-West Trade Policy, which controls the export of strategic goods to the socialist countries. But these partial measures do not yet mean that East-West trade has been completely normalized. In view of the West's interest in expanding business exchanges with the East, the reluctance to remove the trade barriers looks strange, to say the least, for such discrimination is detrimental above all to the trade of capitalist states. The United States lost more than \$2,000 million that could have been received from exports to the Soviet Union, and 80,000 jobs, at a time when all this is so necessary, the Journal of Commerce wrote some time ago.

Discrimination prevents fuller use of the possibilities for expanding trade between the socialist and West European countries. In some Common Market countries almost a quarter of the Soviet exports (in terms of value) is subject to quota restrictions. This applies to items which could give a powerful stimu-

us to the export trade, such as aircraft, motorcars, tractors, road-building machines, river boats, reinforcement metal for industrial purposes, watches, pig iron, rolled ferrous metals, and a number of chemical products. Goods exported by the CMEA members to EEC countries still require import licences and are subjected to a long procedure of "technical" and "administrative" consultations with government bodies. This system is not applied to goods from non-socialist states. There have been more instances of EEC countries using "anti-dumping regulations" against the goods exported by the CMEA states. Western states also maintain a "strategic" embargo on the supply of whole groups of goods to the CMEA countries, which naturally limits the possibilities of placing orders for machines and other equipment and for production processes. All this is clearly at variance with the provisions of the Final Act.

That document defines equality and mutual benefit as the main principles of East-West co-operation. A loose interpretation of the provisions of the Final Act or attempts to revise them can only complicate the task of enhancing the effectiveness of business exchanges. The expansion of these exchanges prior to the Helsinki Conference and after it convincingly shows that East-West co-operation is hampered not by the difference in economic systems (the argument used in the West to justify trade discrimination against the socialist states) but by attempts to capitalize on these distinctions for political purposes. The experience gained to date also shows that effective forms and methods of co-operation, taking into account the trade and specific economic interests of the two groups of states, already exist or can be evolved. And if the West wants to advance initiatives relative to the "second basket" these initiatives must be constructive.

The balance sheet of Helsinki, as regards implementation of the "second basket" provisions of the Final Act, is on the whole favourable. The expansion of East-West trade and economic ties is consolidating détente. It is expected to justify the hopes of the 35 nations that relations between the states of the two systems can indeed be built through economic co-operation, and not through confrontation.

## WHO IS FANNING THE FLAMES

"A strip of land in the south has become a barometer for the entire region where the flames now flare up, now abate," the Beirut newspaper L'Orient-Le Jour wrote in a comment on the events in Southern Lebanon. In late May and early June this barometer indicated a fresh exacerbation of tension. The Israeli artillery systematically pounded El Nabatiye and other communities, causing casualties among the civilian population. On June 1 about a thousand Israeli troops, supported by 50 armoured carriers and long-range gunfire, intruded into Lebanese territory and seized the Kfar-Chouba and Khalta villages, but were thrown back by armed units of the Palestine Resistance movement.

"Israel," said Kamel El Assaad, President of the Lebanese Parliament, "is trying to use the Southern Lebanon problem to threaten to occupy more Arab lands and as a means of blackmail." Observers note that Israeli provocations are calculated to help the Rightists in their attempts to hinder restoration of normal life in Lebanon.

In the past few weeks the Rightists have mounted a broad campaign against the Palestinian presence in the country. The Lebanese Front, a coalition of Right-wing Christian groups, declared that the 1969 Cairo agreement regulating Lebanese-Palestinian relations was "null and void." The Rightists are trying to shift the blame for the crisis onto the Palestinians and to use this as a pretext for boycotting social and economic reforms. This course clearly serves the interests of the imperialist and Zionist circles who seek to complicate the situation, paralyze the activity of the Arab national liberation and progressive forces, and block the road to peace in the Middle East.

It is likewise clear that such a course by no means accords with the interests of Lebanon. Premier Selim Hoss said that his government adhered to the Cairo agreement and would do its best to implement it in the interest of the state. A spokesman for the Palestine Liberation Organization pointed out that the PLO adheres to the letter and spirit of that document.

In a statement published on June 1, the Central Political Council of the national-patriotic forces of Lebanon declared that the state and development of Lebanese-Palestinian relations depend on the settlement of the crisis in the country, restoration of its political and administrative unity, and achievement of political concord among the Lebanese people.

Y. TYUNKOV

## BLACKMAIL IN I.L.O.

The 63rd session of the general conference of the International Labour Organization opened in Geneva on June 1. Attended by representatives of the governments, trade unions and employers of more than 130 U.N. members, it will consider the ILO's activity in rendering technical aid to developing nations, and new international standards of industrial environmental protection, and will hear an ILO report on progress in carrying out the declaration on the struggle against racism and apartheid in South Africa. On the agenda also are draft resolutions on the economic and social consequences of disarmament, stronger defence of trade union rights in the economy and society, and the U.S. policy of racial discrimination and colonialism in the Panama Canal zone.

In the very first days of its work, however, the conference was forced to discuss problems having nothing to do either with its agenda or aims. The U.S. delegation, the tone in which is set by AFL-CIO leaders notorious in the international trade union movement for their reactionary views, presented an ultimatum, demanding that the ILO should refrain from discussion of topical international problems and threatening that the U.S. would withdraw from the organization if this demand was not met.

The ILO was thus faced with open political blackmail, and not for the first time. In November 1975, the United States threatened to leave the ILO if the latter did not revoke its resolutions condemning the suppression of the working people's rights in South Africa and Chile and in the Israeli-occupied Arab lands. At the current session the U.S. representatives insisted on introducing changes in the ILO regula-

tions that would reduce its activity to purely technical problems. The aim is obvious: on the plea of "depoliticizing" the ILO, the United States wants to weaken the progressive tendencies in that organization and prevent it from tackling issues that affect the rights and interests of millions of working people.

But the blackmail failed. Washington's demands were turned down by the delegates, who also denounced the attempts to impose on the ILO decisions prompted by the United States for its own purposes.

V. LIDIN

Below is a sidelight on bourgeois democracy, which allows workers to strike but at the same time does not prevent the police from resorting to violence against them when they do so, the latest example being the brutal attack on a peaceful demonstration in Chicago in support of independence for Puerto Rico. Two demonstrators were killed and about sixty injured. "President Carter, respect human rights in deeds, not only in words," was one of the slogans under which a campaign of protest against Washington's policy of infringing civil rights began in the United States on June 1. Public opinion demands the release of the Wilmington Ten, Black poetess Assafa Shakur, the Charlotte Three, and all other political prisoners in the country.

Photo from Daily World (U.S.A.)



## H I S M A R K

The White House has decided to invite Senator Henry Jackson to take part in working out the strategy for the talks on the conclusion of the second Soviet-American agreement on the limitation of strategic offensive arms.

Incidentally, the Senator has been participating actively in these matters all along, hindering disarmament and advocating arms build-up. He has also made a "contribution" to the Soviet-American negotiations, casting aspersions on the first round of the SALT talks and the Vladivostok understandings, constituting the basis of SALT II, and taking a hand in working out the patently unacceptable proposals brought to Moscow in March by Secretary of State Cyrus Vance. When the Soviet Union rejected the projects that would secure unilateral advantages for the United States, Jackson re-

commended the White House to maintain the same tough stand and dissipate any hope that the United States would advance any proposals that would be more acceptable to the other side.

It is apparently for these "services" that the Washington Administration has decided to invite the Senator to help draw up the SALT II agreement.

While the Senator is initiating himself into diplomatic strategy, Washington is reinforcing it with such "weighty" arguments as new missiles and nuclear warheads. It was announced the other day that it had been decided to adopt for service MK-12A, a new kind of nuclear warheads for the Minuteman-3 intercontinental ballistic missiles. In the opinion of the New York Times, this will be a serious step in the arms race and one that will have

a negative effect on the arms limitation talks. Paul Warnke, Director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, has qualified MK-12A as a potentially destabilizing factor.

MK-12A, however, is but one of the systems of new weapons now being developed by the Pentagon. The Defence Department plans to adopt between 300 and 500 so-called mobile missiles and 40 to 50 long-range cruise missiles by 1980. Work is going apace on the development of the B-1 strategic bomber and Trident submarines.

There are some in Washington who hope that this Pentagon set of armaments will either "persuade" Moscow to accept the whole "package" of American proposals at the SALT II talks and thus impair its own security or will bar the way to a new Soviet-American agreement. And here Senator Jackson's mark is clearly discernible.

V. BOIKOV

## The Last Word

Books about Hitler are still flooding the West. The authors of these books display a "new approach" to nazism and its crimes in World War II. As they themselves affirm, this "approach" became possible after they had "freed themselves from emotions," the result being in effect another attempt at whitewashing the leaders of nazi Germany.

The book "Hitler's War," published recently in Britain, the United States and the Federal Republic of Germany, has shocked even worldly-wise critics and readers. The author, an Englishman by the name of David Erwing, has decided to debunk the "myth" that Hitler was a dictator, Jew-hater and a monster. All that, he says, is unsubstantiated wartime propaganda. Erwing regards his opus as the last word in the series of publications about Hitler that is inundating the book marts in many Western countries.

Seeking to denigrate such British historians as John Toland, A.J.P. Taylor and Alan Bullock, who have convincingly proved Hitler's responsibility for nazi atrocities, Erwing accuses them of using forged

documents. The history of the war was distorted, he said, and should be revised. And he sets out to do just that, moreover, quoting no less an authority than — Hitler himself. Speaking to his doctor, the latter allegedly said that only the next generation of Englishmen could write his biography objectively (Erwing is 39 years old).

In his 926-page book, Erwing portrays Hitler as an innocent victim of deceit. He was allegedly duped by Himmler and others. The "kind-hearted" Fuehrer, it turns out, knew nothing about the extermination of six million Jews. The ones to blame for everything, the author says, were a handful of mediocre bureaucrats.

That is not all. Erwing questions the wisdom of Britain's participation in the anti-Hitler coalition because, in his opinion, nazi Germany did not plan to invade the British Isles. The author, who incidentally is the son of a naval officer, follows this up with the question: "So what, then, were we fighting for?" And tries to depict the past in such a way as to leave that question open in the reader's mind.

V. PAVLOV

Our Own Correspondent

London

## DEMOCRACY?

The London Financial Times writes that at their recent unofficial meeting at Leeds the Common Market Foreign Ministers of the Nine discussed "the highly sensitive question of how the EEC should deal with a member state that ceases to be democratic." In the opinion of British Foreign Secretary David Owen, there is no place for such a country in the Common Market.

To leave no doubt as to what countries they had in mind, the Financial Times says it is Italy and France, where the elections may well lead to a communist "share in power."

Since Aristotle's day democracy has always meant government by the people. And people express their will in elections. The champions of "democracy" in the Common Market, however, interpret government by the people in their own way. They declare a priori "undemocratic" any government the Communists may enter and prepare to take sanctions against it. Naturally, in defence of "Western democracy," which is in effect government by the bourgeoisie.

F. ANDREYEV



Great October  
Revolution  
60 YEARS

# THE CHALLENGE TO CAPITALISM

VLADIMIR TETYUSHEV, M. Sc. (History)

Two days after the storming of the Winter Palace the New York Times reported that the Bolshevik takeover of power in Russia had sent share prices plummeting on the New York Stock Exchange. Many U.S. businessmen and politicians thought at the time that this was the biggest unpleasantness caused them by the October Revolution. Few realized that it spelled the depreciation of the stocks of capitalism as a whole.

At first the opponents of communism found solace in disquisitions about the "inevitable collapse" of the Russian "experiment." Then they predicted the failure of the five-year plans and prophesied that the Soviets would not escape defeat in the war with Germany. And when the Soviet people defeated the Nazi invaders it was maintained that it would take a long time for our country to repair the ravages of the war. As the U.S. Professor Fred Warner Neal admitted in the early sixties, the prophets of doom were "wrong on just about every major development in the U.S.S.R. since the Bolshevik revolution."

But perhaps the biggest mistake they made in assessing the potentialities and development prospects of the socialist economy, for preconceived notions about the "inbuilt backwardness" of the Soviet economy proved the hardest of all to overcome. It took the jolt given by the launching in the U.S.S.R. of the world's first artificial earth satellite for the West to realize how colossal a self-deception underestimation of the potential of socialist planned economy had been.

It was the sputnik that prompted the Western ruling quarters and scholars to embark on a study of the

Soviet Union's economic system on an unprecedented scale. The main object was, first, to evolve an economic theory that would enable capitalism to retain its positions, and, second, to discredit Soviet economic progress. Symptomatically enough, the avowed purpose of a discussion of Soviet methods of industrialization held in the United States in 1973, for instance, was to subject every aspect of the Soviet development strategy to critical scrutiny.

## Continuity!

It cannot be said that the achievements of the socialist economy were not noticed in the West many years ago. The rapid rehabilitation of the economy following the defeat by Soviet power of the internal counter-revolution and foreign armies of intervention, and then the successful fulfilment of the first five-year plan came as an unpleasant surprise for all anti-Communists. Karl Kautsky, for instance, admitted in 1933 that the five-year plan "was carried out with tremendous vigour. The truly unprecedented results of its fulfilment amaze us, amaze the capitalist world, amaze many Socialists who previously took a dubious view of the Bolshevik experiments." The results of the subsequent five-year plans compelled many bourgeois theorists and politicians to concede that the rapid and successful industrialization was an extraordinary accomplishment and that for rate and quality the progress made in the U.S.S.R. had no parallel in history.

But while they noted the Soviet Union's economic successes, the supporters of capitalism in no way recognized the superiority of the so-

cialist mode of production. On the contrary, they intensified efforts to prove that the one had nothing to do with the other, to divorce the effect from the cause. Conceding that "the Soviet state... converted backward Russia into a powerful modern industrial society in the span of a single generation," Senator James Fulbright at the same time maintained that this was not the result of the "communist system." And the U.S. economist Michael Boretsky also averred that the fast growth of production in the U.S.S.R. as compared with the U.S. could hardly be attributed to the economic superiority of the Soviet system.

In order somehow to weaken the moral and political impact of the results of the first five-year plan, the theory that there was a certain "continuity" between the industrial growth rates in pre-revolutionary Russia and in Soviet Russia found wide currency in the capitalist West as far back as the thirties. This dubious "concept" is often invoked even today. According to it, the industrialization carried out in the U.S.S.R. is merely a stage in the technological modernization begun before the revolution. The historian Frederick L. Schuman sees in the Soviet five-year plans a simple continuation of the "programme of the more enlightened of the nineteenth-century Russian tsars." Another bourgeois historian, Lionel Kochan, quite specifically declares the Soviet five-year plans to be a further development of the policy begun by the tsarist minister Vitte!

This idea of "continuity," which in defiance of historical fact and scientific veracity ignores the decisive effect of the socialist mode of production on the acceleration of the rate of economic progress and its character, is proclaimed by some scholars to be the general law. To all intents and purposes this idea underlies the theory of the so-called stages of economic growth put forward by Walt Rostow in his book on the subject published in 1960.

According to Rostow, these stages of growth are "an alternative to Karl Marx's theory of modern history." In particular, regarding socialist industrialization in the U.S.S.R. as part of the history of the "industrial society," Rostow claims that the Soviet road of economic progress is only "a version of the common growth experience, abnormally centred in heavy industry."

Bourgeois writers, however, do not confine themselves to attempts to persuade the public that the economic progress of Soviet Russia has nothing to do with its adherence to the socialist road. The most unscrupulous of them go so far as to claim that had Russia remained a capitalist country she could have made no less, and perhaps even more, headway. William Chamberlin advanced this absurd argument as far back as 1934. The U.S. economist Warren Nutter repeated it in 1957, maintaining that along capitalist lines "there would have been remarkable growth of the Russian economy... far beyond what has been accomplished." And the New York Times blandly asserted, in connection with the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution, that Russia would have developed just as well under the tsars as under the commissars.

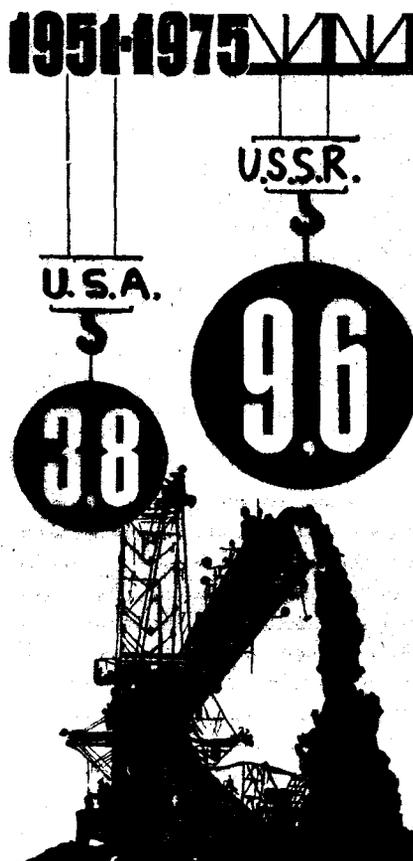
### Incomparable Growth Rates

How do things stand in reality?

That industrial development in Russia at the end of last and the beginning of the present century proceeded at a relatively high rate is a well-known fact. Yet the growth rates of that period are in no way comparable to the rate of socialist industrialization after the October Revolution. Take the following figures.

Russian capitalism achieved its highest rates in the early period of its development, in 1885-1900. The average annual growth of industrial production, however, fluctuated between 5.8 per cent at the beginning

of this period and 9.2 per cent at the end. Moreover, capitalist economic crises, which made themselves felt in Russia as early as the sixties and seventies of the 19th century, caused periodical ups and downs in industry. The year 1899 saw the beginning of another protracted crisis which



Average annual growth of industrial production in the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. in 1951-75, in per cent.

reached its peak in 1902-03. As a result, the average annual increase in industrial production in the first decade of the 20th century was only 3.2 per cent. Only in the three years preceding the first world war did it reach 6 per cent. The cyclical character of capitalist economic development in Russia was clearly manifest.

