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

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Verbatim Report



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Workers of the World, Unite!

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

AUGUST 10-21, 1938

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SECOND SESSION

OF THE

SOVIET OF THE UNION

FIRST SITTING

August 10, 1938

A. A. Andreyev, Chairman of the Soviet of the Union, and T. D. Lysenko, Vice-Chairman of the Soviet of the Union, take their seats on the dais, and the members of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. and the leaders of the Party and the Government enter the boxes. They are greeted with loud and prolonged applause. All rise.

A. A. Andreyev (*in the chair*): Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet. I hereby open the Second Session of the Soviet of the Union. (*Applause*). We shall proceed to fix the agenda of the Second Session of the Soviet of the Union.

The following questions have been proposed for the consideration of the Second Session of the Supreme Soviet:

Item 1—approval of the unified state Budget of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics for 1938. This question has been proposed by the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R.

Item 2—draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System of the U.S.S.R., and of the Union and Autonomous Republics. This question has also been proposed by the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R.

Item 3—election of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. This question has been proposed for consideration by the Second Session in accordance with Article 105 of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R.

Item 4—draft of an Act on Citizenship of the U.S.S.R. This question has been proposed by the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R.

Item 5—draft of an Act on the Procedure for Ratifying and Denouncing International Treaties. This question has been proposed by the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Soviet of Nationalities.

Item 6—draft of an Act on a State Horse Tax on Individual Peasant Farms. The question has been proposed by the Legislative Bills Commission of the Soviet of the Union.

Item 7—on the All-Union Agricultural Exposition. Proposed by a group of deputies from the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.

Item 8—on the ukases adopted by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. in the interval between the First and Second Sessions and subject to confirmation by the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

Such are the questions which have been presented for the consideration of the Second Session of the Supreme Soviet.

Does any deputy wish to speak on the subject of the agenda of the Second Session?

N. S. Khrushchov (*Krasnaya Presnya Area, Moscow*): May I?

The Chairman: Deputy Khrushchov.

N. S. Khrushchov: Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet, I move that the questions proposed for discussion at the Second Session of the Soviet of the Union, as read by the Chairman, be included in the agenda for discussion.

The Chairman: Does anybody else wish to speak on the subject of the agenda? Nobody.

Permit me to put to the vote the motion of Deputy Khrushchov to endorse the questions I have enumerated on the agenda of the Second Session of the Soviet of the Union.

I shall put it to the vote. Those in favour of endorsing the questions enumerated as the agenda of the Second Session of the Soviet of the Union, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anyone against? No one. Any abstentions? None. The agenda is thus endorsed unanimously.

Does anybody wish to speak on the procedure for the discussion of the questions on the agenda we have just endorsed?

I. I. Sidorov (*October Area, Moscow*): May I have the floor?

The Chairman: Deputy Sidorov.

I. I. Sidorov: Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., I move that the report of the Government on the unified state Budget of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics be heard at a joint sitting of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities, since this question equally concerns both Chambers.

I move that the joint sitting to hear the report of the Government on the unified state Budget of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics for 1938 be appointed for 7 o'clock this evening.

The Chairman: Does any other deputy wish to speak on this question? No one.

I shall put Deputy Sidorov's motion to the vote. Those in favour of adopting his motion, please raise their hands. Anyone against? No one. Any abstentions? None. Deputy Sidorov's motion has been adopted unanimously. The joint sitting of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities to hear the report on the unified state Budget of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics will take place at 7 o'clock this evening.

This closes the first sitting of the Soviet of the Union.

SECOND SITTING

August 11, 1938

A. A. Andreyev, Chairman of the Soviet of the Union, and T. D. Lysenko, Vice-Chairman of the Soviet of the Union, take their seats on the dais, and the members of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. and the leaders of the Party and the Government enter the boxes. They are greeted with loud and prolonged applause. All rise.

A. A. Andreyev (*in the chair*): I hereby open the second sitting of the Soviet of the Union. The point on the agenda is the co-report of the Budget Commission and the discussion of the unified state Budget of the U.S.S.R. for 1938. I call upon Deputy Sidorov for the co-report.

I. I. Sidorov: Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet. The Budget Commission of the Soviet of the Union has received for consideration the draft of the unified state Budget of the U.S.S.R. for 1938, on which Comrade Zverev, People's Commissar of Finance of the U.S.S.R., reported yesterday at the joint sitting of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities.

After studying both the revenue and the expenditure side in detail, the Budget Commission deems it necessary to express its opinion on the Budget submitted to the Session for approval.

