## The Draft of the Proposed Constitution of the USSR

Editor's Note: The approval of the draft of the new Constitution of the U. S. S. R. by the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union was reported by the Associated Press not long ago. This report has caused some misunderstanding on the part of the public, the enemies of the Soviet Union taking advantage of the situation to interpret the new basic law from false and mistaken angles. With a view to alleviating the doubts and the fears on the part of some friends of the Soviet Union in this country, occasioned by the most progressive constitution in the world, we are publishing below the organic law in question. For lack of space in any one issue, we are obliged to release it in installments.

## Chapter I. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Aticle 1: The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is a socialist state of workers and peasants.

Article 2: The political foundation of the USSR is formed by the Soviets of toilers' deputies which have grown and become strong as a result of the overthrow of the power of the landlords and capitalists and the conquests of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Article 3: All power in the USSR belongs to the toilers of the town and village in the form of Soviets of toilers' deputies.

Article 4: The economic foundation of the USSR consists in the socialist system of economy and socialist ownership of the implements and means of production, firmly established as a result of the liquidation of the capitalist system of economy, the abolition of private ownership of the implements and means of production and the abolition of exploitation of man by man.

Article 5: Socialist ownership in the USSR has either the form of state ownership (public property) or the form of cooperative and collective farm ownership (property of individual collective farms, property of cooperative associations).

Article 5: The land, its deposits, waters, forests, mills, factories, mines, railway, water and air transport, banks, means of communication, large agricultural enterprises organized by the state (state farms, machine and tractor stations, and so on), as well as the essential part of housing in the cities and industrial centers, are state property, that is, public property.

Article 7: Public enterprises in col-

lective farms and cooperative organizations, with their livestock and implements, products produced by the collective farms and cooperative organizations as well as their public buildings, constitute the public, socialist property of the collective farms and cooperative organizations.

Each collective farm household has for its own use a plot of land attached to the household and, as individual property, subsidiary establishments on the land attached to the household, a house, productive livestock and poultry, and minor agricultural implements—in accordance with the statutes of the agricultural artel.

Article 8: The land occupied by collective farms is secured to them for use without time limit, that is, in perpetuity.

Article 9: Alongside the socialist system of economy, which is the dominant form of economy in the USSR, the law allows small private economy of individual peasants and handicraftsmen based on individual labor and excluding the exploitation of the labor of others.

Article 10: The personal ownership by citizens of their income from work and savings, home and auxiliary household economy, of objects of domestic and household economy as well as objects of personal use and comfort is protected by law.

Article 11: The economic life of the USSR is determined and directed by the national economic state plan for the purposes of increasing public wealth, of a steady rise in the material and cultural level of the toilers, of strengthening the independence of the USSR and its defense capacity.

Article 12: Work in the USSR is the obligation of each citizen capable of working, according to the principle: "He who does not work shall not eat." In the USSR the principle of socialism is being realized: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his work."

## Chapter II.

STATE ORGANIZATION Article 13: The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is a federal state, form ed on the basis of the voluntary association of the Soviet Socialist Republics with equal rights:

Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic,

Krainian Soviet Socialist Republic, White Russian Soviet Socialist Republic,

Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic, Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic, Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic, Turkmenian Soviet Socialist Republic, Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic, Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic, Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic, Kirghiz Soviet Socialist Republic.

Article 14: The jurisdiction of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, as represented by its supreme organs of power and organs of state administration, extends to:

a) representation of the Union in international relations, conclusion and ratification of treaties with other states;

b) questions of war and peace;

c) admission of new republics into the USSR;

d) control of the observance of the Constitution of the USSR and ensuring conformity of the constitutions of the Union republics with the Constitution of the USSR;

e) approval of alterations of boundaries between Union republics;

f) organization of the defense of the USSR and the direction of all the armed forces of the USSR;  $\mu$ 

g) foreign trade on the basis of the state monopoly;

h) protection of state security;

i) establishment of the national economic plans of the USSR;

j) approval of the unified state budget of the USSR as well as the taxes and revenues entering into the USSR, Union republic and local budgets;

k) administration of banks, industrial and agricultural establishments as well as trading enterprises of all-Union importance;

l) administration of transport and means of communication;

m) direction of the monetary and credit system;

n) organization of the state insurance of property;

o) contracting and granting loans;

p) establishment of the fundamental principles for the use of land as well as the exploitation of deposits, forests and waters;

q) establishment of the fundamental principles in the field of education and protection of public health;

r) organization of a unified system of national economic accounting;

s) establishment of basic labor laws;

t) legislation on judicature and legal procedure, criminal and civil codes;

u) laws on citizenship of the Union, laws on the rights of foreigners;

v) passing all-Union amnesty acts.

Article 15: The sovereignty of the Union republics is restricted only within the limits set forth in Article 14 of the Constitution of the USSR. Outside of these limits, each Union republic exercises independently its state power. The USSR protects the sovereign rights of the Union republics.

Article 16: Every Union republic has

## HOUSING IN THE SOVIET UNION By GORE GRAHAM

In old Tsarist Russia the living conditions of the mass of the people were simply appalling. Had we space in this article we could relate facts about the former housing conditions of Russia that would almost make the reader's hair stand on end with horror. For filth, insanitation and congestion the housing conditions of the people of Tsarist Russia were unequalled.