Consequently, there are no grounds whatsoever for assuming that Russia's feeble economy, had it remained on capitalist lines after 1917, would have developed at higher rates and followed a different pat-

tern — without crises, protracted slumps, etc. The more farsighted Russian capitalists had no illusions on this score. For instance, the well-known textile manufacturer A. I. Kononov, speaking in the State Duma in the spring of 1913, complained that throughout the first decade of the 20th century Russian industry had been "in the doldrums."

There is hardly any need to point out that socialist industrialization on the basis of the five-year plans in revolutionary Russia experienced no "doldrums," and still less, recessions. It proceeded without interruption and at exceedingly high rates for decades on end. Some interesting calculations were made on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of Soviet power. They showed that industrial production in the U.S.S.R. in 1929-40 and 1947-66, i. e., excluding the war years, increased at an average annual rate of 14.3 per cent. And this in the course of 32 years! Although more recent five-year plans set lower growth rates, industrial output increased in 1951-75 on the average by about 10 per cent annually. As we have seen above, Russian capitalism was unable to maintain such high growth rates over a full quarter-century even in its best years.

In order to mislead the public, bourgeois propagandists concoct all manner of fantasies about how nice a place Russia would be had there been no October Revolution. One such fantasy was indulged in by the French *Le Figaro* some ten years ago (March 7, 1967) when it pictured Russia in the sixties as a capitalist state "following the same road as the United States" and matching it in economic might. One can of course understand why one of Europe's farthest-Right publications should have lamented the passing of bourgeois-landlord Russia. But only the utter ignorance or the extreme bias of the author of the *Figaro* article — one Thierry Maulnier — can explain his contention that even if Russia had remained a capitalist

country it could successfully compete with the United States. The fact is that the economic gap between the U.S. and bourgeois Russia remained practically unchanged throughout a whole half-century preceding the revolution.

This is borne out if only by the computations of the British economist C. Clark published in 1957. According to his figures, Russia's industrial production in 1860 was 8.1 per cent, in 1895-99, 8.5 per cent, and in 1910-13, 8.3 per cent of that of the United States. The tendency towards stagnation and chronic lag becomes even more pronounced when the per capita industrial output in old Russia and in developed Western capitalist countries are compared. In 1900 the United States produced 8 times more pig iron per capita than Russia, Germany 6 times more, and France 3 times more. By 1913 the United States and Germany were producing 12.5 times and France, 8.3 times more than Russia. Other indicators revealed a similar gap. Lenin observed in this connection that we are "falling farther and farther behind."

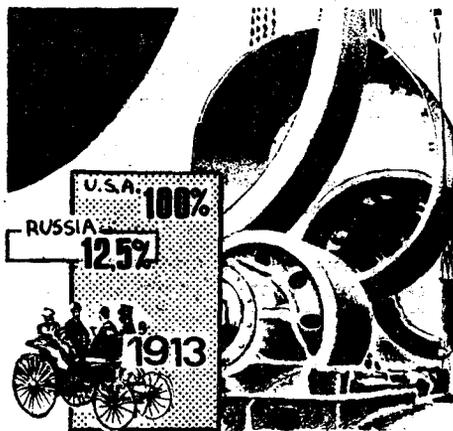
This dangerous lag was recognized by many spokesmen of the business and political world of tsarist Russia. The above-mentioned A. I. Konóvalov, for instance, said that "considering our slow progress, our competitors on the world market have no cause to worry, their superiority over Russia is assured." And further: "For them our movement forward, taken in the context of West European evolution, is nothing but retrogression."

The conclusion from all this is obvious. It was only the October Socialist Revolution that put an end to Russia's historical backwardness, averted the real danger of Russia's becoming a second-rate power, a happy hunting ground for foreign finance capital.

The Central Committee of the CPSU had good reason to stress in its resolution on the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution that the victory of the revolution "saved our country from an impending catastrophe towards which it was being pushed by the criminal policy of the ruling exploiter classes — the landowners and the bourgeoisie — and put it on the road of truly independent development, of all-round social, economic and cultural progress."

## The Unquestionable Superiority of Socialism

Another false thesis advanced by anti-Soviet and anti-socialist propaganda is the contention that there is nothing exceptional about the rapid rate of industrialization under socialism and that similar rates have been characteristic of capitalism at certain stages of its development. The West German Sovietologist Günther Wagenlehner, for instance, maintains that the capitalist countries, and in particular the United States, have had their "periods of boom." His colleague Walter Hildebrandt says that the "very high"



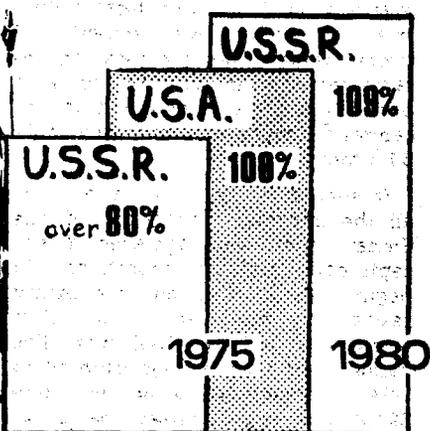
rates of development of Soviet industry during the five-year plans "can well be compared to earlier phases in the development of West European industry."

Claims of this order are obviously beamed to the uninformed. The fact is that gross industrial production in the U.S.S.R. in 1975 exceeded the 1913 level 131 times over. At the height of industrialization in our country the average annual rates of growth of industrial production ranged from 17 to 22 per cent. At no time did the capitalist world as a whole or any individual capitalist country register growth rates like these. In Western Europe, for instance, the average annual increase in industrial production at the height of capitalist industrialization (1870-1900) was only 3.7 per cent. In the 50 years from 1864 to 1914 world industrial production increased roughly sevenfold. How can these figures be compared to the headway made by the socialist world in our time?

Nor is there any comparison between the industrial growth rates of the U.S.S.R. and the United States, even though the economy of the latter developed far faster than the

West European, so much so as to evoke the admiration of contemporaries. "Above all, the United States... underwent an economic development astounding even for that rapidly progressive country," Frederick Engels wrote in 1892. Concretely, what were the American growth rates? In 1880-85 the figure was 8.5 per cent, but for the period from 1860 to 1900 taken as a whole, the average annual increase in industrial production was 4.7 per cent. This, moreover, is the peak rate in U.S. economic history. In 1900-29 it was 4.2 and in 1929-63, only 3.6 per cent.

In the 50 years from 1864 to 1914



In 1913 industrial production in Russia amounted to 12.5 per cent of that in the United States.

In 1975 Soviet industrial production was 80 per cent of the American. By 1980, with the fulfilment of the current, tenth five-year plan, Soviet industrial production will have reached 109 per cent of the 1975 level in the U.S.A.

U.S. industrial production increased 11.7 times over. Compare this with the 72.7-fold increase in our country in the course of the 50 years from 1917 to 1967.

Even less impressive than the American was the West European performance: in the half-century 1860-1910, the heyday of capitalism when it was completing its transition to the monopoly stage, industrial production increased in Germany 6 times, in France roughly 3.5 times, and in Britain only 2.5 times over. These figures, we repeat, relate to what were the best times for the capitalist economy. On the other hand, it experienced disastrous slumps and long periods of depression and stagnation, during which the superiority of the socialist system was even more strikingly revealed.

In 1929-38, when the capitalist world was racked by economic troubles, industrial production in the U.S.S.R. increased 4.8 times over in less than 10 years.

In the past quarter-century too the Soviet Union's economy has been developing at a faster rate than that of the capitalist countries. In 1951-75 the average annual increase in industrial production in the U.S.S.R. was 9.6 per cent and in the U.S., only 3.8 per cent.

The superiority of the socialist mode of production is evident also from the rate of industrial growth in all the socialist countries taken together. In 1975 their total industrial production was roughly 19 times greater than the total on the same territory in 1937. In the same period industrial production in the capitalist countries increased only 5.1 times.

It should be borne in mind that all the impressive successes of the Soviet Union were achieved in exceptionally difficult conditions. To begin with, it inherited an economy ravaged by two wars — the first world war and the Civil War. The damage suffered by our country in 1914-20 amounted to no less than 89,000 million gold rubles, the equivalent of roughly one-quarter of the total prewar national wealth. On the other hand, it is common knowledge that the United States amassed enormous wealth out of the war and the sufferings of the peoples. Suffice it to say that after the first world war, the West European countries found themselves heavily in debt to the U.S., which had owed them some \$2,500-3,000 million before the war. By 1921 their debt had run to the colossal sum of \$15,000 million. In the course of the first world war U.S. industrial production increased by 26 per cent.

During the second world war too monopoly profits grew to fantastic proportions. In his "Outline Political History of the Americas" William Z. Foster says: "Fifty-seven billions in net profits during the war told its own sordid story of capitalist greed at the expense of the people."

The Soviet Union, on the contrary, suffered enormous losses in the war. There is no value yardstick to measure the loss of 20 million human lives. But the material loss alone ran to 2,600,000 million rubles. And Soviet industrial production dropped from 31 per cent of the U.S. level in 1940 to 17 per cent in 1944.

Notwithstanding this serious setback, the Soviet Union continues to hold the lead as regards growth rates in the economic competition with the United States. In 1913 industrial production in our country amounted to only 12.5 per cent of that in the U.S., and in 1975 to more than 80 per cent. With the fulfilment of the current, tenth five-year plan, industrial production in the U.S.S.R. will reach in 1980 109 per cent of the 1975 level in the U.S. The Soviet Union already produces more pig iron, steel, oil, coal, iron ore, cement, and a number of other key items than any other country in the world.

Thus, thanks to the victory of socialism, the Soviet Union has reached in 60 years a level of economic progress which took the capitalist countries centuries to achieve.

### **Collapse of Illusions**

It seems only yesterday that bourgeois propaganda, carried away by the high level of economic activity that lasted for years after the war, painted the rosiest pictures of the future of capitalism. This was especially the case in the sixties, which witnessed the longest boom in the history of capitalism. It was in this period that the "West German miracle," the "Japanese miracle," the "Italian miracle" and other economic marvels were played up for all they were worth. To some apologists of capitalism it seemed that this senile system had caught its "second wind" and that it was now more than a match for the young and vigorous socialist world.

Already in the late fifties there were jubilant predictions that state-monopoly regulation in the Western countries would rule out any repetition of the Great Depression of 1929-33. And in 1970 a study entitled "Patterns of U.S. Economic Growth" published in Washington, summing up economic prognoses, forecast fair weather for the American economy and high average annual rates of growth of the gross national product all the way to 1980. In 1971 Yale economics Professor Lloyd George Reynolds maintained that in the conditions of the modern "transformed" capitalism, cyclical fluctuations were no longer as menacing and disastrous as before.

Two years later the authors of a Department of Commerce survey of

U.S. economic prospects for 1973 and projections to 1980 optimistically declared that the GNP would continue to increase at an average annual rate of 6 per cent until that year. There was no dearth of similar prophecies in other countries as well. Their authors seemed to have forgotten, or pretended to forget, that there is no such thing as crisis-free capitalism.

The fact is, however, that the imperialist countries had experienced a number of recessions in the post-war period. In the U.S., for instance, there was a recession in 1948-49 which lasted for nine months, another in 1957-58 lasting eight months, and a 16-month recession in 1970-71. In these periods industrial production declined by 17.4, 13.1 and 7.5 per cent respectively. But the economic soothsayers learned nothing from this.

The ink was hardly dry, as they say, on their latest optimistic predictions when in 1974-75 the capitalist world plunged into a new crisis, the worst since the Great Depression of 1929-33. Beginning towards the end of 1973 in the United States and Japan, it spread to the rest of the capitalist world. Industrial output in the leading capitalist countries dropped in 1975 by more than 9 per cent on the average. In the spring of that year industry in the U.S. was operating at two-thirds of capacity, and in the Common Market countries, at three-quarters of capacity (in the third quarter of the year). Unemployment in the developed capitalist countries, according to U.N. data, reached the 15-million mark in 1975. Inflation was rife throughout the capitalist world.

This latest and still continuing crisis affecting all aspects of economic life has starkly revealed the incurable ulcers of the capitalist system. "Faith in economics and in government management of the economy plummeted," the New York Times lamented at the end of last year. Capitalist economics, of course.

On the other hand, we may add, confidence in the socialist economy, which knows no crises and is free of the evils and ulcers of the exploitative system, has been strengthened. This is one of the most important conclusions to be drawn from the experience of the sixty years of the Great October Revolution.

## PHILIPPINES

# THE KNOTTY PROBLEM OF THE SOUTH

VLADIMIR GRIGOROVICH

Late last month there came news from Manila of another flare-up of tensions in the southern Philippines. Till the last moment it had been thought that the Philippine government and the organization known as the Moro National Liberation Front would resume talks to settle the long smouldering conflict in that part of the country. The last round of talks broke down in late April. Shortly before that, on April 17, the government held a plebiscite in the 13 southern Philippines provinces, including western Mindanao, the Sulu Archipelago and the westernmost large island of Palawan. It had been believed that this referendum, the fifth since the introduction of a state of emergency in the Philippines in September 1972, would put well-nigh the finishing touches to the solution of one of the Philippines' most vexing problems—the "Problem of the South," otherwise known as the "Moslem problem."

However, the different forces in the political spectrum took different views of the referendum, its results, and the entire issue in general. The Associated Press correspondent in Manila says the situation was perhaps best described by one old Filipino when he said: "Only God knows who is right."

### Retrospect

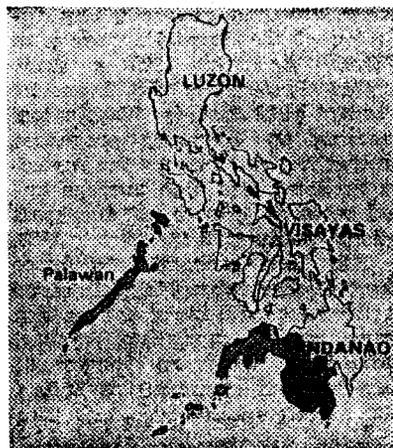
But since in our view the Almighty is unlikely to shed any light on the subject, let us turn to some facts of both remote and recent history.

Islamic nomad tribes settled Mindanao, Palawan and the small islands of the Sulu Archipelago in the Middle Ages. The Spaniards, who subsequently captured and Catholicized the Philippines, called them the Moros, i.e. Moors. Although now there are only two million Moslems—some say three million—among the six million inhabitants of the southern islands, it is traditionally considered and designated as a Moslem area.

The conquistadors failed to subdue the Moros who continued to follow the old traditions and customs. Nor were the American colonialists, who took over from the Spaniards early in this century, able to subdue them; the local Moslems continued to abide by their own laws.

After the Philippines acquired political independence in 1946, a wholesale exodus to the Moslem South from the overpopulated Visayas and Luzon began. First to arrive were farm labourers and seasonal workers who came in search of a livelihood and in the hope of starting their own farms. Occupying the fertile "no man's lands" on the coast, the new settlers, who were Catholics, entered into a quite peaceful relationship with the local Moslems. However, they were soon followed by the nouveaux riches of the newly-independent Philippines—all manner of tradesmen and speculators—who seized or bought up vast tracts of land on Mindanao, Basilan, Jolo and the other southern islands. Flouting the

The black-out areas in this map of the Philippines, reproduced from the magazine *Asia Week*, designate the 13 provinces where the autonomy referendum was held in April.



rights, customs and way of life of the local Moslems they pushed them farther and farther back into the jungles and wild, barren highlands. The new owners organized large latifundia and capitalist plantations.

### Seed of Conflict

To uphold their interests, the Moslems had recourse more and more frequently to weapons which they traditionally carry from childhood. The new settlers retaliated in kind. At first the conflicts were of a religious nature. Then gradually there emerged centres of permanent unrest, with both sides forming "private armies": one Christian and two Moslem. The situation grew more and more tense. Soon more than 30 warring factions could be counted on Mindanao alone. This, in addition to the bandits who preyed on Moslem and Christian alike. By 1970-71 the number of armed clashes and the victims of such incidents was running into several thousand.

The administration of President Ferdinand Marcos dispatched military contingents to the troubled spots and reinforced the police contingents stationed there. But by this time the demands put forward by both sides had become a tangle of contradictions. The Moslem movement developed into a separatist rebellion with the proclaimed aim of making Mindanao and the adjacent islands "independent."

The conflict in the South was one of the main reasons for the martial law which was proclaimed in the Philippines in September 1972 and which is in force to this day. More troops and police were dispatched to the rebel areas and large-scale military operations were launched against the insurgents.

At that time President Marcos and his representatives repeatedly visited the theatre of hostilities to negotiate with some Moslem leaders in order to settle the conflict. Meetings of this nature took place more than once in Manila and each time came the official announcement that a final agreement on ceasefire had at last been reached. Nevertheless, the fighting continued.

Eventually, the protracted armed conflict in the southern Philippines aroused international concern, notably among certain Islamic states. Representatives of Libya, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Somalia and Senegal went on fact-finding tours to the

southern Philippines. It was in this period of 1974-75 that the political platform of the insurgents more or less crystallized. At any rate it was learned that the movement was headed by an organization calling itself the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF), whose aim is to separate the "Moslem regions" from the Philippines and create "an independent Islamic state." It also transpired that its leaders had secured definite promise of political, financial and material support from a number of Moslem states, including Arab countries.

In an analysis of the situation, the Hongkong Far Eastern Economic Review noted in March 1974 that the aims of the conflicting parties were unrealistic as neither side had the resources to accomplish their professed aims. Further, the magazine said, the two sides had evoked popular discontent by the way they had reacted to the situation. Neither had achieved their object. It was clear, the periodical added, that the dream of the insurgents to break away from the Philippines was something Manila could not accept, and that the desire of the Philippines' armed forces to strengthen the republic's security in the south was unattainable.

The futile continuation of hostilities threatened to create an awkward situation for President Marcos, who had promised his people a "new society." Without going into any other aspect of this knotty problem, we might note that some Islamic states more and more insistently called upon Manila to suspend armed action against the Moslems. The two sides realized that it was necessary to seek a mutually acceptable compromise.