First of all, it must be emphasized that the draft unified Budget for 1938 submitted by the Government is in full accord with the policy and decisions of our Party and the Soviet Government, and conforms entirely to Comrade Stalin's directions that the maximum resources must be mobilized to reinforce the industrialization of our country, raise the material and cultural standard of the toiling masses and reinforce the defensive power and independence of our Soviet state. (*Applause*).

Article 11 of the Stalin Constitution says the following:

"The economic life of the U.S.S.R. is determined and directed by the State Plan for the Development of the National Economy with the purpose of increasing the public wealth, of steadily improving the material conditions of the toilers and raising their cultural level, of consolidating the independence of the U.S.S.R. and strengthening its power of defence."

We are successfully developing industry, agriculture, transport, are improving the cultural and material well-being of the working people of our country, enhancing the power of defence of our country with our own resources, without any credits or loans from outside.

In the hands of the Party and the Government the Budget is the principal and decisive lever whereby resources are mobilized and distributed among the various branches of economy and culture, as the interests of the state, the interests of the workers and peasants, may require.

During the period of the two Five-Year Plans, the Union, Republican and local Budgets in the aggregate have increased thirteen-fold. This made it possible to accumulate and invest over 350,000,000,000 rubles in Socialist construction through the Budget system during the Second Five-Year Plan period.

The Budget, like the entire economy of the country of victorious Socialism, is growing at a remarkably rapid rate. The draft unified state Budget for 1938 submitted by the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. is fixed at 125,184,218,000 rubles revenue and 123,684,218,000 expenditure, that is, a balance of income over expenditure amounting to 1,500,000,000 rubles.

The Union and Republican Budgets are submitted to the Second Session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. for approval in the following sums: 116,801,150,000 rubles revenue and 115,301,150,000 expenditure.

In comparison with actual receipts of last year, the revenue side of the Union and Republican Budget shows an increase of more than 20,000,000,000 rubles, or 21 per cent. In expenditure we have an increase of something over 21,000,000,000 rubles, that is, of 22.8 per cent in comparison with last year.

Not a single capitalist country has such an increase in budgeted income and expenditure. Such a rapid growth of the Budget is possible only here, in conditions of planned Socialist economy, to which crises and convulsions are unknown. Whereas the capitalist world has begun to be shaken by the fever of a new crisis, the toilers of our country are advancing serenely and confidently to new victories. They are at ease and confident about their future. Nineteen thirty-eight is a year of new historic victories for Socialism, a year of further great progress in our economy and culture. The unprecedented growth of the Budget reflects the great objectives of economic and cultural construction outlined by the plan, objectives spelling further progress in the material well-being of the working people, objectives calculated to reinforce the power of defence of our Socialist country.

Our Budget is based on the growth of industry, transport, trade, agriculture, the growth of accumulation by Socialist enterprises and economic organizations. The main source of revenue in our Budget is the turnover tax and the profits tax, that is, revenues from socialized, Socialist economy. In 1938 the turnover tax on state and co-operative organizations amounts to 83,338,000,000 rubles, as against 75,911,000,000 rubles last year—an increase of 9.8 per cent. The profits tax increases

to a far greater extent. In 1937 it came to 5,729,000,000 rubles, while in the plan submitted to the Session for approval the profits tax comes to 9,586,000,000 rubles—an increase of 67.3 per cent.

Taking the People's Commissariats separately, the revenues from the profits tax are specified as follows: 3,284,000,000 rubles from the People's Commissariat of the Food Industry budgeted in the draft, as against 1,523,000,000 rubles, or more than twice as much as last year; 2,284,000,000 rubles from the People's Commissariats of Heavy Industry, the Machine-Building Industry and the Defence Industry budgeted, as against 1,451,000,000 rubles, that is 57.4 per cent more than last year; 1,401,000,000 rubles from the People's Commissariat of Light Industry budgeted, as against 956,000,000 rubles, that is, 46.5 per cent more than last year.

The socialized sector of economy yields over 90 per cent of the revenue in our Budget. This is characteristic of the steady growth of Socialism in our country. The increase in the state Budget is a direct result of the growth of our national economy, the increase in the productivity of labour, the reduction of production costs and the increase of accumulation.

This year the productivity of labour must be raised by 14.4 per cent in heavy industry; by 11 per cent in light industry; by 11 per cent in the food industry. In the current year our industry will have an output of over 110,000,000,000 rubles. This will exceed last year's output by more than 17 per cent.

As a result of the tremendous assistance received from the state, as a result of the more effective personal efforts of the collective farmers to increase crop yields and the productivity of cattle raising, the output of agriculture in 1938 increases by more than 14 per cent.