When the Soviet regime came into being after years of war it had in housing as in other things a sorry state of affairs to contend with. Nearly a half a million houses had been destroyed in the war period. Nevertheless it began at once to tackle the problem. It promptly put an end to landlordism. It abolished the inequality in which the mass of the people were herded in crowded hovels whilst a minority enjoyed the comfort of spacious mansions. It took possession of the big houses and placed

its own constitution, which takes into account the specific features of the republic and is drawn up in full conformity with the Constitution of the USSR.

Article 1: Each Union republic retains its right freely to secede from the USSR.

Article 18: The territory of the Union republics may not be changed without their consent.

Article 19: The laws of the USSR have the same force in the territories of all Union republics.

Article 20: In the event of a law of a Union republic differing from an all Union law, the all-Union law is operative.

Article 21: A single Union citizenship is established for all citizens of the US-RD. Every citizen of a Union republic is a citizen of the USSR.

Article 22: The Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic consists of the following Territories: Azov-Black Sea, Far East, West Siberia, Krasnoyarsk, North Caucasus; Provinces: Voronozh, East Siberia, Gorky, Western, Ivanovo, Kalinin, Kirov, Kuibyshev, Kursk, Lehingrad, Moscow, Omsk, Orenburg, Saratov, Sverdlovsk, Northern, Stalingrad, Chelyabinsk, Yaroslavl; Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republics: Tatar, Bashkir, Daghestan, Buryat-Mongolia, Kabardino-Balkaria, Kalmuck, Karelia, Komi, Crimea, Marii, Mordva, Volga German, North Osetia, Udmurt, Chechen-Ingush, Chuvash, Yakut; Autonomous Provinces: Adygei, Jewish, Karachayev, Oirot, Khakass, Cherkess.

(To be continued)

them at the disposal of the needy. In Moscow alone a half a million workers were moved into houses expropriated from former wealthy owners. Five hundred thousand of the biggest, most valuable and best equipped houses throughout the country were taken away from their private landlords and put to the common good.

The Soviet regime also established just principles in the paying of rent. A system was introduced by which houses are let at a rent

merely necessary to cover the cost of maintenance and repair.

In addition rents are fixed in accord with the means of the tenants. A wellpaid skilled worker pays more than a young worker or student with a smaller income.

To be sure, the Soviet regime quickly removed from the people that sickening burden of rent.

Then, of course, the Soviet government set about building new houses; and better houses too than the houses of Tsarist Russia.

For the houses of old Russia were of little value. Of the total number of houses only 15% were made of brick, stone or re-inforced concrete. The rest of the buildings were of wood, clay or other cheap materials. Nine-tenths of all buildings consisted of one story.

During the very early years of the Soviet regime, years of war, famine and distress, little could be done beyond repairing the ruins that history had bequeathed the new republics. But between 1924 and 1928 new houses were constructed with 16,700,000 metres of floor space. Two billion rubles were invested in housing construction during those years.

Then came the four years of the first Five-Year Plan. Between 1928 and 1932 four billion rubles were invested in housing. New houses with 27,000,000 square metres of floor space were erected.

Notwithstanding this, however, housing accomodation by no means fulfilled demand. This was the period of rapid industrialisation. In a handful of years the Soviet Union carried through an industrial revolution that elsewhere took many decades. The old towns were inundated with scores of thousands of new industrial workers. Dozens of new cities sprang up in all parts of the Union. Millions of workers settled around newly erected industrial enterprises. The population continued its annual increase of 3-1/2 millions. And the whole country,

of course, laid its prime emphasis on building the industrial bases of the new socialist society.

The second Five-Year Plan, however, revealed the country's ability to think now of reaping the harvest of its sowing during the first plan. Begun in 1932 the second plan began raising the living standards of the whole people.

For housing construction the plan provided no less than 13 billion rubles.

Already the greater part of this housing construction has been completed. The various cities and rural districts are carrying out their own plans for the future. The ten years' plan for the reconstruction of Moscow, for example, will provide 15,000,000 square metres of housing accomodation in houses so finely planned and built as will make Moscow far and away the most beautiful city in the world.

That period of rapid industrial construction when the first necessity was to secure the quickest possible housing accomodation for the millions of workers who were inundating the new industrial areas has gone by. Two years ago the Government passed a decree on The Quality of House Building. This decree insists that all houses shall be built with modern conveniences and with every regard for beauty and planned lay out worthy of the new cultured people of the country.

As M. Stalin said on one occasion:

"Only those who have become rotten and mouldy through and through can console themselves with references to the past. We must set out, not from the past, but from the growing needs of the workers to-day. We have got to understand that the conditions of the life of the workers have changed fundamentally. The present-day worker is not what he once was. The present-day worker, our Soviet worker, wants to live so that all his material and cultural needs are satisfied; in regard to housing and all his other needs. He has a right to it and it is our duty to secure for him those conditions."

Only the evil nature of an opponent or the foolishness of a romantic friend expects that, in addition to performing all the miracles of construction with which the Soviet Union has amazed the world during the past years, it should also have achieved fulfilment of everyone of the demands of the Soviet people; in short have established a paradise in which every human need is faced with a plentitude and perfection of supply.

And when one knows the facts about housing in the USSR how pathetic indeed appear those malicious efforts to belittle the country by people who expatiate on instances where supply has not yet overtaken the growing demand.