### Looking for a Compromise

President Marcos declared then—and has since reiterated time and again—that the Moslem problem in the southern Philippines cannot be settled by force of arms. He also announced that a number of social and economic reforms would be put through to improve in some measure the situation for the southerners and stimulate development in this relatively backward region.

At first unofficial contacts were made. These were followed by official talks, with Arab mediation, between the representatives of Philippine Moslems and the

authorities. Negotiations were held first in Jidda, Saudi Arabia, and subsequently in Tripoli, Libya. Though marred by ups and downs, a ceasefire agreement was nevertheless signed in the Libyan capital in December 1976. At the same time, representatives of the Philippine government and of the MNLF, and the members of a special committee that had been set up by the international Islamic Conference (an organization of Moslem states) agreed in principle that an autonomous Moslem region should be created in the southern Philippines and that a plebiscite should be conducted there.

However, the Manila administration and the MNLF leadership differed sharply as to the character and extent of autonomy and the purpose of the plebiscite. It will be recalled that at the outset the MNLF had demanded the full secession of Mindanao, Sulu and Palawan, or at least the creation within the framework of a Philippine federation of an autonomous Moslem state having its own army. When Manila categorically turned down this demand, the MNLF leaders sought a presidential ordinance to integrate the 13 southern provinces into one Moslem region having rather extensive domestic autonomy. Although this proposal was also rejected, an understanding was nevertheless reached to grant Philippine Moslems autonomy "within the framework of the sovereignty and territorial integrity" of the Philippines. In March President Marcos proclaimed the autonomy of 13 southern provinces, which take in southwest Mindanao, the Sulu Archipelago and Palawan, and announced the formation there of a provisional government in which the MNLF and the local population would be represented. At the same time the provision was made that Philippine armed forces would remain in the autonomous region.

The formal proclamation of autonomy also engendered problems, one of which concerns the differences over the extent of the powers with which the autonomous government is to be vested and another, the concrete definition of the territories to be incorporated within the Moslem autonomous region.

### Basic Differences

The referendum was to settle precisely these issues. Manila put a

10-point programme to the vote. Of these ten points nine, in varying form and from different angles, touched upon the extent to which the MNLF should be represented in the autonomous regional government. The 10th point essentially boiled down to whether or not the autonomous region should be under the permanent control of the central administration.

The MNLF officially boycotted the referendum, warning that if held it could cause hostilities to break out anew. It demanded that it be unconditionally vested with the powers to form a government for the southern Philippines.

The MNLF's reaction to the plebiscite is explained, among other things, by the fact that today Moslems comprise the majority in only five of the 13 provinces in which the referendum was held. Of the registered voters who went to the polls—the turnout was in the neighbourhood of 75 per cent—nearly 98 per cent answered the first nine points in a way unfavourable for the MNLF, while to the 10th point the overwhelming majority replied in the affirmative. This meant that the voters were against an autonomous region under MNLF control. The MNLF, which had exhorted Moslems to boycott the referendum, once again publicly disavowed both it and its results.

It was in this situation that the Manila talks broke down. On April 27 the France-Press correspondent reported: "Peace talks to settle the Philippine Moslem rebellion broke off today after negotiations ran into an apparent deadlock over how to administer an autonomous region in the southern Philippines."

According to the press, the MNLF has proposed an 11-man executive council (government) for the autonomous region. Of the 11, seven would represent the MNLF, another two, Moslems outside the MNLF, and the last two, non-Moslems, recommended by the MNLF. This was a stipulation Manila refused to accept.

As far as the geographical composition of the autonomous region is concerned, the understanding reached at Tripoli was that it would incorporate 13 provinces. However, the Philippine government maintains that at the recent referendum most of the people living in

these 13 provinces voted against their incorporation in one autonomous region.

Finally there is the question of incorporating MNLF units into the army. The MNLF has suggested 15,000 men, whereas the Philippine government agrees only to 2,500, demanding that the rest turn in their weapons. It is in place to recall that it was precisely this government demand to surrender weapons made in September 1972 that was the spark from which the extensive conflagration in the southern Philippines subsequently developed.

Officially mediating at the talks was an international Islamic delegation consisting of Islamic Conference Secretary-General, Dr Karim Gaye of Senegal, and the members of the quadripartite commission that this organization had appointed. The first round of talks in Tripoli resulted in a ceasefire and an understanding to form a Moslem autonomous region integrating the 13 provinces. The second agreement, drafted in March in the upshot of indirect negotiations between Philippine President Ferdinand Marcos and Libyan leader Muammar Al Gaddafi, provided for the institution of an initially provisional and subsequently permanent elected autonomous government following a referendum in the new region on the issue of "administrative structure."

The third round of talks broke down. It had been thought that they would be resumed shortly. However, the situation again took a sharp turn for the worse when the MNLF, according to a statement made by its President M. Nur Misuari in an interview to the Paris *Le Monde* on May 31, "decided to revert to its initial objective of total independence." Foreign news agencies began to report from Manila the resumption of armed clashes in the southern Philippines between government troops and MNLF units. The search for a political settlement has apparently again become deadlocked.

# WESTERN SAHARA

This article is in reply to readers' requests for information about the Western Sahara Issue.

The Western Sahara lies on the Atlantic coast of Northwest Africa. Its decolonization has been a complicated process, resulting in the aggravation of the situation there.

A former Spanish colony, Western Sahara is 266,000 square kilometres in area, consists of the territories of Seguiet-el-Hamra and Rio de Oro (Wadi Dahab), and has a population of about 80,000, made up mainly of Arab-Berber tribes but including also Spaniards and Frenchmen. The administrative seat is El-Aaiun (18,000 inhabitants). The bulk of the indigenous population speak a local Arab dialect and profess Islam.

The European countries' contest for supremacy in this part of the African continent began in the mid-15th century. In September 1881 Spain set out to conquer the Western Sahara and in 1887 Rio de Oro was proclaimed a "sphere of Spanish interests." The Seguiet-el-Hamra territory was incorporated in Spain's possessions under agreements with France in 1904 and 1912.

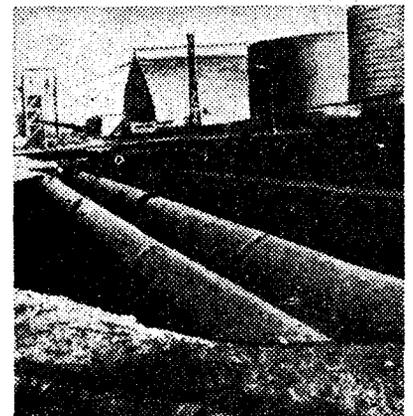
The local nomad tribes had long been fighting the Spanish colonialists. The national liberation army established by the tribes in 1958 ejected them from almost all parts of the country. Nevertheless, with the help of French troops, the Spaniards ultimately managed to crush the movement and set up a rigid military-police regime. The colony was proclaimed Spain's "African province." In 1967 Madrid was compelled to establish a local self-government body there, the Jamaa (General Assembly), vested with consultative functions. Its 102 members included tribal chiefs and

forty deputies elected by the population.

The question of abolishing the colonial regime in the Western Sahara was repeatedly discussed in the United Nations. In 1966 the 21st General Assembly passed a resolution calling upon Spain to hold a referendum under U.N. supervision to enable the population of the "Spanish" Sahara freely to exercise their right to self-determination. Similar resolutions were adopted at subsequent Assembly sessions. At their conferences at Nouadhibou in September 1970 and at Agadir in July 1973, Morocco, Mauritania and Algeria likewise called for a U.N.-controlled referendum in the Western Sahara. In the summer of 1974, however, Morocco and Mauritania invoked their "historical rights" to lay claim to this territory. In December of the same year the U.N. General Assembly resolved to refer the case to the International Court of Justice at The Hague. On

The phosphorite works at Bucraa.

Reprinted from *Jeune Afrique*



October 16, 1975, the Court passed a "consultative ruling" saying that this territory had not been a "terra nullius" (no man's land) in the pre-colonial days and recognizing that certain ties had existed in the past between its tribes and the kings of Morocco and the tribes of present-day Mauritania. The Court stated, however, that these ties should not be allowed to prevent the population of the Western Sahara from exercising their right to self-determination.

Interpreting this decision as "evidence that the Moroccan people are entitled to unite their territories," King Hassan II of Morocco announced in October 1975 that 350,000 unarmed Moroccans would march into the Western Sahara. The participants in what he called the "green march" crossed the frontier but halted before the fortifications put up by Spanish troops. The U.N. Security Council urged the parties involved to avoid any unilateral action likely to lead to the escalation of tension.

On November 14, 1975, Spain, Morocco and Mauritania signed in Madrid an agreement on the partition of the Western Sahara between Morocco and Mauritania, on the gradual withdrawal of Spanish troops from the territory and on the termination of colonial administration. Later on in the month first Morocco and then Mauritania dispatched armed forces into the Western Sahara. On December 10 the U.N. General Assembly passed two resolutions on the Western Sahara, both reaffirming the inalienable right of its population to self-determination. The reference to the Madrid agreement in one of them was used by Morocco and Mauritania to justify their actions. The Western Sahara issue was also repeatedly discussed by the Organization of African Unity which decided to convene an emergency session of the OAU Assembly of heads of state and government.

In January 1976 Spain withdrew her armed forces from the Western Sahara and on February 26 officially announced in the U.N. that she had terminated her presence there and transferred the administrative functions to Morocco and Mauritania. The Jammaa approved the Madrid agreement on the same day. In Morocco and Mauritania this was interpreted as an "expression of the people's will" and proof of the

"completion of the decolonization of this territory." According to a France-Presse report, only 61 deputies out of 102 attended the Jammaa session. The U.N. Secretary-General refused to send a representative of the United Nations to that session.

In April 1976 Morocco and Mauritania delineated their frontier in the Western Sahara approximately along the 24th Parallel.

There have been a number of political organizations in the Western Sahara. The most influential is the Popular Front for the Liberation of Seguiet-el-Hamra and Rio de Oro (POLISARIO) which was founded in May 1973 and is striving for the country's complete independence. It went into action against the Spanish colonialists and in November 1975 launched guerilla warfare against the Moroccan and Mauritanian units. On February 27, 1976, the Provisional Saharan National Council (set up on November 28, 1975) and POLISARIO proclaimed the establishment of the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic, which has now been recognized by ten states. POLISARIO is given all-round support by Algeria.

At its third congress in August 1976 POLISARIO adopted the republic's Constitution, a national programme and a political manifesto, and elected the executive bodies of POLISARIO and the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic. The supreme POLISARIO organ is its nine-man Executive Committee exercising the functions of the Revolutionary Command Council which, under the Constitution, is the supreme body of state power. The Chairman of the Executive Committee is POLISARIO General Secretary Mohammed Abdelaziz. Supreme legislative power is vested in the 41-member Saharan National Council, set up to replace the Provisional Saharan National Council.

The economy of the Western Sahara is of a clearly colonialist nature. The nomad population are engaged chiefly in stockbreeding. Crop cultivation is developed only in the oases. The country has considerable natural resources. Large phosphorite deposits have been surveyed in the Bucraa area (estimated at about 10,000 million tons, the output in 1975 came to about 5 million tons). Oil, uranium, iron and copper ores, potassium salt and

manganese have also been discovered. Before 1976 phosphorite production was in the hands of ENMINSA, a Spanish company with U.S., French and West German capital. The Bucraa deposit is now to be exploited by the Moroccans together with the Spanish Fosbucraa firm and Mauritania. A 110-kilometre road has been built especially for the transportation of phosphorites between Bucraa and El-Aaiun. It is periodically attacked by guerilla units.

Living conditions in the Western Sahara are extremely difficult. At the end of 1975 there were only two hospitals, 22 dispensaries and three hygiene stations. The average expectation of life is very low — forty years. Because of the tense situation, thousands of West Saharans have latterly taken refuge in Algeria. They get relief from the International Red Cross and other international and national organizations.

The inherent right of the population of the Western Sahara to self-determination is backed by democratic and progressive organizations in many countries. Most of the African national liberation movements recognize POLISARIO as its sole legitimate representative.

We in the Soviet Union are always on the side of the peoples fighting for national and social liberation. It is this that determines our country's firm support of the complete decolonization of the Western Sahara and of the right of its people to self-determination in conformity with the relevant U.N. resolutions, of a peaceful political settlement of the Western Sahara issue. The Soviet Union's principled stand has time and again been outlined in the United Nations and explained to the leaders of North African countries. Soviet people hold that the deterioration of the situation in this region in no way accords with the interests of its peoples or the cause of peace and security. The ones who benefit most from the preservation of tension in Northwest Africa are the forces of imperialism and neo-colonialism who are out to sow discord among Arab and African nations. Soviet people sincerely hope that the Maghrib countries will exert the maximum effort to find a way of peacefully settling the issues and differences over the Western Sahara.

K. ANDREYEV

# WHY THE REVANCHIST STIR

KONSTANTIN IONOV

Recently the Waffen SS Ex-Members' Mutual Aid Organization brazenly announced that a group of former SS-men were setting out on a tour of "memorable places" in France. And a few days ago a rally of veterans of the Adolf Hitler and Hitlerjugend divisions was held in Nassau, and an old Jewish cemetery near Cham, which had by some miracle survived the nazi years, was desecrated by unidentified vandals who toppled all 37 tombstones and smashed many of them.

At about the same time revanchist fraternities staged a series of traditional Whitsun rallies: the Danzig Union in Coblenz (it coincided with the Hamburg Days held in Gdansk, Poland, and was attended by official West German representatives), the Danube Swabians in Karlsruhe, and the Sudeten German and Silesian fraternities in Vienna and Essen. These rallies were one more reminder that even today, seven years after the signing of the West German-Soviet and West German-Polish treaties, the dangerous activity of revanchist quarters must under no circumstances be discounted in assessing the political situation in the Federal Republic.

The Springer Die Welt not long ago castigated the press of the socialist countries for reporting the preaching of hatred and revanchism at the Silesian and Sudeten German rallies. According to it, nothing reprehensible was said by the speakers. Both fraternity leaders had even declared that they entertained friendly feelings for the people of Poland and Czechoslovakia.

In the nursery tale about the seven little goats the wolf eats chalk in order to soften its voice. The Silesian and Sudeten German fraternity leaders Herbert Hupka and Walter Becher (both sit in the CDU/CSU benches in the Bundestag) probably also chewed chalk, but it did not rid them of their revanchist hoarseness. What they had to say boiled down to insistence that the so-called "German question" be left open and the contention that the frontiers of Hitler's Reich are still valid. The West

German-Polish treaty is "not the last word as far as the future of Silesia is concerned," Hupka said.

Needless to say, the fraternity leaders would have displayed less zeal had they not been sure of the support of the opposition. That they had this support was made plain enough. Bavarian Christian Social Union Chairman Franz Josef Strauss sent the Essen rally a message of greetings containing assurances that as far as the CSU was concerned Silesia belonged to Germany.

The paradox is that the offensive against the government's Eastern policy waged by the fraternities and spearheaded by professional revanchists from the central West German Refugee Alliance is financed from federal, state and municipal funds. Not only the score or so organizations affiliated with the Refugee Alliance (ranging from the East Prussian and Pomeranian fraternities to the Carpathian German) but also the ramified network of schools, publishing houses, institutes and newspapers controlled by them are financed at government expense.

The fraternity leaders are in a position to exert a direct influence also on the West German Parliament, for in the Bundestag elected last year there are some two dozen activists of these associations, and three of them are members of the standing committee of the CDU/CSU parliamentary group. At present they are very much concerned with the direct elections to the so-called European Parliament which the Common Market countries are planning to hold next year. The above-mentioned Herbert Hupka has formulated the immediate task thus: "It is essential that deputies concerned with the future of Central and Eastern Germany should have a place and be able to speak up in the future European Parliament."

The "European" emphasis appears to be becoming the central element in the strategy of the fraternities. One of the reasons for this is that the "European" label could serve as a cover for rank nationalism, besides

misleading the younger second-generation "refugees" as regards the fraternities' real objectives.

The main reason for the "European" slant, however, is a different one. The point is that soon after World War II the West German reactionaries who dreamt of regaining the territories and zones of influence lost as a result of the defeat of nazi Germany realized that however hard they tried their own forces were not enough to achieve this objective. It was then that the idea first crystallized of giving their revanchist objectives the semblance of a "European mission" and enlisting the support of West Germany's Common Market partners.

With the passage of time the idea took more and more concrete shape. As it became clear that the cold war was coming to an end, special hopes were pinned on it. Vice-President of the West German Refugee Alliance Rudolf Wollner put it thus: "If we do not board the European train soon, it will simply go off without us, and there will be nothing left for us but to longingly watch it go."

What is in question, then, are territorial claims and no less frankly expressed hopes of being able to induce the Federal Republic's EEC partners to support these claims. The idea is an attractive one not only for the fraternity leaders, but also for such politicians as Strauss. But is it acceptable to the French, Italians, British and other Europeans whose countries are members of the Common Market?

As they step up their activity, the revanchist forces in West Germany are adapting to the new situation, employing every possible device from crude sallies against détente to hypocritical references to the Final Act of the all-European Conference. But the substance of their ambitions remains unchanged — to revise the outcome of World War II and postwar developments. As the West German Communist *Unsere Zeit* has said, they "are striking at the interests of the millions who want peace. To question the postwar frontiers in defiance of international law is to place peace in jeopardy. To assail these frontiers is to assail peace. Hence, the true national interests of our country require that an end be put to the activities of the revanchist organizations and institutions."

Bonn  
June 6

## TAKING UP A POINT

I sometimes wonder why you people of the socialist bloc are so worried about "subversive" broadcasts from the West. You cannot deny that Radio Moscow broadcasts contain information which the capitalist world could consider socialist propaganda. However, the West does not accuse the Soviet Union or any other socialist state of subversion by radio.