Now permit me to dwell upon the expenditure side of the Budget. To mobilize and bring in state resources through budgetary channels is indeed a very important matter and a big one. Still, it is not everything. The appropriations must be allocated in a statesmanlike, a businesslike way to the most important items, so that they may produce the greatest effect and be of the greatest benefit in the matter of strengthening our economy.

The Budget Commission has made a detailed study of both revenues and expenditures and finds that on the expenditure side of the Budget the Government has taken into account all necessary state requirements and has allocated outlays correctly. The biggest item of expenditure in our Budget is expenditure on the national economy. In the current year 47,212,000,000 rubles, or 40.9 per cent of budgetary expenditures, has been assigned to these purposes.

Compared with last year these expenditures have increased by 20 per cent. These appropriations are needed for the purpose of accomplishing the national-economic program for industry, agriculture, transport, trade, as prescribed in the plan; for the purpose of fulfilling the plan of capital construction and expansion, which has been increased over last year's by more than 30 per cent.

It should be borne in mind that a considerable portion of the resour-

ces being invested in capital construction is spent on getting enterprises now under construction ready for use. In 1938, new plant in the approximate sum of 40,000,000,000 rubles is to be put into operation.

There is a very marked increase in appropriations for certain People's Commissariats. The sum of 6,959,000,000 rubles, as against 5,033,000,000 rubles in 1937, or 38.2 per cent more, is budgeted to go to the People's Commissariat of Heavy Industry. As against 1,070,000,000 rubles in 1937, 1,503,000,000 rubles, or over 40 per cent more, is assigned in 1938 to the People's Commissariat of the Food Industry.

There is no need to prove to you the position these Commissariats occupy in our national economy. The Budget Commission considers that to ensure a still more rapid pace in the industrialization of our country, to satisfy even better the population's demand for products of the food industry, to make our country's power of defence even greater, expenditures for these Commissariats must be increased, as has been quite properly provided by the Government. (*Applause.*)

The provision for increased expenditure on agriculture through the People's Commissariat of Agriculture is also correct. In 1937 the People's Commissariat of Agriculture spent 6,697,000,000 rubles, while in the draft Budget submitted, expenditures of the People's Commissariat of Agriculture (machine and tractor stations included) stand at 9,096,000,000 rubles—an increase of 35.8 per cent. This expenditure is an indication of the remarkable care and attention which our Party and Government bestow on the development and advance of our Socialist agriculture.

Comrades, at the First Session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., on the motion of Comrade Molotov, the head of the Soviet Government, a decision was adopted to organize a People's Commissariat of the Navy, and likewise there was expressed the desire that the defensive capacity of our country be strengthened in every way. The Budget Commission can report to the Session that these decisions are being put into practice. The 1938 Budget provides for the appropriation of 27,044,000,000 rubles to the People's Commissariats of Defence and of the Navy (*applause*), as against 17,481,000,000 rubles last year. This is in full and entire accord with the decisions of the First Session of the Supreme Soviet and the mandates received by the deputies. This fully and entirely reflects the desires of the peoples of our great country to enhance the power of defence of the Socialist state. (*Applause.*)

The second big item of expenditure is outlays on measures of a social and cultural character. The unified state Budget plans to expend under this head 31,386,000,000 rubles, which constitutes 25.4 per cent of all expenditures in the Budget. If to this be added the sums expended for cultural purposes by the trade unions, co-operative societies and other public organizations, the total expenditure in 1938 on social and cultural development will exceed 42,000,000,000 rubles. Compared with last year, appropriations for these purposes in the state Budget and the local Budgets are increased by 5,938,000,000 rubles, or more than 23 per cent. And if the Union Budget be taken separately, outlays for these measures increase by nearly 35 per cent.

Expenditures on social and cultural measures designed to satisfy the daily needs and demands of the population act to guarantee in the U.S.S.R. the paramount civic rights recorded in the Stalin Constitution, such as the right to education, the right to rest, the right to maintenance in old age and in case of loss of working capacity. These sums are paid out for education, health, social maintenance, etc.

Public education has been developing on an extraordinarily wide scope in our country. From 167,983 on September 1, 1937, the number of elementary, full-grade and part-grade intermediate schools must be increased to 170,764 by September 1, 1938. The number of children attending them increases by 11-12 per cent and reaches a total of 33,300,000. In this country we have 3,500 training colleges, attended by over 800,000 persons, and 700 higher educational establishments, attended by 550,000 persons. In the present year alone the institutions of higher education will enroll about another 170,000 persons.