Romesh JAYASINGHE  
Colombo, Sri Lanka



Our  
associate  
editor  
**SERGEI  
GOLYAKOV**  
replies:

To begin with, let us recall the main idea of radio broadcasting for other countries. It was first formulated over 40 years ago, when radio stations were only beginning to broadcast to listeners abroad. It became clear already then that radio could not only serve the cause of peace and mutual trust but could also be used to spread the poison of discord among nations. Lest that should happen, 37 states, the Soviet Union included, signed a convention establishing rules "for the use of radio broadcasting without prejudice to international concord and for the transmission of ideas and for the better mutual understanding among nations."

In our time this principle was developed further in the Final Act adopted by the all-European Conference in Helsinki. It clearly states that the mass media, which include radio stations, should help the peoples to gain better knowledge and understanding of one another. The states which took part in the Helsinki Conference agreed to refrain from any intervention in the internal affairs of other participating states.

Let us see how these principles are implemented. You will probably agree that by telling its listeners abroad about events in our country, its achievements and problems, by acquainting them with

the cultural life of our people and Soviet public opinion on one or another international issue, Radio Moscow strictly follows the spirit and letter of these principles. You will not find in Radio Moscow broadcasts ill-intentioned misinformation, bellicose appeals or incitement against other peoples. That is why you have never heard anyone "accusing the Soviet Union or any other socialist state of subversion by radio," as you write.

Subversion is deliberate violation of the universally accepted standards of international life. Unfortunately, examples of such activity are plentiful, even in our days. Take, for instance, the U.S.-financed Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe. They were set up by the CIA during the cold war to broadcast programmes for the Soviet Union and the European socialist countries. Their sole purpose is to alter the regimes existing in these countries and to restore capitalism in them. These stations have powerful transmitters and a large staff of CIA men.

How, one might ask, should public opinion in the socialist countries react to the activity of such radio centres, considering that the purpose of the CIA is not to serve as a news medium abroad. You may say that not all Western radio stations are run by the CIA. Quite so. Nevertheless the BBC, Deutsche Welle and other Western radio stations, too, often become an instrument of psychological warfare against the Soviet Union. Incidentally, my colleague Vitaly Chernyavsky wrote about this aspect of the BBC's activity in issue No. 12 of our journal.

This does not mean, of course, that harmonious relations between countries with different social systems in the field of broadcasting are impossible. Such relations do exist. One example is the successful co-operation in broadcasting between the Soviet Union and Finland. Another is that between the Soviet Union and France. Just the other day Paris and Moscow exchanged a whole series of TV programmes which gave the French and Soviet peoples a better idea of each other's life.

It's one thing when foreign radio stations tell us about the joys and cares, hopes and achievements of the people in their countries, and quite another when instead of giving a true picture of the life of ordinary people in Britain, the U.S.A. or West Germany they try to tell Soviet people what to do. This brings to mind what some wag has said: "The nicest thing about radio is that you can switch it off."

## NT FROM OUR MAILBAG

I was deeply moved by Ovidy Gorchakov's "Mission Across the Frontline" in issue 20. I saw what he wrote of with my own eyes and can say that he has painted a convincing picture of the difficult situation in which Stepan Kaplun's partisan brigade operated in fulfilling the important assignment of bringing delegates of the Polish Krajowa Rada Narodowa (National Council) across the lines into the Soviet rear. I am convinced that this article in a journal that is popular both at home and abroad will help strengthen Soviet-Polish friendship and co-operation.

Kirill GONCHARUK  
Rechitsa, U.S.S.R.

I have become a regular reader of New Times because I find a lot of useful and interesting things in it, particularly its articles analyzing the socio-economic developments in the world. It is good that it is also published in Arabic.

Abdul Wahab SAFI  
Kabul, Afghanistan

In the West they continue to clamour tediously about the "threat" emanating from the Warsaw Treaty countries. M. Chernousov's item "Dollars Have to Be Paid For" (No. 18, 1977) convincingly refutes the pronouncements on this score made by Portuguese Prime Minister Mario Soares. The desire to wage wars is organically alien to the peoples of the socialist countries. Our main wish is to have peace.

Marzana KUNA  
Tomaszow Mazowiecki, Poland

In this year of the sixtieth anniversary of the Great October Revolution I would like to see a series of articles published in New Times about such revolutionaries as Clara Zetkin, Dolores Ibarruri, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn and Rosa Luxemburg. These women made such a great contribution to the struggle of the working class for liberation from the fetters of exploitation, for freedom and democracy. Their lives can and must serve as an ideal for the youth today.

John F. MORRISSEY  
Katoomba, Australia

# ON THE DRAFT CONSTITUTION OF THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

*Report by LEONID BREZHNEV, CPSU General Secretary and Chairman  
of the Constitution Commission, to the CPSU Central Committee Plenum  
on May 24, 1977*

Esteemed Comrades,

We are about to consider the draft of the new Constitution of the U.S.S.R. The Political Bureau has carefully examined this document and endorsed it in principle. Since you are all already familiar with the draft, I shall confine myself to a few major points of principle.

## I.

**First: Why has it become necessary to draw up a new Constitution?**

Because, comrades, during the past four decades deep-going changes have taken place in our country and in the whole of our society.

When the 1936 Constitution was adopted, we had, essentially, just completed laying the foundations of socialism. The collective farm system was young and not yet very strong. The technical level of the national economy was still far from that of the most advanced industrial countries. The legacy of pre-revolutionary times still made itself felt in various aspects of life.

What we now have in the Soviet Union is an advanced, mature socialist society. **Major changes of fundamental importance have taken place in every aspect of the life of society.**

The country's economy has changed beyond recognition. In it socialist ownership reigns supreme. An integrated and powerful national economic organism has taken shape and is functioning successfully. It is developing on the basis of the combination of the scientific and technological revolution with the advantages of the socialist system.

The country's social make-up has also changed.

Our working class today comprises two-thirds of the country's population — tens of millions of educated, technically competent and politically mature men and women. Their labour is increasingly approximating to that of engineering and technical personnel. The workers' public activity and their participation in administering the affairs of state have considerably increased.

The peasantry, too, has changed. The collective farmer of today was born and has grown up on a collective farm, and his mentality has been shaped by

socialism. He works with up-to-date techniques and his educational level and his mode of life are often little different from those of city dwellers.

The intelligentsia has become a truly people's, socialist intelligentsia. As the people's cultural standards rise and science acquires a role of unprecedented importance in communist construction, the part played by the intelligentsia in the life of our society also grows.

Equality of nations has become a fact, not only in legal, but in practical terms as well. All our republics, including those which used to lag behind economically and culturally, have now attained a high level of development. The economies of the individual republics have, at the same time, become inseparable components of an integrated national economy.

The growing social homogeneity of Soviet society is a common denominator of all these changes. The indestructible alliance of the working class, collective farm peasantry and the people's intelligentsia has become still stronger. The distinctions between the basic social groups are being gradually erased. The very tenor of their life brings all nations and national groups of our country ever closer together. A new historical community, that of the Soviet people, has come into being.

With the building of mature socialism and the adoption of the ideological and political positions of the working class by all sections of the population, our state, which originated as a dictatorship of the proletariat, has developed into a state of the entire people.

All these processes in the country's life have been and continue to be directed by the Communist Party, which has been the leading, organizing and mobilizing force of our society ever since the October Revolution. The problems it has to tackle today have become more varied and complicated. It is now playing a role of still greater responsibility and exerting a wider guiding influence on the whole of the country's domestic life and foreign policy.

Finally, the international position of the Soviet Union and the entire socio-political face of the world have also radically changed.

The capitalist encirclement of the U.S.S.R. has been brought to an end. Socialism has become a world

system. A powerful socialist community has arisen. The positions of world capitalism have been substantially weakened. Dozens of young states opposed to imperialism have emerged in place of former colonies. Our country's international prestige and influence have grown immeasurably.

As a result, the world balance of forces has been completely altered. There is now a real possibility of preventing a new world war, and the danger of such a war breaking out has already been considerably reduced although there is still much work and a hard struggle ahead of us in this respect.

Proceeding from what they have achieved, the Soviet people, under the Party's guidance, are now resolving new tasks: creating the material and technical base of communism, gradually transforming socialist social relations into communist relations, and educating people in the spirit of a communist consciousness.

These, in brief, are the main changes in our society and in our country's life since 1936. These are the main reasons and premises for drawing up the new Constitution of the U.S.S.R.

## II.

### Comrades,

The draft of the new Constitution is the result of long and sustained effort. It is based on the Party's clear and concrete directives. The Central Committee's Report to the 25th Congress of the CPSU said: "The new draft Constitution should evidently reflect the great victories of socialism and put on record not only the general principles of the socialist system, expressing the class substance of our state, but also the basic features of the developed socialist society and its political organization." It also pointed to the need to reflect the principles of national economic management, the role of the state in society's intellectual life and the further development of socialist democracy.

The present draft reflects these guidelines laid down by the Party.

Working on the draft we firmly adhered to the principle of continuity. The draft retains and develops the characteristic features of a socialist Constitution which were outlined in his time by V. I. Lenin.

Lenin and the Bolshevik Party proceeded from the assumption that a constitution is not only a legal act but also a major political document. The Party regarded the Constitution as an affirmation of the gains of the revolution, and, at the same time, as a proclamation of the fundamental aims and objectives of socialist construction.

Such was our first Constitution of the R.S.F.S.R. of 1918, which gave the force of law to the gains of the October Revolution and defined the class essence of the Soviet state as a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Such was also the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. of 1924, which laid down the principles of the formation of a federal socialist state.

The Constitution of 1936 legislatively confirmed the victory of socialist social relations in the U.S.S.R. and brought into line with this the entire system of governmental and administrative bodies as well as the

electoral procedure. The constitutional framework for the development of society worked out then has stood the test of time.

The present draft retains many of the basic provisions of the Constitution now in force, for these continue to correspond to the substance of our system and to the pattern of our development.

In consequence, the draft of the new Constitution, on the one hand, sums up the entire constitutional experience of Soviet history, and, on the other, enriches this experience with a new content according with the requirements of the present epoch.

The draft is also based on the renewal and improvement of Soviet legislation already carried out and crowns, as it were, what has been done in this respect.

And a great deal indeed has been done in recent years. Fundamental U.S.S.R. legislation and republican codes in most of the key departments of law have come into force. We now have statutes for industrial enterprises and production associations, and new Rules for the collective farms. New laws governing the health services, public education, pensions, and environmental protection have been adopted. The rights and duties of the local Soviets have been clearly defined. The status of deputies has been clarified. All these legislative acts are taken account of in the draft Constitution and have become the building blocks, as it were, of many of the articles of the new Constitution.

There is also another important thing. In preparing the draft, the experience of constitutional development in the fraternal socialist countries was drawn upon. In the seventies Bulgaria, the German Democratic Republic, Cuba and several other socialist countries adopted new constitutions. There is a number of provisions in them which are of interest for us, and they have not been overlooked.

In short, comrades, the new Constitution rests on a firm practical and theoretical foundation. The Political Bureau believes that this is a guarantee of its stability and active influence on the further progress of Soviet society.

## III.

Now about the main features of the content of the draft Constitution.

First, mention should be made of the fact that it gives a detailed characterization of the leading and guiding role of the Communist Party and clearly reflects the place it occupies in Soviet society and the state. As distinct from the Constitution of 1936, the present draft treats of this in greater detail in a separate article.

The draft Constitution also points out that a developed socialist society has been built in the U.S.S.R. and that the supreme goal of the Soviet state is to build communism. It emphasizes that our state is a state of the entire people and that it expresses the will and interests of the working class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia, of all the nations and nationalities of the country. It is thus proposed to rename our Soviets the Soviets of People's Deputies.

The draft Constitution retains the fundamental thesis that the economic system of the U.S.S.R. is bas-

ed on socialist ownership of the means of production. At the same time it is proposed to introduce some more precise formulations that have been prompted by life itself. Alongside state property and the property of collective farms and other co-operative organizations, the property of trade unions and other public organizations is specified.

On the whole it may be said that the main trend of the new elements contained in the draft is towards broadening and deepening socialist democracy. Above all, the democratic principles of the formation and functioning of the Soviets are developed further. Their role in deciding the key questions in the life of society is to be enhanced.

Article 106 stipulates that the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. has the authority to decide all questions within the jurisdiction of the U.S.S.R. The local Soviets not only decide all questions of local importance but also control and co-ordinate, within the bounds of their authority, the activities of all organizations on their territories. The draft Constitution lays special emphasis on systematic control by the Soviets over executive and administrative bodies and over the activities of organizations and officials.

The term of office of the Supreme Soviet has been extended to five years and that of the local Soviets to two and a half years. Courts will be elected for the same terms.

The draft Constitution defines the main avenues for strengthening the ties linking the Soviets and their deputies with the masses. They must regularly inform the population of their activities, report back to their constituents and thoroughly consider every proposal made by the working people.

As you know, comrades, five years ago we adopted an important law on the status of deputies to the Soviets. To further enhance the role of deputies, the basic powers extended to them by this law have now been included in the text of the draft Constitution.

A new feature is introduced also in the electoral system. Under the present Constitution citizens who have reached the age of 23 are eligible for election to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. and citizens who have reached the age of 21 can be elected to the Supreme Soviets of the Union republics. Now it is proposed that all Soviet citizens who have reached the age of 18 be eligible for election. This is a vivid manifestation of our society's concern for and confidence in young people.

The draft reflects in detail the important role of the trade unions, the Young Communist League, the co-operative societies and other mass organizations in the life of the country. These organizations are to be ensured the right to participate in deciding political, economic, social and cultural problems and the right to initiate legislation. This shows once again that the state of the entire people takes into account the interests of all social sections and groups.

The draft Constitution also contains a provision on the role of working collectives. This accords with the fundamental policy of the Party and the importance it attaches to the development of democratic principles in the management of production.

The building of developed socialism enables us considerably to improve the provisions of the funda-

mental law as regards the rights of Soviet citizens. The famous words from the "Communist Manifesto," "the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all," have become in practice a vital principle of our state. This is sealed in the draft.

A special section sets forth the general principle of equality of Soviet citizens. Besides, the draft affirms with the utmost clarity the achievements of socialism in such important spheres as equal rights for women and the equality of all citizens regardless of nationality or race.

The present Constitution too provides for a broad complex of social and economic rights basic to people's lives. However, we know how much deeper their meaning and how much richer and weightier their material guarantees have become. All this is reflected in the draft of the new Constitution. For instance, whereas the present Constitution speaks of the right to work, to this is now added the right to choose one's occupation, trade and job in keeping with one's inclinations, abilities, occupational training and education, with due regard — and this is no less important — for the requirements of society.

Further, whereas the 1936 Constitution speaks of the right to material security in case of sickness or disability, now the question is posed in a broader context. Soviet people are specifically guaranteed the right to health protection. Whereas the right to education was formulated in general terms, now compulsory universal secondary education and the extensive development of vocational training and higher education are stipulated.

The draft also records a right of Soviet citizens which is not included in the present Constitution. I refer to the right to housing, which will be ensured to an ever greater extent as the housing construction programme is fulfilled, and also through government assistance in co-operative and individual house building. Our new Constitution will be one of the first in the world to proclaim this vital human right.

The political rights and freedoms of Soviet citizens are far more comprehensively formulated in the draft.

The right of every Soviet citizen to take part in the administration of state and public affairs is proclaimed and the forms of such participation are specified. The freedom of speech, the freedom of the press, the freedom of assembly, the freedom of mass meetings and the freedom of street processions and demonstrations recorded in the present Constitution are reaffirmed in full. The constitutional guarantees of the rights of the individual will be substantially complemented by the right of citizens to submit proposals to governmental and non-governmental organs, to criticize shortcomings in their work and to file legal complaints with regard to actions of officials, as well as by the right of citizens to legal protection against attempts on their life and impingements on their health, property and personal freedom, honour and dignity.

It goes without saying, comrades, that the draft Constitution proceeds from the assumption that the rights and freedoms of citizens cannot and must not be used against our social system, to the detriment of the interests of the Soviet people. The draft, therefore, plainly states, for example, that the exercise by citizens of their rights and freedoms should in no way

damage the interests of society and the state or infringe on the rights of other citizens, and that political freedoms are granted in keeping with the interests of the working people and for the purpose of consolidating the socialist system.

Every Soviet citizen should clearly realize that, in the final analysis, the main guarantee of his rights is the might and prosperity of our homeland. Every citizen should be aware of his responsibility to society and conscientiously fulfil his duty to the state and the people.

The draft Constitution, therefore, emphasizes the citizen's duty to work honestly and conscientiously and to defend his homeland.

The obligations to protect the interests of the Soviet state, to promote the growth of its might and prestige, to assist in every possible way in the maintenance of public order, to combat theft and the squandering of government and public property, to protect nature and safeguard its wealth, and to show concern for the protection of cultural values are for the first time formulated as constitutional requirements. The draft also obliges citizens to show concern for the education of children and to bring them up as worthy members of socialist society.

A special chapter of the draft entitled "Social Development and Culture" says that the state shall show concern for the development of education, science and arts, for improving the working conditions of citizens, for raising their incomes and for the growth and fair distribution of the public consumption funds. It is pointed out here that the state shall facilitate the attainment of such targets on our way to communism as the erasing of essential distinctions between town and countryside and between mental and manual labour, and promote the social homogeneity of society.

The further strengthening of socialist legality and law and order also finds clear-cut expression in the draft.

We know, comrades, that some of the years following the adoption of the present Constitution were darkened by unlawful repressions and violations of the principles of socialist democracy and the Leninist norms of Party and state life. This was done in contravention of constitutional provisions. The Party strongly condemned such practices, and they must never be repeated.

Everyone knows how much our Central Committee, the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet, and the Soviet government have done to perfect Soviet legislation and to create reliable guarantees against any infringements of the rights of citizens, abuse of power, and bureaucratic distortions. Generalizing, so to say, all these guarantees, the draft emphasizes that the observance of the Constitution and the laws is obligatory for all state bodies and officials, public organizations and citizens.

Comrades,

The Soviet Union is a multinational state. Experience has shown that the main features of the federal structure of the U.S.S.R. have fully proved their worth. Therefore there is no need to make any fundamental changes in the forms of our Soviet socialist federation.

The draft, like the 1936 Constitution, points out that

the sovereign rights of the constituent republics are protected by the Union. The guarantees of these rights remain in force. Moreover, they are to be supplemented by further rights, such as the right of the republics to participate in the taking of decisions by U.S.S.R. bodies on questions within the competence of the U.S.S.R. The constituent republics as represented by their supreme organs of state power shall be vested with the right to initiate legislation in the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet.

At the same time, the progressive drawing together of the nations and national groups of the U.S.S.R. prompts the need to strengthen the federal principles of the state. This has found expression in the very definition of the U.S.S.R. as an integral federal multinational state (Article 69). The strengthening of the general federal principles is also reflected in some other provisions of the draft.

On the whole the treatment in the draft of the national and state structure ensures a genuinely democratic combination of the common interests of the multinational Union and the interests of each of its component republics, ensures the all-round development and the continued drawing together of all the nations and national groups of our country.

The draft reflects the new stage in the development of our national economy. It points out that the economy of the U.S.S.R. has become an integrated economic complex embracing all sectors of social production, distribution and exchange over its entire territory.

It also records such an important principle of the socialist economy as that of combining planned centralized leadership with the economic independence and initiative of enterprises and amalgamations.

The draft Constitution specifies the powers of the central and local state bodies, ministries and departments. As distinct from the Constitution now in force, the draft contains no list of the Union and Union-republican ministries and departments. Considering that this list, as experience has shown, changes from time to time, it has been found more expedient to include it in a special law on the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. to be adopted in accordance with Article 135 of the draft Constitution.

Comrades,

Fundamental changes in the international position of the Soviet Union, the immense growth of its influence in world politics, and the close inter-relation of the internal and external factors of our development have made it necessary to include in the draft Constitution a special chapter on the foreign policy of the U.S.S.R. This is the first time such a chapter is being introduced in the Constitution.

The Soviet State, it says, shall consistently pursue the Leninist policy of peace and stand for the consolidation of the security of peoples and broad international co-operation. The foreign policy of the U.S.S.R. shall be aimed at ensuring favourable international conditions for building communism in the U.S.S.R., at strengthening the positions of world socialism, supporting the struggle of the peoples for national liberation and social progress, preventing wars of aggression and consistently implementing the principle of peaceful coexistence of states with different social

systems. This will be the first time the Constitution will explicitly state that the Soviet Union is a component part of the socialist world system, of the socialist community. It shall promote and strengthen friendship, co-operation and comradely mutual assistance with the other socialist countries on the basis of socialist internationalism.

A special chapter on the **defence of the socialist Motherland** has also been introduced for the first time. In addition, the prerogatives of the Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet will include the formation of a national Defence Council and the approval of its composition.

Such, in brief, are the main features of the draft of the new Constitution of the U.S.S.R.

#### IV.

Permit me now to dwell on the tasks which we shall face in implementing the new Constitution and the significance its adoption will have for the development of our country and the strengthening of the positions of the forces of socialism, peace and progress in the international arena.

First, about the **significance of the new Constitution for the internal life of the country.**

Realization of its provisions should raise all our state and economic activity and the entire work of the organs of power and economic management to a qualitatively new level.

This implies, first of all, the ever more effective exercise of the extensive powers of the elected bodies — the Soviets. Maximum use should be made of the tremendous potentialities of the two-million-strong army of deputies who represent all sections of the population, all trades and professions, and all nationalities. This powerful collective brain of Soviet power is tackling and will tackle ever more complex and multifarious tasks. It can and should exercise the most effective control possible over the work of the executive bodies at all levels.

Much will have to be done in the field of legislation. It will be necessary to elaborate on the basis of the Constitution Union laws on elections, a statute for the Supreme Soviet, a law on the Council of Ministers, and to define the powers of the territorial, regional and area Soviets, ministries and government departments. It will be necessary, without delay, to work out and adopt new constitutions of the Union and autonomous republics.

The new Constitution of the U.S.S.R. will become the core of the Code of Laws of the Soviet state, the compilation of which has begun in accordance with the decisions of the 25th Congress of the CPSU.

At the same time the new Constitution should lead to a considerable improvement in the work of all bodies responsible for the strict observance of Soviet laws. I have in mind the Prosecutor's Office, the courts, arbitration and other administrative organs and people's control bodies. The Party expects that all these organs will display still greater initiative, adherence to principle and uncompromising firmness in combating all violations of Soviet law and order.

It is very important that the draft provides for the constant improvement of the socialist economic system as a whole and of the entire work of planning agencies and other bodies which direct economic and cultural activity. Their main functions are defined in the Constitution. It is necessary to see to it that these functions are discharged fully and precisely and that the responsibility of each body and every official is heightened.

The Soviets at all levels, the government, the ministries and government departments, and the executives of the local Soviets should constantly check their work against the requirements of the Constitution. The Party bodies, too, should hold Communists who head state and economic organizations more strictly accountable for the fulfilment of their duties under the Constitution.

The implementation of the new Constitution will make it possible for millions upon millions of Soviet people to become involved even more actively in managing economic affairs and in controlling the work of the state apparatus.

Centralism in economic management is both necessary and logical. However, it is equally necessary to take into careful consideration the entire complex of conditions in which our economy is developing. This is impossible without still greater initiative on the part of production collectives, without the active, I would say proprietary, participation of the working people themselves in economic management. Under socialism democracy has been and remains an important instrument for developing the economy and all fields of economic and cultural activity of society.

In this way the Constitution has been invested with a tremendous creative potential, which should be used creatively. "The Soviet Constitution was the only one that served and would constantly serve the working people and was a powerful weapon in the fight for socialism," Lenin said (Collected Works, vol. 42, p. 105). Today Vladimir Ilyich Lenin would have added: and also an instrument of communist construction.

There is no doubt, comrades, that the adoption of the new Constitution of the U.S.S.R., the Constitution of developed socialism, the Constitution of communism in construction, will be not only a historic event for our country, but also an **event of tremendous international significance.** Its implementation will have a profound long-term influence that will be felt far beyond the confines of our country.

Our new Constitution will graphically show the whole world how the socialist state is developing and deepening socialist democracy more and more. It will graphically show what socialist democracy means and wherein its essence lies. Our Constitution will demonstrate the diverse forms and the tremendous scope of the constantly growing effective participation of the broad masses of the people in administering the affairs of the state and society, something unknown in the bourgeois countries, where real power is exercised only by the numerically small class of capitalists.

Reading our new Constitution, people will see more clearly what extensive and varied rights and freedoms are enjoyed by citizens in socialist society. In its provisions the world will see a state which sets itself

the aim of ensuring the continued growth of the well-being and culture of the entire people, of all its classes and groups without exception, and which is actively working towards the attainment of this goal.

Finally, our new Constitution will show most convincingly that the first state of victorious socialism has for all time inscribed on its banner the word "peace" as the highest principle of its foreign policy, which meets the interests of its own people and all the other peoples of our planet.

The new Constitution of the Soviet Union will unquestionably enrich the common treasure store of experience accumulated by world socialism.

The achievements of victorious socialism, reflected in it in concentrated form, will be an inspiring example for the peoples of the countries that have recently chosen the road of socialist development.

They will give added confidence to the working masses of the capitalist countries in their struggle for their rights, for deliverance from the yoke of capitalist exploitation.

To the distorted and vulgarized interpretation of the concepts of democracy and human rights given by bourgeois and revisionist propaganda we oppose the most complete and real complex of rights and duties of a citizen of a socialist society. On the scales of history we place the truly epoch-making gains of the working people, won thanks to the power of the working class under the leadership of the Communist Party.

## V.

Comrades, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee is of the opinion that the draft of the new Constitution approved by the Plenum should be submitted for nationwide discussion as was indicated at the 25th Congress of the Party. This means that we have before us a task of great scope and significance.

The document that will be submitted for discussion by the Soviet people reflects the main gains of the revolution and the path we have traversed in building a new society. Therefore the preparations for the celebration of the sixtieth anniversary of the October Revolution and the discussion of the draft of the new Constitution are organically linked, complementary undertakings.

The task before us is to ensure the widest possible, free and genuinely businesslike discussion of the draft Constitution, to draw the mass of the working people, representatives of all sections of the population, into this discussion and to use for these purposes our established forms of public activity.

It is also necessary to set up an efficient mechanism for recording the comments and suggestions that will be received from working people through all channels.

It should be borne in mind that in the course of the mass discussion of the draft Constitution the practical activity of the Party, government and economic

machinery at all levels will also come under the scrutiny of the working people. Urgent questions of concern to people, unresolved problems and shortcomings in our work will be examined. We must be prepared for this and shall have to react quickly and concretely to criticism and suggestions, and take steps to improve things where necessary.

We are launching the discussion of the new Constitution at a time when the Soviet people under the leadership of the Party are working intensively to carry out the decisions of the 25th Congress of the CPSU. The nationwide debate will help further to activate all public life in the country. It should awaken in the people new creative forces, give new impetus to the socialist emulation movement and heighten the responsibility of each person for the job entrusted to him.

It is incumbent upon the Party organizations and Party bodies to stimulate the widest discussion of the Constitution and to give it a precise and clear political direction. If they are able to do this correctly, it will unquestionably improve the political and economic results of this year, the year of the adoption of the new Constitution of the U.S.S.R. and of the 60th anniversary of the Great October Revolution.

The discussion of the draft Constitution is the vital concern of the Soviets. In organizing it, they are called upon to reach practically the entire adult population of the country. Preparations for elections to the local Soviets are currently in progress in all the Republics. It is important to make good use of this. It might, perhaps, be useful to discuss the draft Constitution at sessions of the newly-elected local Soviets.

We expect our mass organizations, and above all the trade unions, the Young Communist League, the unions and organizations of the creative professions and scientific institutions, to take an active part in the discussion of the new Constitution.

The mass media should play a special role. Competent and graphic coverage of the course of the discussion and respect for the opinion of the working people will be demanded of our press, radio and television.

In short, comrades, the discussion of the draft of the new Constitution must become a matter of prime importance for all our organizations and for all our cadres.

In conclusion, comrades, I would like once again to stress that the adoption of the new Constitution of the U.S.S.R. will be an important landmark in the political history of the country. It will be yet another historic contribution by our Leninist Party and the entire Soviet people to the great cause of building communism and, at the same time, to the international cause of the struggle of all the working people of the world for freedom, for human progress, and for lasting peace on earth.

*Draft Constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics  
Presented by the Constitution Commission and Approved by  
the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.  
To Be Submitted for Countrywide Discussion*

# CONSTITUTION

## (FUNDAMENTAL LAW)

### OF THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

The Great October Socialist Revolution, accomplished by the workers and peasants of Russia under the leadership of the Communist Party headed by V. I. Lenin, overthrew the power of the capitalists and landowners, broke the fetters of oppression and created a new type of state, the Soviet state, the basic instrument of the defence of revolutionary achievements and the building of socialism and communism.

Soviet power has carried out profound social and economic transformations, put an end once and for all to exploitation of man by man, to class antagonisms and national enmity, established public ownership of the means of production, and assured genuine democracy for the working masses. A socialist society was created for the first time in the history of mankind.

A striking manifestation of socialism's strength was the unfading exploit of the Soviet people and their Armed Forces, who won an historic victory in the Great Patriotic War. That victory strengthened the international position of the U.S.S.R. and opened up new favourable possibilities for the growth of the forces of socialism, national liberation, democracy and world peace.

In continuing their creative work the Soviet people have secured the country's rapid and all-round development and the continuous improvement of the socialist system. The alliance of the working class, the collective-farm peasantry and the people's intelligentsia and the friendship among the nations and nationalities of the U.S.S.R. have been consolidated. Social and political unity has been achieved in Soviet society, in which the working class is the leading force. Having fulfilled the tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Soviet state has become a state of the whole people. The leading role of the Communist Party, vanguard of the whole people, has grown.

A developed socialist society has been built in the U.S.S.R. At this stage, when socialism is developing on its own foundation, all the creative potentialities of the new system and the advantages of the socialist way of life are revealed more and more fully, and the working people use the fruits of the great revolutionary achievements to an ever increasing extent.

This is a society in which mighty productive forces and advanced science and culture have been created, a society in which the living standard of the people is rising steadily and increasingly favourable con-

ditions are taking shape for the all-sided development of the individual.

This is a society of mature socialist social relations, in which a new historical community of people, the Soviet people, has emerged through the drawing together of all social strata and on the basis of the juridical and actual equality of all nations and nationalities.

This is a society in which the organization, ideological commitment and political consciousness of the working people, who are patriots and internationalists, have attained a high level.

This is a society in which the law of life is the concern of all for the welfare of each and the concern of each for the welfare of all.

This is a society of true democracy, the political system of which assures the effective administration of all social affairs, the increasingly active participation of the working people in state affairs, and the combination of genuine rights and freedoms of man with a sense of civic duty.

Developed socialist society is an objectively necessary stage on the road to communism.

The supreme purpose of the Soviet state is to build a classless communist society. The principal tasks of the state are: to build the material and technical basis of communism, to perfect socialist social relations and transform them into communist relations, to mould the citizen of communist society, to raise the living standard and cultural level of the working people, to ensure the country's security, to help strengthen peace and to promote international co-operation.

The Soviet people, guided by the ideas of scientific communism and true to their revolutionary traditions,

resting on the great social, economic and political achievements of socialism,

striving to further develop socialist democracy, taking into account the international position of the U.S.S.R. as part of the socialist world system and conscious of their international responsibility,

preserving the continuity of the ideas and principles of the 1918 Constitution of the R.S.F.S.R., the 1924 Constitution of the U.S.S.R. and the 1936 Constitution of the U.S.S.R.,

proclaim the aims and principles, define the foundations of the organization of the socialist state of the whole people and formalize them in this Constitution.

# I. PRINCIPLES UNDERLYING THE SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC STRUCTURE

## Chapter 1.

### THE POLITICAL SYSTEM

**Article 1.** The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is a socialist state of the whole people, expressing the will and interests of the working class, the peasantry,

and the intelligentsia, of all the nations and nationalities in the country.

**Article 2.** All power in the U.S.S.R. shall be vested in the people.

The people shall exercise state power through the Soviets of People's Deputies, which constitute the political foundation of the U.S.S.R.

All other organs of state shall be under the control of and accountable to the Soviets.

**Article 3.** The Soviet state shall be organized and shall function in accordance with the principle of democratic centralism: electivity of all organs of state power from top to bottom, their accountability to the people, and mandatory fulfilment of the decisions of higher organs by lower organs. Democratic centralism shall combine single leadership with local initiative and creative activity, with the responsibility of each state organ and official for the work at hand.

**Article 4.** The Soviet state, all its organs, shall function on the basis of socialist legality, and assure the protection of law and order, the interests of society and the rights of citizens. State institutions, public organizations and officials shall observe the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. and Soviet laws.

**Article 5.** The most important matters of state shall be submitted to discussion by the whole people and also put to a vote (referendum) by the whole people.

**Article 6.** The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is the leading and guiding force of Soviet society and the nucleus of its political system, of all state and public organizations. The CPSU exists for the people and serves the people.

Armed with the Marxist-Leninist teaching, the Communist Party shall determine the general perspective of society's development, and the internal and external policy line of the U.S.S.R., give guidance to the great creative endeavour of the Soviet people and place their struggle for the triumph of communism on a planned, scientific basis.

**Article 7.** In accordance with their statutory purposes, the trade unions, the All-Union Leninist Young Communist League, the co-operative and other mass public organizations shall participate in the administration of state and public affairs, in the solution of political, economic, social and cultural questions.

**Article 8.** The principal orientation of the development of Soviet society's political system shall be the further unfolding of socialist democracy: increasingly broader participation of the working people in the administration of the affairs of society and the state, continuous improvement of the state apparatus, enhancement of the activity of public organizations, intensification of control by the people, strengthening of the legal foundations of state and public life, extension of publicity, and constant account of public opinion.

## Chapter 2.

### THE ECONOMIC SYSTEM

**Article 9.** Socialist ownership of the means of production shall be the foundation of the economic system of the U.S.S.R. Socialist ownership shall comprise:

state property (belonging to the whole people), property of collective farms and other co-operative organizations (collective-farm-co-operative property), and property of trade unions and other public organizations.

The state shall protect socialist property and create the conditions for its enlargement.

Nobody shall have the right to use socialist property for personal gain.

**Article 10.** State ownership, i.e., ownership by the whole people, shall be the principal form of socialist ownership.

The land, its minerals, waters and forests shall be the exclusive property of the state. The state shall be in possession of the basic means of production: industrial, building and agricultural enterprises, means of transport and communications, and also the banks, distributive enterprises and community services and the bulk of urban housing.

**Article 11.** The property of the collective farms and other co-operative organizations, and of their associations, shall be the means of production and other property serving the attainment of their statutory purposes. The land held by collective farms shall be allocated to them for their free use for an unlimited time.

The state shall facilitate the development of collective-farm-co-operative ownership and its approximation to state ownership.

The property of the trade unions and other public organizations shall be the property they require to perform their statutory functions.

**Article 12.** In their personal possession citizens of the U.S.S.R. may have earned incomes and savings, a house, a subsidiary husbandry, and articles of everyday use and personal consumption and convenience. The right of citizens to personal property and also the right of citizens to inherit personal property shall be protected by the law.

Citizens may have the use of plots of land allocated by the state or collective farms under the procedure defined by the law for a subsidiary husbandry (including the maintenance of livestock and poultry), gardening and vegetable-growing, and also for the building of individual houses.

Property in the personal ownership or use of citizens shall not be a means of deriving non-earned incomes or damaging society.

**Article 13.** The free labour of Soviet people shall be the basis of the growth of social wealth and the welfare of the people, of every Soviet citizen.

The state shall control the measure of labour and consumption in accordance with the principle: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his work." It shall determine the size of the income tax and establish the level of wages exempted from taxes.

Socially useful work and its results shall determine a citizen's status in society. By combining material and moral incentives the state shall help turn labour into the prime need in life of every Soviet citizen.