To give a graphic picture of the grand scale of higher education in our country the following simple comparison will suffice: the number of students in our universities and colleges is far greater than the number of students in the five states of Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy and Japan put together. (*Applause.*)

The same with health protection. Outlays on medical aid are greatly increased. There is an increase in the number of beds in hospitals, maternity homes and kindergartens. In 1938 the number of beds in maternity homes increases by 35.5 per cent as compared with last year, and the number of regular accommodations in nurseries by 28.9 per cent. The enormous growth of the population of the U.S.S.R. is one of the most convincing indices of the material well-being of the Soviet people. Our happy Soviet children are being reared in their tens of millions in nurseries, kindergartens, schools and other establishments, reared in the spirit of Communism, in the spirit of Soviet patriotism.

Outlays for all forms of medical aid and hygienic service increase in 1938. There is a great improvement in the living and general conditions of trained nurses, medical assistants and village divisional doctors. To raise the pay of this category of health employees, the Budget of 1938 provides an increase of 145,000,000 rubles. The sum-total of appropriations for health protection exceeds 8,000,000,000 rubles—an increase of 18.3 per cent against last year.

A few words on the growth of the budgets of the Union Republics. The Lenin-Stalin national policy unswervingly pursued by our Party has given all national republics the possibility of rapidly overcoming the profound economic and cultural inequality, of rapidly emerging from the backwardness inherited from the damnable past under tsarism.

Twenty years of Soviet rule have radically transformed the entire aspect of our country, of all her republics, regions and districts. Freed from age-long exploitation and the tyranny of tsarism, the national republics have effected a radical reorganization of their econo-

mic life, have achieved an enormous advance in the well-being of the toilers and made unprecedented progress in culture. Our Soviet Budget has played a great part in the development of the republics. The financial strength of the republics is growing from year to year. While in the first year of the First Five-Year Plan the republican and local Budgets totalled 3,449,700,000 rubles, the total in 1937 stood at 30,396,000,000 rubles. In 1938 the republican and local Budgets increase by 14.3 per cent. Apart from their own constantly increasing resources, the republics receive great assistance from the Union government every year.

In 1938 the assignments from the Union Budget to the Budgets of the republics come to 26,723,000,000 rubles.

Taking the republics separately, the several Budgets show the following growth:

R.S.F.S.R: in 1935 the Budget amounted to 7,699,000,000 rubles, in 1938—15,480,000,000 rubles.

Ukrainian S.S.R: in 1935—2,461,000,000 rubles, in 1938—4,463,000,000 rubles.

Byelorussian S.S.R: in 1935—514,000,000 rubles, in 1938—1,022,000,000 rubles.

In the same way there is a very marked upswing in sources of revenue in the Turkmen, Uzbek, Tadjik and other republics.

The national republics have traversed a gigantic path of economic and cultural development.

The industrial output of Byelorussia in 1913 was computed (in 1926-27 prices) at 89,000,000 rubles, while in 1936 it had already reached 1,400,000,000 rubles, that is, almost a sixteen-fold increase. In the same period the industrial output of the Kirghiz S.S.R. increased 95 times. Or take the Tadjik S.S.R.—formerly East Bokhara, the former patrimony of the Emir of Bokhara. Now it has become a flourishing Socialist republic. Before the revolution there was no industry on its territory, now there are dozens of large-scale industrial enterprises. This year, an appropriation of 16,868,000 rubles is budgeted for the further development of the industry of Tadjikistan, exclusive of units under Union control. In the last nine years the Budget of the Tadjik S.S.R. has increased more than 21-fold. In 1929 it comprised 20,903,000 rubles, while in 1938 it comprises 443,000,000 rubles. Even more striking progress has been achieved in the sphere of culture. Before the revolution only one person in 200 was literate in Tadjikistan and now 70 per cent of the population is literate. More than 200,000 children of workers and collective farmers attend the schools of the republic. In 1929 the expenditure on public education in the Tadjik S.S.R. amounted to 11,030,000 rubles, while in 1938 this item comes to 219,048,000 rubles. Before the revolution, East Bokhara had one hospital and thousands of village quacks (tabibi), while now there are over 100 hospitals and hundreds of clinics and dispensaries. The expenditure on public health is growing from year to year. Thus, in 1929 a total of 1,663,000 rubles was assigned for this purpose, while in 1938 this item amounts to 68,387,000 rubles.

All this goes to prove to what extent the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet Government are solicitous for the cultural, social and other needs of the population in each of our republics.