**Article 14.** The supreme purpose of social production under socialism shall be the fullest possible satisfac-

tion of the people's growing material and spiritual requirements.

Relying on the creative initiative of the working people, the socialist emulation movement and the achievements of scientific and technical progress, the state shall ensure the growth of labour productivity, the enhancement of efficiency in production, and the improvement of the quality of work, and the dynamic and proportionate development of the national economy.

**Article 15.** The economy of the U.S.S.R. shall be an integral economic complex embracing all the elements of social production, distribution and exchange in the territory of the U.S.S.R.

The economy shall be managed on the basis of state plans for economic, social and cultural development with due account for the branch and territorial principles, and combining centralized leadership with the economic independence and initiative of enterprises, associations and other organizations. Here active use shall be made of cost accounting, profit and production costs.

**Article 16.** Collectives of working people and public organizations shall participate in the management of enterprises and associations, in deciding matters concerning the organization of labour and everyday life, and the use of funds allocated for the development of production and also for social and cultural requirements and material incentives.

**Article 17.** Individual occupation in handicrafts, agriculture and everyday services for the population, and likewise other forms of occupation based exclusively on the individual labour of citizens and members of their families shall be permitted in the U.S.S.R. in accordance with the law.

**Article 18.** In the interests of the present and future generations the necessary steps shall be taken in the U.S.S.R. to protect, and make scientifically-substantiated rational use of, the land and its minerals, flora and fauna, to preserve the purity of the air and water, ensure the reproduction of natural wealth and improve man's natural environment.

### Chapter 3.

## SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT AND CULTURE

**Article 19.** The Soviet state shall create the conditions for enhancing society's social homogeneity, erasing the essential distinctions between town and countryside and between labour by brain and by hand, and further developing and drawing together all the nations and nationalities of the U.S.S.R.

**Article 20.** In accordance with the communist ideal "the free development of each is the condition of the free development of all," the Soviet state shall pursue the aim of expanding the actual possibilities for citizens to develop and apply their creative powers, abilities and talents, for the all-round development of the individual.

**Article 21.** The state shall show concern for improving working conditions, and for reducing and ultimately abolishing arduous manual labour

completely through comprehensive mechanization and automation of production.

**Article 22.** In the U.S.S.R., the programme of turning agricultural labour into a variety of industrial labour, enlarging the network of public education, cultural, medical, community services, trade and public utility institutions in rural localities, and transforming villages into modern townships, shall be consistently implemented.

**Article 23.** The state shall steadfastly pursue the policy of raising the level of remuneration for labour and the real incomes of the working people in keeping with the growth of labour productivity.

Social consumption funds shall be created for the purpose of more fully satisfying the requirements of the members of society. With the broad participation of public organizations and work collectives the state shall ensure the growth and just distribution of these funds.

**Article 24.** In the U.S.S.R., a state system of health protection, social security, community services, public catering and public utilities shall function and develop.

The state shall encourage the work of co-operative and other public organizations in providing services for the population.

**Article 25.** The uniform system of education in the U.S.S.R. shall serve the communist education and cultural and physical development of young people, their training for work and social activity. In the U.S.S.R., education shall be free.

**Article 26.** In accordance with society's requirements, the state shall ensure the planned development of science and the training of scientific cadres, and organize the application of the results of scientific research in the national economy and other spheres of life.

**Article 27.** The state shall show concern for protecting and multiplying society's cultural values, and for their broad utilization to raise the cultural level of Soviet people.

In the U.S.S.R., the development of professional and amateur art shall be given every encouragement.

## Chapter 4.

### FOREIGN POLICY

**Article 28.** The Soviet state shall consistently pursue the Leninist policy of peace and stand for the consolidation of the security of peoples and broad international co-operation.

The foreign policy of the U.S.S.R. shall be aimed at ensuring favourable international conditions for the building of communism in the U.S.S.R., at strengthening the positions of world socialism, supporting the struggle of peoples for national liberation and social progress, preventing wars of aggression and consistently implementing the principle of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems.

In the U.S.S.R., war propaganda shall be prohibited by law.

**Article 29.** The relations of the U.S.S.R. with other states shall be based on the observance of the principle of mutual renunciation of the use or threat of force, and of the principles of sovereign equality, inviolability of frontiers, territorial integrity of states, peaceful settlement of disputes, non-interference in internal affairs, respect for human rights and basic freedoms, equality and the right of peoples to decide their own destiny, co-operation between states, scrupulous fulfilment of commitments arising from universally recognized principles and norms of international law, and the international treaties signed by the U.S.S.R.

**Article 30.** As part of the socialist world system, of the socialist community, the Soviet Union shall promote and strengthen friendship, co-operation and comradesly mutual assistance with the other socialist countries on the basis of socialist internationalism, and shall actively participate in economic integration and in the international socialist division of labour.

## Chapter 5.

### DEFENCE OF THE SOCIALIST MOTHERLAND

**Article 31.** Defence of the Socialist Motherland is a most important function of the state, and the cause of the whole people.

In the U.S.S.R., Armed Forces have been formed and universal military conscription has been instituted for the purpose of defending the gains of socialism, the peaceful labour of the Soviet people, the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the state.

The duty of the Armed Forces of the U.S.S.R. to the people is dependably to defend the Socialist Motherland, to maintain constant combat readiness, guaranteeing instant rebuff to any aggressor.

**Article 32.** The state shall ensure the security and defence capability of the country, and equip the Armed Forces of the U.S.S.R. with everything necessary.

The duties of state organs, public organizations, officials and citizens in ensuring the security and strengthening the defence capability of the country shall be defined by law.

## II. THE STATE AND THE INDIVIDUAL

### Chapter 6.

#### CITIZENSHIP OF THE U.S.S.R. EQUALITY OF CITIZENS

**Article 33.** Soviet citizenship shall be uniform for the whole Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Every citizen of a Union Republic shall be a citizen of the U.S.S.R.

The grounds for and procedure of acquiring or losing Soviet citizenship shall be established by the law of the U.S.S.R.

Citizens of the U.S.S.R. living abroad shall have the protection and guardianship of the Soviet state.

**Article 34.** Citizens of the U.S.S.R. shall be equal before the law, irrespective of origin, social and property status, nationality or race, sex, education,

language, attitude to religion, type or character of occupation, domicile, or other particulars.

Equality of rights of the citizens of the U.S.S.R. shall be ensured in all fields of economic, political, social, and cultural life.

**Article 35.** In the U.S.S.R., women shall have equal rights with men.

Exercise of these rights shall be ensured by according to women equal opportunities for education and professional training, for employment, remuneration and promotion, for social, political and cultural activity, and likewise by special measures for the protection of the labour and health of women; by legal protection, material and moral support of mother and child, including paid leaves and other benefits to mothers and expectant mothers, and state aid to unmarried mothers.

**Article 36.** Soviet citizens of different nationalities and races shall have equal rights.

The exercise of these rights shall be ensured by the policy of all-round development and drawing together of all nations and nationalities of the U.S.S.R., education of citizens in the spirit of Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism, and the opportunity for using the mother tongue and the languages of the other peoples of the U.S.S.R.

Any and all direct or indirect restriction of the rights of, or the establishment of direct or indirect privileges for citizens on grounds of race or nationality, and likewise any advocacy of racial or national exclusiveness, hostility or contempt, shall be punishable by law.

**Article 37.** In the U.S.S.R., citizens of other countries and stateless persons shall be guaranteed the rights and freedoms provided for by law, including the right of instituting proceedings in law courts and appealing to other state organs in protection of personal, proprietary, family and other rights accorded to them by law.

In the territory of the U.S.S.R., citizens of other countries and stateless persons shall be obliged to respect the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. and to observe Soviet laws.

**Article 38.** The U.S.S.R. shall afford the right of asylum to foreign nationals persecuted for upholding the interests of the working people and the cause of peace, or for participating in a revolutionary or national liberation movement, or for progressive social, political, scientific or some other creative activity.

## Chapter 7.

# THE BASIC RIGHTS, FREEDOMS AND DUTIES OF CITIZENS OF THE U.S.S.R.

**Article 39.** Citizens of the U.S.S.R. shall possess in their entirety the social, economic, political and personal rights and freedoms proclaimed and guaranteed by the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. and Soviet laws. The socialist system shall ensure extension of rights and freedoms and steady improvement of the conditions of life of citizens relative to the fulfilment of programmes of social, economic and cultural development.

Exercise by citizens of rights and freedoms must not injure the interests of society and the state, and the rights of other citizens.

**Article 40.** Citizens of the U.S.S.R. shall have the right to work, that is, to guaranteed employment and remuneration for their work in accordance with its quantity and quality, including the right to choice of profession, type of occupation and employment in accordance with their vocation, abilities, training, education, and with account of the needs of society.

This right shall be ensured by the socialist economic system, steady growth of the productive forces of society, free vocational training, improvement of skills and training in new trades.

**Article 41.** Citizens of the U.S.S.R. shall have the right to rest and leisure.

This right shall be ensured by the 41-hour working week for industrial, office and professional workers and a reduced working day for a number of trades and occupations and reduced working hours at night time; provision of annual paid leaves, weekly days of rest, and likewise by extension of the network of cultural, educational and health-building institutions, and development of sports, physical education and tourism on a mass scale; provision on the residential principle of favourable opportunities for rest and of other conditions for the rational use of free time.

Duration of working time and of rest and leisure for collective farmers shall be regulated by the rules of collective farms.

**Article 42.** Citizens of the U.S.S.R. shall have the right to health protection.

This right shall be ensured by free competent medical care rendered by state health institutions; development and improvement of safety techniques and sanitation in production; extension of the network of medical and health-building institutions; broad preventive measures, and measures of environmental improvement; special care for the health of the rising generation, prohibition of child labour; furtherance of scientific research directed at preventing and reducing the incidence of diseases, and at ensuring a long active life for citizens.

**Article 43.** Citizens of the U.S.S.R. shall have the right to maintenance in old age, in the event of sickness, and likewise in the event of complete or partial disability or loss of breadwinner.

This right shall be guaranteed by social insurance of industrial, office and professional workers and collective farmers; old-age and disability pensions, pensions for loss of breadwinner, and allowances for temporary disability; employment of partly disabled citizens; care for kitless elderly and disabled citizens.

**Article 44.** Citizens of the U.S.S.R. shall have the right to housing.

This right shall be ensured by the development and protection of state and public housing, assistance to co-operative and individual housebuilding, fair distribution under public control of housing, relative to the implementation of the housing programme, and likewise by low rent.

**Article 45.** Citizens of the U.S.S.R. shall have the right to education.

This right shall be ensured by free education at all levels, universal compulsory secondary education of the youth, extensive development of vocational, secondary specialized and higher education linked to life and production; development of education by correspondence and evening education; provision by the state of scholarship grants and other benefits to pupils and students; free issue of school textbooks; the opportunity for instruction in schools in the mother tongue; development of the system of professional orientation and provision of conditions for the self-education of working people.

**Article 46.** Citizens of the U.S.S.R. shall have the right to enjoy the achievements of culture.

This right shall be ensured by public access to the values of home and world culture preserved in state and public repositories; development and balanced distribution of cultural institutions in the country, and by expanding cultural exchanges with other countries.

**Article 47.** Citizens of the U.S.S.R. shall in accordance with the aims of communist construction be guaranteed freedom of scientific, technical and artistic creative work. This freedom shall be ensured by extensive scientific research, promotion of inventions and innovations, and development of the arts. The state shall secure the due material conditions for this, and render support to voluntary societies and creative unions.

The rights of authors, inventors and innovators shall be protected by law.

**Article 48.** Citizens of the U.S.S.R. shall have the right to take part in the administration of state and public affairs.

Citizens of the U.S.S.R. shall elect and may be elected to the Soviets of People's Deputies, shall take part in discussing and drafting legislative bills and decisions at all-Union and local levels, in the work of state organs, co-operative and other public organizations, in controlling their activity, in administering production and the affairs of work collectives, in meetings held on the residential principle.

**Article 49.** Every citizen of the U.S.S.R. shall have the right to submit to state organs and public organizations proposals for improving their activity, to criticize shortcomings in their work. Officials shall be obliged within terms established by law to examine proposals and requests of citizens, to reply to them and take due action.

Persecution for criticism shall be prohibited.

**Article 50.** In conformity with the interests of the working people and for the purpose of strengthening the socialist system, citizens of the U.S.S.R. shall be guaranteed freedom of speech, press, assembly, meetings, street processions and demonstrations. Exercise of these political freedoms shall be ensured by putting at the disposal of the working people and their organizations of public buildings, streets and squares, broad dissemination of information, and the opportunity for using the press, television and radio.

**Article 51.** In conformity with the aims of building communism citizens of the U.S.S.R. shall have the right to unite in public organizations facilitating development of their political activity and initiative, and satisfaction of their diverse interests.

Public organizations shall be guaranteed conditions for the successful performance of their statutory functions.

**Article 52.** Freedom of conscience, that is, the right to profess any religion and perform religious rites or not to profess any religion, and to conduct atheistic propaganda, shall be recognized for all citizens of the U.S.S.R. Incitement of hostility and hatred on religious grounds shall be prohibited.

The church in the U.S.S.R. shall be separated from the state, and the school from the church.

**Article 53.** The family shall be under the protection of the state.

Marriage shall be entered into with the free consent of both parties; husband and wife shall be completely equal in their matrimonial relations.

The state shall aid the family by ensuring and developing an extensive network of child-care institutions, organizing and improving the community services and public catering, and by provision of allowances and benefits to families with many children, and by paying an allowance for the birth of a child.

**Article 54.** Citizens of the U.S.S.R. shall be guaranteed inviolability of the person. No person shall be subjected to arrest other than by decision of a court of law, or with the sanction of a prosecutor.

**Article 55.** Citizens of the U.S.S.R. shall be guaranteed inviolability of the home. No person shall without lawful grounds enter a home against the will of the persons residing in it.

**Article 56.** The privacy of citizens, of correspondence, telephone conversations and telegraphic messages shall be protected by law.

**Article 57.** Respect for the individual, protection of the rights and freedoms of Soviet citizens shall be the duty of all state organs, public organizations and officials.

Citizens of the U.S.S.R. shall have the right to legal protection against attempts on their life and impingements on their health, property and personal freedom, honour and dignity.

**Article 58.** Citizens of the U.S.S.R. shall have the right to lodge complaints against actions of officials with state organs and public organizations. These complaints shall be examined in the manner and within terms defined by law.

Actions of officials performed in violation of the law, over and above the powers vested in them, impinging on the rights of citizens, may be referred to a court of law in the manner defined by law.

Citizens of the U.S.S.R. shall have the right to compensation for damage inflicted by unlawful actions of state institutions and public organizations, and likewise by officials in the performance of their duties, in the manner and within limits defined by law.

**Article 59.** Exercise of rights and freedoms shall be inseparable from the performance by citizens of their duties.

Citizens of the U.S.S.R. shall be obliged to observe the Constitution of the U.S.S.R., Soviet laws, to respect the rules of socialist behaviour, to bear with dignity the high calling of citizen of the U.S.S.R.

**Article 60.** It shall be the duty of and a matter of honour for every able-bodied citizen of the U.S.S.R. to work conscientiously in his chosen socially useful occupation, and strictly to observe labour and production discipline.

**Article 61.** The citizen of the U.S.S.R. shall be obliged to safeguard and fortify socialist property. It shall be the duty of the citizen of the U.S.S.R. to combat theft and dissipation of state and public property.

Persons encroaching on socialist property shall be punishable by law.

**Article 62.** The citizen of the U.S.S.R. shall be obliged to safeguard the interests of the Soviet state, to contribute to the strengthening of its might and prestige.

Defence of the Socialist Motherland shall be the sacred duty of every citizen of the U.S.S.R.

High treason shall be the gravest crime against the people.

**Article 63.** Military service in the Armed Forces of the U.S.S.R. shall be the honourable duty of Soviet citizens.

**Article 64.** It shall be the duty of every citizen of the U.S.S.R. to respect the national dignity of other citizens, to fortify the friendship of the nations and nationalities of the Soviet multinational state.

**Article 65.** The citizen of the U.S.S.R. shall be obliged to respect the rights and lawful interests of other persons, to be intolerant of anti-social behaviour, to contribute in every way to the maintenance of public order.

**Article 66.** Citizens of the U.S.S.R. shall be obliged to devote themselves to the upbringing of their children, to prepare them for socially useful labour, to raise worthy members of the socialist society.

**Article 67.** Citizens of the U.S.S.R. shall be obliged to protect nature, to safeguard its riches.

Concern for the preservation of historical monuments and other cultural values shall be the duty of citizens of the U.S.S.R.

**Article 68.** It shall be the internationalist duty of citizens of the U.S.S.R. to further the development of friendship and co-operation with peoples of other countries, the maintenance and consolidation of world peace.

### III. THE NATIONAL AND STATE STRUCTURE OF THE U.S.S.R.

#### Chapter 8.

#### THE U.S.S.R. — A FEDERAL STATE

**Article 69.** The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is an integral federal multinational state formed on the basis of the free self-determination of nations and the voluntary union of equal Soviet Socialist Republics.

The U.S.S.R. embodies the state unity of the Soviet people and brings all the nations and nationalities together for the joint building of communism.

**Article 70.** In the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics there shall be united:

Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic,  
Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic,  
Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic,  
Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic,  
Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic,  
Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic,  
Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic,  
Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic,  
Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic,  
Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic,  
Kirghiz Soviet Socialist Republic,  
Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic,  
Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic,  
Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic,  
Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic.

**Article 71.** Every Union Republic shall retain the right freely to secede from the U.S.S.R.

**Article 72.** The jurisdiction of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, as represented by its higher organs of state power and administration, shall extend to:

1) admission of new Republics to the U.S.S.R.; approval of the formation of new Autonomous Republics and Autonomous Regions within Union Republics;

2) determination of the state boundaries of the U.S.S.R. and approval of changes of the boundaries between Union Republics;

3) definition of general principles of the organization and functioning of republican and local organs of state power and administration;

4) establishment of uniformity of legislative regulation throughout the territory of the U.S.S.R. and definition of the principles of legislation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Union Republics;

5) pursuance of an integral social and economic policy, and administration of the country's economy; determination of the main directions of scientific and technical progress; drafting and approval of plans of economic, social and cultural development in the U.S.S.R., and approval of reports on their fulfilment;

6) drafting and endorsement of the consolidated state budget of the U.S.S.R., and approval of the report on its execution; direction of the uniform monetary and credit system; enactment of taxes and other revenues that go to the Union, Republican and local budgets; determination of the price and wage policy;

7) administration of branches of the economy, associations and enterprises under all-Union jurisdiction; general guidance of industries, associations and enterprises under Union-Republican jurisdiction;

8) issues of war and peace, defence of sovereignty, protection of the state frontiers and territory of the U.S.S.R., organization of defence, direction of the Armed Forces;

9) state security;

10) representation of the U.S.S.R. in international relations; relations of the U.S.S.R. with foreign states and international organizations; establishment of a uniform procedure for and co-ordination of the relations of the Union Republics with foreign states and international organizations; foreign trade on the basis of state monopoly;

11) control over the observance of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R., and the conformity of the Constitutions

of the Union Republics with the Constitution of the U.S.S.R.;

12) other matters of all-Union importance.

**Article 73.** The laws of the U.S.S.R. shall have the same force on the territory of all the Union Republics. In the event of a discrepancy between a law of a Union Republic and an all-Union law, the law of the U.S.S.R. shall prevail.

**Article 74.** The territory of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics shall be integral and comprise the territories of the Union Republics.

The sovereignty of the U.S.S.R. shall prevail throughout its territory.

## Chapter 9.

### UNION SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC

**Article 75.** A Union Republic is a Soviet socialist state that has united with other Soviet Republics in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Outside the spheres defined in Article 72 of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R., a Union Republic shall exercise state authority independently in its territory.

A Union Republic shall have its own Constitution drawn up in conformity with the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. with due account of the specific features of the Republic.

**Article 76.** A Union Republic shall participate in the decision of matters within the jurisdiction of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., the Government of the U.S.S.R. and other organs of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

A Union Republic shall facilitate the implementation of the powers of the U.S.S.R. in its territory and carry out the decisions of the organs of state power and administration of the U.S.S.R.

**Article 77.** The territory of a Union Republic shall not be altered without its consent. The boundaries between Union Republics may be changed by mutual agreement between the Republics concerned and shall be subject to approval by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

**Article 78.** A Union Republic shall determine its territorial, regional, area and district division and decide other matters relating to its administrative-territorial structure.

**Article 79.** A Union Republic shall have the right to enter into relations with foreign states, conclude treaties with them, exchange diplomatic and consular representatives, and participate in the work of international organizations.

**Article 80.** The sovereign rights of the Union Republics shall be safeguarded by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

## Chapter 10.

### AUTONOMOUS SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC

**Article 81.** An Autonomous Republic shall be part of a Union Republic.

Outside the spheres covered by the terms of reference of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Union Republic an Autonomous Republic shall independently deal with matters that come within its jurisdiction.

An Autonomous Republic shall have its own Constitution drawn up in accordance with the Constitutions of the U.S.S.R. and the Union Republic with due account of the specific features of the Autonomous Republic.

**Article 82.** An Autonomous Republic shall participate in the decision of matters within the jurisdiction of the U.S.S.R. and the Union Republic through the higher organs of state power and administration of the U.S.S.R. and the Union Republic, respectively.

An Autonomous Republic shall facilitate the exercise of the authority of the U.S.S.R. and the Union Republic in its territory and carry out the decisions of the organs of state power and administration of the U.S.S.R. and the Union Republic.

**Article 83.** The territory of an Autonomous Republic shall not be altered without its consent.

**Article 84.** The Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic shall include the following Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republics: Bashkir, Buryat, Dagestan, Kabardinian-Balkar, Kalmyk, Karelian, Komi, Mari, Mordovian, North Ossetian, Tatar, Tuva, Udmurt, Checheno-Ingush, Chuvash and Yakut.

The Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic shall include the Karakalpak Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic.

The Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic shall include the Abkhazian and Ajarian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republics.

The Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic shall include the Nakhichevan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic.

## Chapter 11.

### AUTONOMOUS REGION AND AUTONOMOUS AREA

**Article 85.** An Autonomous Region shall be part of a Union Republic. The law on an Autonomous Region shall be passed by the Supreme Soviet of the Union Republic upon presentation by the Soviet of People's Deputies of the Autonomous Region.

**Article 86.** The Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic shall include the following Autonomous Regions: Adygei, Gorno-Altai, Jewish, Karachai-Circassian and Khakass.

The Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic shall include the South Ossetian Autonomous Region.

The Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic shall include the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region.

The Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic shall include the Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Region.

**Article 87.** An Autonomous Area shall be part of a territory or region. The Statute for Autonomous Regions shall be approved by the Supreme Soviet of the Union Republic.

# IV. SOVIETS OF PEOPLE'S DEPUTIES AND THE PROCEDURE OF THEIR ELECTION

## Chapter 12.

### SYSTEM AND PRINCIPLES OF THE WORK OF SOVIETS OF PEOPLE'S DEPUTIES

**Article 88.** The Soviets of People's Deputies—the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., the Supreme Soviets of the Union Republics, the Supreme Soviets of the Autonomous Republics, the Territorial and Regional Soviets of People's Deputies, the Soviets of People's Deputies of Autonomous Regions and Autonomous Areas, and the city, district, city district, township and village Soviets of People's Deputies—shall comprise an integral system of organs of state power.

**Article 89.** The term of office of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., the Supreme Soviets of the Union Republics and the Supreme Soviets of the Autonomous Republics shall be five years.

The term of office of the Territorial and Regional Soviets of People's Deputies, of the Soviets of People's Deputies of Autonomous Regions and Autonomous Areas, and of city, district, city district, township and village Soviets of People's Deputies shall be two and a half years.

The date of elections to Soviets of People's Deputies shall be set not later than two months before the expiry of the term of office of the Soviets concerned.

**Article 90.** The most important matters within the jurisdiction of the respective Soviets of People's Deputies shall be considered and settled at their sittings.

Soviets of People's Deputies shall form executive, administrative and other organs accountable to them, and elect standing commissions.

**Article 91.** Soviets of People's Deputies shall form organs of people's control combining state control with public control by the working people at enterprises, collective farms, institutions and organizations.

The organs of people's control shall exercise control over the fulfilment of state plans and assignments, combat violations of state discipline, manifestations of parochialism, narrow departmental attitudes, mismanagement, wastefulness, red tape and bureaucracy, and help to improve the work of the state apparatus.

The procedure for setting up organs of people's control and their functions shall be defined by law.

**Article 92.** Directly or through the organs set up by them the Soviets of People's Deputies shall administer all spheres of state, economic, social and cultural development, pass decisions, and ensure and control the execution of these decisions.

**Article 93.** Soviets of People's Deputies shall function on the basis of collective, free and constructive discussion and solution of questions, publicity, and regular accountability of the executive and administrative organs, and of other organs set up by the Soviets to the Soviets and the population, with the broad enlistment of citizens in their work.

## Chapter 13.

### ELECTORAL SYSTEM

**Article 94.** Elections of deputies to all Soviets of People's Deputies shall be held on the basis of universal, equal and direct suffrage by secret ballot.

**Article 95.** Elections of deputies shall be universal; all citizens of the U.S.S.R. who have reached the age of 18 shall have the right to elect and be elected, with the exception of persons who have been legally certified insane.

**Article 96.** Elections of deputies shall be equal; each citizen shall have one vote; all citizens shall participate in elections on equal terms.

**Article 97.** Elections of deputies shall be direct; deputies to all Soviets of People's Deputies shall be elected by citizens by direct vote.

**Article 98.** Voting at elections of deputies shall be secret; control over the expression of the will of voters shall be precluded.

**Article 99.** The right to nominate candidates for the election shall be exercised by organizations of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the trade unions, the All-Union Leninist Young Communist League, the co-operative and other public organizations, and by work collectives.

Citizens of the U.S.S.R. and public organizations shall be guaranteed free and all-sided discussion of the political, professional and personal qualities of the candidates standing for election, and also the right of campaigning at meetings, in the press, and by television and radio.

**Article 100.** Deputies to Soviets of People's Deputies shall be elected by constituencies. The conduct of elections to Soviets shall be ensured by electoral commissions consisting of representatives of public organizations and work collectives.

The procedure for elections to Soviets of People's Deputies shall be defined by law.

## Chapter 14.

### PEOPLE'S DEPUTY

**Article 101.** Deputies shall be authorized representatives of the people in the Soviets of People's Deputies.

By participating in the work of the Soviets, deputies shall resolve matters related to state, economic, social and cultural development, organize the execution of the decisions of the Soviets, and exercise control over the work of state organs, enterprises, institutions and organizations.

In their work deputies shall be guided by state interests, take the requirements of the population of their constituency into account and secure the implementation of the mandates of the constituents.

**Article 102.** Deputies shall exercise their powers without discontinuing work in their trade or profession.

During the period of sittings of the Soviet and also for the exercise of the powers of deputy in other cases provided for by the law, deputies shall be released from their duties in their trade or profession with the preservation of their average earnings at the place of permanent work.

**Article 103.** A deputy shall have the right to address an inquiry to the appropriate state organs and officials, who shall be obliged to reply to the inquiry at a session of the Soviet.

Deputies shall have the right to address an inquiry to any state or public organ, enterprise, institution or organization on questions within their terms of reference as deputies and take part in considering the questions raised by them. The heads of the respective state or public organs, enterprises, institutions or organizations shall be obliged to receive deputies without delay and consider their recommendations within the period established by law.

**Article 104.** Deputies shall be assured conditions for the unhindered and effective exercise of their rights and duties.

The immunity of deputies, as well as other guarantees of their functions as deputies, shall be defined in the Law on the Status of Deputies and other legislation of the U.S.S.R. and of the Union and Autonomous Republics.

**Article 105.** Deputies shall report to their constituents on their work and on the work of the Soviet.

Deputies who have not justified the trust of constituents may be recalled at any time by decision of the majority of constituents in accordance with the procedure established by law.

Laws of the U.S.S.R. shall be enacted solely by the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

**Article 107.** The Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. shall consist of two chambers: the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities.

The two chambers of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. shall have equal rights.

**Article 108.** The Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities shall have an equal number of deputies.

The Soviet of the Union shall be elected by constituencies with equal populations.

The Soviet of Nationalities shall be elected on the basis of the following quotas: 32 deputies from each Union Republic, 11 deputies from each Autonomous Republic, 5 deputies from each Autonomous Region and one deputy from each Autonomous Area.

Upon representation by the credentials commissions elected by them the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities shall recognize the credentials of deputies, or, in cases where the election law has been violated, find the election of individual deputies invalid.

**Article 109.** Each chamber of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. shall elect its Chairman and four Vice-Chairmen.

The Chairmen of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities shall preside over sittings of the respective chambers and have charge of their proceedings.

Joint plenary sittings of the chambers of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. shall be presided over alternately by the Chairmen of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities.

**Article 110.** Sessions of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. shall be convened twice a year.

Extraordinary sessions shall be convened by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. at its discretion or on the recommendation of not less than one-third of the deputies of one of the chambers, and likewise at the bidding of one of the Union Republics.

A session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. shall consist of separate and joint plenary sittings of the chambers, and also of sittings of the standing commissions of the chambers or commissions of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. held during the session. A session is opened and closed at plenary sittings of the chambers.

The Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities shall open and close their sessions simultaneously.

**Article 111.** The right to initiate legislation in the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. shall be exercised by the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., the Union Republics represented by their higher organs of state power, the commissions of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. and the standing commissions of its chambers, deputies of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R., and the Prosecutor-General of the U.S.S.R.

The right to initiate legislation shall be enjoyed also by mass public organizations represented by their all-Union organs.

## V. HIGHER ORGANS OF STATE POWER AND ADMINISTRATION OF THE U.S.S.R.

### Chapter 15.

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

**Article 106.** The Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. shall be the highest organ of state power in the U.S.S.R.

The Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. shall be empowered to deal with all matters placed within the jurisdiction of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics by the present Constitution.

The adoption of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. and amendments to it, the admission of new Republics to the U.S.S.R., approval of the formation of new Autonomous Republics and Autonomous Regions, endorsement of state plans of economic, social and cultural development and of the state budget of the U.S.S.R. and of the reports of their execution, and the formation of organs of the U.S.S.R. accountable to it shall be the exclusive competence of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

**Article 112.** After a draft law has been debated at sittings of the chambers it may be referred for examination to one or several commissions. The chambers shall also have the right to debate and vote on a draft law without referring it to a commission.

Laws of the U.S.S.R., decisions and other acts of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. shall be adopted at separate or joint sittings of the chambers.

A law of the U.S.S.R. shall be deemed enacted if passed by both chambers of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. by a simple majority vote in each.

By decision of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. or the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. adopted on their initiative or on the recommendation of a Union Republic, draft laws of the U.S.S.R. may be submitted for discussion by the whole people, and likewise put to a vote (referendum) by the whole people.

**Article 113.** In the event of disagreement between the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities, the question at issue shall be referred for settlement to a conciliation commission formed by the chambers on a parity basis, following which the question shall be considered for a second time by the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities at a joint sitting.

**Article 114.** Laws of the U.S.S.R., decisions and other acts of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. shall be published in the languages of the Union Republics over the signatures of the President and Secretary of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

**Article 115.** A deputy of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. shall have the right to address an inquiry to the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., to Ministers and heads of other organs formed by the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. The Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. or the official to whom the inquiry is addressed shall be obliged to give a verbal or written reply at a session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. not later than in three days.

**Article 116.** A deputy of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. may not be prosecuted, arrested or administratively penalized by a court order without the authorization of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. or, between its sessions, without the authorization of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

**Article 117.** The Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. at a joint sitting of the two chambers shall elect the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., the continuously functioning organ of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. accountable to it in all its activities.

**Article 118.** The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. shall be elected from among deputies and shall consist of a President, a First Vice-President, 15 Vice-Presidents, i.e., one from each Union Republic, a Secretary of the Presidium and 21 members of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

**Article 119.** The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. shall:

- 1) convene sessions of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.;
- 2) co-ordinate the work of the standing commissions of the chambers of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.;
- 3) exercise control over the observance of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. and ensure conformity of the Constitutions of the Union Republics with the Constitution of the U.S.S.R.;

4) interpret the laws of the U.S.S.R.;

5) ratify and denounce international treaties of the U.S.S.R.;

6) revoke decisions and orders of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. and the Councils of Ministers of the Union Republics where they do not conform to the law;

7) institute military titles, diplomatic ranks and other special titles; confer the highest military titles, diplomatic ranks and other special titles;

8) institute Orders and Medals of the U.S.S.R. and titles of honour of the U.S.S.R.; award Orders and Medals of the U.S.S.R.; confer titles of honour of the U.S.S.R.;

9) admit to citizenship of the U.S.S.R., rule on questions of renunciation and deprivation of the citizenship of the U.S.S.R., and on questions of granting asylum;

10) issue all-Union acts on amnesty and exercise the right of pardon;

11) appoint or recall plenipotentiary representatives of the U.S.S.R. in foreign countries and at international organizations;

12) receive the letters of credence and recall of diplomatic representatives of foreign states accredited to it;

13) form the Council of Defence of the U.S.S.R. and approve its composition; appoint and remove the supreme command of the Armed Forces of the U.S.S.R.;

14) proclaim martial law in separate localities or throughout the country in the interests of the defence of the U.S.S.R.;

15) order general or partial mobilization;

16) between sessions of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., proclaim a state of war in the event of an armed attack on the U.S.S.R. or when necessary to fulfil international treaty obligations providing for mutual defence against aggression.

**Article 120.** Between sessions of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. and subject to its endorsement at the next session, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. shall:

1) introduce, when necessary, amendments in the operating legislation of the U.S.S.R.;

2) approve changes in the boundaries between Union Republics;

3) on the proposal of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., form and abolish ministries of the U.S.S.R. and state committees of the U.S.S.R.;

4) on representation by the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., release and appoint individual members of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R.

**Article 121.** The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. shall issue decrees and adopt decisions.

**Article 122.** On the expiry of the term of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. shall retain its powers until the newly elected Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. has formed a new Presidium.

The newly elected Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. shall be convened by the outgoing Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. not later than two months after the elections.

**Article 123.** The Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities shall elect from among the deputies standing commissions to consider and prepare and advance questions within the terms of reference of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., and also to help

implement laws of the U.S.S.R. and decisions of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. and its Presidium, and to exercise control over the work of state organs and organizations.

The chambers of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. may set up joint commissions on a parity basis.

**Article 124.** The Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. shall exercise control over the work of all the state organs accountable to it.

The Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. shall form a Committee of People's Control of the U.S.S.R. to head the system of organs of people's control.

**Article 125.** When it deems necessary, the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. shall set up inquiry, auditing and other commissions on any question. All state organs, institutions and officials shall fulfil the prescriptions of these commissions and submit the necessary materials and documents to them.

**Article 126.** The procedure for the work of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. and its organs shall be defined by the Regulations of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. and the laws of the U.S.S.R. enacted on the basis of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R.

## Chapter 16.

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

**Article 127.** The Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R.—the Government of the U.S.S.R.—shall be the highest executive and administrative organ of state power in the U.S.S.R.

**Article 128.** The Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. shall be formed by the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. at a joint sitting of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities and consist of: the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., First Vice-Chairmen and Vice-Chairmen of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., Ministers of the U.S.S.R., Chairmen of state committees of the U.S.S.R.

The Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. shall include the Chairmen of the Councils of Ministers of Union Republics by virtue of their office.

By submission of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. may include in the Government of the U.S.S.R. leaders of other organs and organizations of the U.S.S.R.

**Article 129.** The Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. shall be responsible and accountable to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., or between sessions of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. to which it is accountable.

The Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. shall regularly report on its work to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

**Article 130.** The Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. shall be empowered to deal with all matters of state administration that come within the jurisdiction of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics insofar as they do not, by force of the Constitution, come within the competence of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. and the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

Within its terms of reference the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. shall:

1) ensure guidance of the economic, social and cultural development and implementation of a uniform policy in science and technology; draw up and carry out measures in furtherance of the well-being and culture of the people, to fortify the uniform monetary and credit system, to secure a uniform price policy, to ensure the organization of state insurance and a uniform system of accounting and statistics; organize the administration of industrial, building, and agricultural enterprises and associations, transport and communications, banks, and likewise of other organizations and institutions that come within all-Union jurisdiction;

2) draw up and submit to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. current and long-term state plans of economic, social and cultural development in the U.S.S.R., and the state budget of the U.S.S.R.; carry out measures to execute the state plan and budget; submit progress reports on the plan and budget to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.;

3) carry out measures to safeguard the interests of the state, to ensure protection of socialist property and maintenance of public order, and to ensure and protect the rights of citizens;

4) take measures to ensure the security of the state;

5) exercise general guidance of the development of the Armed Forces of the U.S.S.R., determine the annual contingent of citizens to be called up for military service;

6) exercise general guidance in the sphere of relations with foreign states, foreign trade, economic, scientific, technical and cultural co-operation of the U.S.S.R. with other countries; take measures to ensure fulfilment of international treaties of the U.S.S.R., endorse and denounce intergovernmental international treaties.

**Article 131.** The Presidium of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., consisting of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. and the First Vice-Chairmen and Vice-Chairmen of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. shall function as a permanent organ of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. for the purpose of dealing with matters related to the administration of the economy and to other questions of state administration.

When necessary, the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. shall form committees, central administrations and other departments of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. for economic, social and cultural development, and matters concerning defence.

**Article 132.** On the basis and in pursuance of the laws of the U.S.S.R. and the decrees of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. shall issue decisions and orders and verify their execution. The decisions and orders of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. shall be binding for execution in the whole territory of the U.S.S.R.

**Article 133.** In matters referred to the competence of the U.S.S.R., the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. shall have the right to halt execution of decisions and orders issued by the Councils of Ministers of Union Republics, rescind acts of the ministries of the U.S.S.R., state committees of the U.S.S.R., and likewise of other organs within its jurisdiction.

**Article 134.** The Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. shall co-ordinate and direct the work of all-Union and Union-Republican ministries of the U.S.S.R., state

committees of the U.S.S.R., and other organs within its jurisdiction.

All-Union ministries and state committees of the U.S.S.R. shall exercise guidance of branches of administration entrusted to them in the whole territory of the U.S.S.R. directly or through organs formed by them.

Union-Republican ministries of the U.S.S.R. and state committees of the U.S.S.R. shall, as a rule, direct branches of administration entrusted to them through the respective ministries and state committees of Union Republics, and shall directly guide enterprises and associations enumerated in the list endorsed by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

Ministries of the U.S.S.R. and state committees of the U.S.S.R. shall be responsible for the condition and development of the branches of administration entrusted to them, issue acts within their terms of reference on the basis and in pursuance of the laws of the U.S.S.R., decrees of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. and decisions and orders of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., and organize and verify their execution.

**Article 135.** The competence of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. and its Presidium, the manner of their activity, the relationship between the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. and the ministries of the U.S.S.R. and state committees of the U.S.S.R., and likewise the list of all-Union and Union-Republican ministries of the U.S.S.R. and state committees of the U.S.S.R. shall be defined in the Law on the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R.

## VI. BASIC PRINCIPLES OF THE STRUCTURE OF ORGANS OF STATE POWER AND ADMINISTRATION IN UNION REPUBLICS

### Chapter 17.

#### HIGHER ORGANS OF STATE POWER AND ADMINISTRATION OF UNION REPUBLICS

**Article 136.** The highest organ of state power of a Union Republic shall be the Supreme Soviet of the Union Republic.

The Supreme Soviet of a Union Republic shall be empowered to deal with all matters referred to the competence of the Union Republic in the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. and the Constitution of the Union Republic.

Adoption of the Constitution of a Union Republic, its amendment, endorsement of state plans of economic, social, and cultural development, and likewise of the state budget of the Union Republic, and formation of organs accountable to it, shall be

within the exclusive competence of the Supreme Soviet of the Union Republic.

Laws of the Union Republic shall be enacted solely by the Supreme Soviet of the Union Republic.

**Article 137.** The Supreme Soviet of a Union Republic shall elect the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union Republic—a continuously functioning organ of the Supreme Soviet of the Union Republic accountable to it for all its activity. The composition and powers of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of a Union Republic shall be defined in the Constitution of the Union Republic.

**Article 138.** The Supreme Soviet of a Union Republic shall form the Council of Ministers of the Union Republic—the Government of the Union Republic—which shall be the highest executive and administrative organ of state power in the Union Republic.

The Council of Ministers of a Union Republic shall be responsible and accountable to the Supreme Soviet of the Union Republic, or, between sessions of the Supreme Soviet, to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union Republic to which it is accountable.

**Article 139.** The Council of Ministers of a Union Republic shall issue decisions and orders on the basis and in pursuance of the laws of the U.S.S.R. and of the Union Republic, decisions and orders of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., and organize and verify their execution.

**Article 140.** The Council of Ministers of a Union Republic shall have the right to halt execution of decisions and orders of the Councils of Ministers of Autonomous Republics, to rescind the decisions and orders of the executive committees of territorial, regional and city (cities under republican jurisdiction) Soviets of People's Deputies, Soviets of People's Deputies of Autonomous Regions, and, in Union Republics not divided into regions, of executive committees of district and respective city Soviets of People's Deputies.

**Article 141.** The Council of Ministers of a Union Republic shall co-ordinate and direct the work of Union-Republican and Republican ministries and state committees of the Union Republic.

Union-Republican ministries and state committees of a Union Republic shall direct branches of administration entrusted to them, and shall be subordinate to both the Council of Ministers of the Union Republic and to the respective Union-Republican ministry of the U.S.S.R. or state committee of the U.S.S.R.

Republican ministries and state committees shall direct the branches of administration entrusted to them, and be subordinate to the Council of Ministers of the Union Republic.

### Chapter 18.

#### HIGHER ORGANS OF STATE POWER AND ADMINISTRATION OF AUTONOMOUS REPUBLICS

**Article 142.** The highest organ of state power in an Autonomous Republic shall be the Supreme Soviet of the Autonomous Republic.

Adoption of the Constitution of an Autonomous Republic, its amendment, endorsement of state plans of economic, social and cultural development, and

likewise of the state budget of the Autonomous Republic, and formation of organs accountable to it, shall be within the exclusive competence of the Supreme Soviet of the Autonomous Republic.

Laws of the Autonomous Republic shall be enacted solely by the Supreme Soviet of the Autonomous Republic.

**Article 143.** The Supreme Soviet of an Autonomous Republic shall elect the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Autonomous Republic and shall form the Council of Ministers of the Autonomous Republic—the Government of the Autonomous Republic.

## Chapter 19.

### LOCAL ORGANS OF STATE POWER AND ADMINISTRATION

**Article 144.** Respective Soviets of People's Deputies shall be organs of state power in territories, regions, Autonomous Regions, Autonomous Areas, cities, districts, city districts, townships, and rural communities.

**Article 145.** Local Soviets of People's Deputies shall deal with all matters of local relevance acting in the interests of the state and the interests of citizens residing in the territory of the Soviet, implement decisions of higher state organs, and likewise take part in the discussion of matters of Republican and all-Union relevance and submit proposals on them.

Soviets of People's Deputies shall within their territory direct state, economic, social and cultural development; approve plans of economic, social and cultural development and the local budget; exercise guidance of state organs, enterprises, institutions and organizations subordinated to them; ensure observance of laws, maintenance of state and public order, and the rights of citizens; help fortify the defence capacity of the country.

**Article 146.** Within their terms of reference local Soviets of People's Deputies shall exercise control over observance of the law by enterprises, institutions and organizations of higher subordination located in their territory, co-ordinate and control their activity as regards land use, protection of nature, building, production of consumer goods, social-cultural, community and other services rendered to the population.

**Article 147.** Local Soviets of People's Deputies adopt decisions within their terms of reference under the laws of the U.S.S.R. and of Union and Autonomous Republics. Decisions of a local Soviet shall be binding on all enterprises, institutions and organizations, and likewise on officials and citizens, in its territory.

**Article 148.** Executive Committees elected by local Soviets of People's Deputies from among their deputies shall be the executive and administrative organs of local Soviets.

Executive Committees shall report on their activity to the Soviets that elected them not less than once a year.

**Article 149.** Executive Committees of local Soviets of People's Deputies shall be directly accountable to both the Soviet that elected them and to the higher executive and administrative organ.

## VII. JUSTICE, ARBITRATION AND PROSECUTOR'S SUPERVISION

### Chapter 20.

### COURTS OF LAW AND ARBITRATION

**Article 150.** In the U.S.S.R. justice shall be administered exclusively by courts of law.

In the U.S.S.R. there shall be the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R., Supreme Courts of Union Republics, Supreme Courts of Autonomous Republics, territorial, regional and city courts, courts of autonomous regions, courts of autonomous areas, district (city) people's courts, and military tribunals in the Armed Forces.

**Article 151.** All courts in the U.S.S.R. shall be formed on the principle of electivity of judges and people's assessors.

People's judges of district (city) people's courts shall be elected by the citizens of the district (city) on the basis of universal, equal and direct suffrage by secret ballot for a term of five years. People's assessors of district (city) people's courts shall be elected at general meetings of working people at places of work or residence by show of hands for a term of two and a half years.

Higher courts shall be elected by the respective Soviets of People's Deputies for a term of five years.

Judges of military tribunals shall be elected by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. for a term of five years, and people's assessors by general meetings of servicemen for a term of two and a half years.

Judges and people's assessors shall be responsible and accountable to their electors or the organs that elected them.

**Article 152.** The Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. shall be the highest judicial organ of the U.S.S.R. and shall exercise supervision of the administration of justice by courts of the U.S.S.R., and likewise courts of Union Republics within terms of reference defined by law.

The Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. shall be elected by the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. for a term of five years and consist of the Chairman, Deputy Chairmen, Members and people's assessors. The Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. shall include the Chairmen of Supreme Courts of Union Republics by virtue of their office.

The organization of and conduct of business by the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. shall be defined in the Law on the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R.

**Article 153.** Examination of civil and criminal cases in all courts shall be collegial, and in courts of the first instance with the participation of people's assessors. In the administration of justice people's assessors shall have all the rights of a judge.

**Article 154.** Judges and people's assessors shall be independent and subject only to the law.

**Article 155.** Justice in the U.S.S.R. shall be administered on the principle of the equality of citizens before the law and court.

**Article 156.** Legal proceedings in all courts shall be public. The hearing of cases in camera shall be allowed solely in cases defined by law with the observance of all rules of judicial procedure.

**Article 157.** The defendant shall be guaranteed the right of defence.

**Article 158.** Judicial proceedings shall be conducted in the language of the Union or Autonomous Republic, Autonomous Region or Autonomous Area, or in the language spoken by the majority of the population in the locality. Persons participating in the proceedings not conversant with the language in which they are conducted shall have the right fully to acquaint themselves with the materials of the case, to participate in court proceedings through an interpreter, and to address the court of law in their own language.

**Article 159.** No person shall be considered guilty of commission of a crime and subjected to criminal punishment other than by a verdict of the court and in conformity with criminal law.

**Article 160.** For the purpose of rendering legal counsel to citizens and organizations there shall be collegiums of lawyers. In cases provided for by law legal counsel to citizens shall be free of charge.

**Article 161.** Representatives of public organizations and work collectives shall be allowed to take part in civil and criminal proceedings.

**Article 162.** Settlement of economic disputes between organizations, institutions and enterprises shall be entrusted to state organs of arbitration. The organization of and conduct of business by state organs of arbitration shall be defined by law.

Guidance and supervision of the activity of all organs of arbitration shall be exercised by the State Court of Arbitration of the U.S.S.R. The Chief Arbiter of the State Court of Arbitration of the U.S.S.R. shall be appointed by the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. for a term of five years.

## Chapter 21.

### THE PROSECUTOR'S OFFICE

**Article 163.** Supreme supervisory power over the precise and uniform execution of laws by all ministries, state committees and departments, enterprises, institutions and organizations, executive and administrative organs of local Soviets of People's Deputies, collective farms, co-operative and other public organizations, officials and citizens, shall be exercised by the Prosecutor-General of the U.S.S.R. and prosecutors subordinate to him.

**Article 164.** The Prosecutor-General of the U.S.S.R. shall be appointed by the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. and shall be responsible and accountable to it, or, between sessions of the Supreme Soviet, to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. to which he is accountable.

**Article 165.** Prosecutors of Union Republics, Autonomous Republics, territories, regions and Autonomous

Regions shall be appointed by the Prosecutor-General of the U.S.S.R. Prosecutors of Autonomous Areas and district and city prosecutors shall be appointed by prosecutors of Union Republics and their appointment endorsed by the Prosecutor-General of the U.S.S.R.

**Article 166.** The term of office of the Prosecutor-General of the U.S.S.R. and all subordinate prosecutors shall be five years.

**Article 167.** Organs of the Prosecutor's Office shall exercise their powers independently from any and all local organs, and shall be subordinate solely to the Prosecutor-General of the U.S.S.R.

The organization of and conduct of business by the organs of the Prosecutor's Office of the U.S.S.R. shall be defined in the Law on Prosecutor's Supervision in the U.S.S.R.

## VIII. THE ARMS, FLAG, ANTHEM AND CAPITAL OF THE U.S.S.R.

**Article 168.** The Arms of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics shall be a hammer and sickle against the background of the globe depicted in the rays of the sun and framed by ears of grain, with the inscription, "Workers of All Countries, Unite!", in the languages of the Union Republics. There shall be a five-pointed star at the top of the Arms.

**Article 169.** The State Flag of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics shall be a rectangular red cloth with the depiction in the upper corner, beside the staff, of a golden hammer and sickle and above it of a gold-bordered red five-pointed star. The ratio of width to length of the flag shall be 1:2.

**Article 170.** The State Anthem of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics shall be approved by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

**Article 171.** The city of Moscow shall be the Capital of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

## IX. OPERATION AND AMENDMENT OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE U.S.S.R.

**Article 172.** The Constitution of the U.S.S.R. shall have supreme legal force. All laws and other acts of state organs shall be issued on the basis of, and in conformity with, the Constitution of the U.S.S.R.

The Constitution of the U.S.S.R. shall be effective from the time of its adoption.

**Article 173.** Amendment of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. shall be by decision of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. adopted by a majority of not less than two-thirds of the total number of deputies of each of its chambers.



## AEROFLOT

announces the inauguration of a new  
international transatlantic line

**MOSCOW – FRANKFORT ON THE MAIN – LISBON – HAVANA – MEXICO CITY**

Mexico is the 78th country with  
which the Soviet Union is now  
directly linked by air.

The comfortable IL-62M covers  
the distance of 13,300 kilometres  
in 16 hours (flying time).

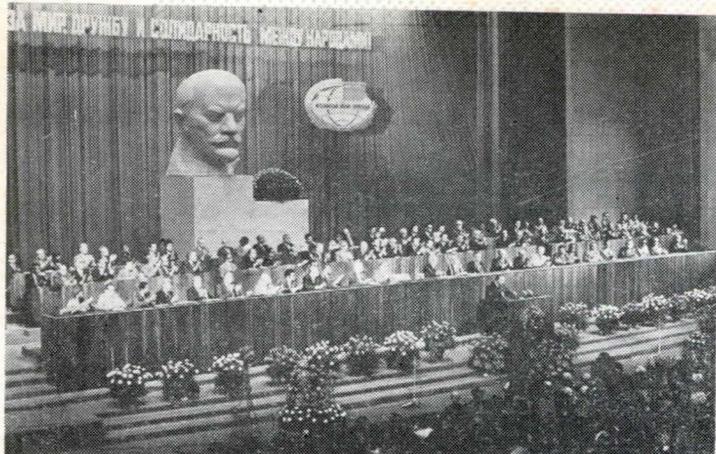
For details apply to AEROFLOT or its  
agencies.

Schedule (local time)

Flight SU-331 Thursday	Airport	Flight SU-332 Saturday
8.05 p.m. dep.	Moscow	arr. 7.15 p.m.
9.15 p.m. arr.		dep. 2.15 p.m.
10.35 p.m. dep.	Frankfort on the Main	arr. 12.50 p.m.
1.35 a.m. arr.	Lisbon	dep. 10.00 a.m.
3.25 a.m. dep.		arr. 8.50 a.m.
7.45 a.m. arr.	Havana	dep. 7.00 p.m.
9.45 a.m. dep.		arr. 4.15 p.m.
10.30 a.m. arr.	Mexico City	dep. 11.40 a.m.
Friday	Airport	Friday

**FLY AEROFLOT**





An international scientific conference on the Great October Socialist Revolution and the National Liberation Movement of the Peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America took place in Baku, the capital of Soviet Azerbaijan, at the end of May. It was attended by representatives of seventy countries who dedicated it to the coming sixtieth anniversary of the October Revolution.

Photos: Opening session of the conference ♦ Conference participants at the monument to 26 Baku Commissars, courageous fighters for the cause of the October Revolution brutally shot by British interventionists in the trans-Caspian sands in September 1918 ♦ Baku residents and foreign participants in the conference cordially welcome Luis Corvalan, General Secretary of the Chilean Communist Party ♦ A group of conference delegates at the Fifty Years of the U.S.S.R. State Farm in the Kuba District. Extreme left: Hawa Wane, Chief of the Cultural and Social Co-operation Division of the Mali Ministry of Foreign Affairs; centre: Laurent Radaody, Political Bureau Member of the Vanguard Party of the Malagasy Revolution (Madagascar) ♦ Conference participants in the Caspian Sea oil fields operated by the Serebrovsky Oil and Gas Administration.

*Text and photos by Alexei Gostev and Alexander Usvatov*

## THE BAKU FORUM