The Budget Commission has made a detailed study of the revenue and expenditure sides of the Union Budget by republics severally and by People's Commissariats, and has drawn its conclusion accordingly. Besides members of the Budget Commission, other members of the Supreme Soviet, representatives of the republics, the People's Commissariats, the trade unions, and officials of the People's Commissariat of Finance were enlisted to assist in the work.

After a careful examination of accounts and documents, the Budget Commission finds it possible to increase revenue by 1,594,800,000 rubles.

Of what is this increase composed?

The Budget Commission proposes that the turnover tax be increased by 594,000,000 rubles in the People's Commissariat of the Food Industry (the Chief Perfume Department, the Chief Vegetable Oil and Fats Department, the Chief Margarine Department, the Chief Confectionery Department, the Chief Canning Department, and others).

We propose this increase in the turnover tax because the said chief departments are exceeding their production programs and there is accordingly an increase of revenue to the Budget from the turnover tax. The computations which we made jointly with the People's Commissariat of Finance confirm the possibility of this increase.

Thus, in the case of the Chief Perfume Department, during the first half year the specified turnover tax schedule was fulfilled 53.7 per cent; and in the case of the Chief Vegetable Oil and Fats Department, 53.6 per cent. The situation is identical in the case of the other chief departments.

The Budget Commission also proposes to increase the plan figures of the turnover tax in the case of enterprises under the People's Commissariats of Local Industry by 75,000,000 rubles; in the case of the match industry under the People's Commissariat of Timber by 2,500,000 rubles and in the case of invalids' co-operatives by 5,000,000 rubles.

The computations made in these People's Commissariats and organizations render it possible to increase the turnover tax by the said amounts. This is also confirmed by the actual receipts from the tax for the first half-year. Thus, while the year's plan is 700,000,000 rubles, 426,000,000 rubles, or 60.8 per cent, has already come in from the People's Commissariats of Local Industry.

At the same time the Budget Commission proposes a reduction of the turnover tax in the case of certain organizations—by 35,000,000 rubles in the case of the Chief Fish Department under the People's Commissariat of Food Industry; by 14,000,000 rubles in the case of the Chief Leather and Footwear Distributing Department under the People's Commissariat of Light Industry—because these sums were budgeted without regard to realities and will not accrue to the Budget.

Thus, the increase in the turnover taxes after allowing for the reduc-

tions in the cases of the Chief Fish Department and the Chief Leather and Footwear Distributing Department amounts to 627,500,000 rubles.

It must be emphasized that all these calculations were made on the basis of documents submitted, and with the participation of People's Commissariats, including representatives of the People's Commissariat of Finance; furthermore, a considerable portion of the increase of these revenues is based on corresponding decisions of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. The draft Budget was confirmed at the beginning of the year, while in the course of work throughout the first half-year the Council of People's Commissars passed a number of decisions increasing revenues.

The Budget Commission approves of these decisions of the Council of People's Commissars and considers that the sums therein provided must be included in the revenue column of the Budget.

The Budget Commission has introduced changes in the profits tax, too. In the case of the Chief Meat Department it is proposed to increase the profits tax by 10,000,000 rubles; by 217,000,000 in the case of the Chief Sugar Department; by 25,000,000 rubles in the case of the Chief Liqueur and Spirits Department; by 15,000,000 rubles in the case of the Chief Vegetable Oil and Fats Department; by 13,000,000 rubles in the case of the Chief Canning Department; by 11,000,000 rubles in the case of the Chief Confectionery Department; by 10,000,000 rubles in the case of the Chief Margarine Department; by 37,000,000 rubles in the case of the Chief Spirits Department; by 6,000,000 rubles in the case of the Chief Raw Tobacco Department; by 6,000,000 rubles in the case of the Chief Refrigeration Industry Department.

The Budget Commission proposes a reduction in profits taxes of 15,000,000 rubles in the case of the Chief Food Packing Material Department, and of 4,500,000 rubles in the case of the Chief Milk Department, in view of the fact that the warehouse stocks as of January 1, 1938, for these chief departments were calculated in error.

Furthermore, the Budget Commission proposes to strike from the Budget revenues of the Union the sum of 159,200,000 rubles of profits taxes that had been scheduled to be received from the People's Commissariat of the Food Industry, on the grounds that these sums have already been invalidated by a re-calculation and do not represent real receipts.

Therefore, after deducting the amounts involved in the adopted changes, the total profits tax from the People's Commissariat of the Food Industry increases by 164,700,000 rubles.

The Commission has likewise increased revenues from profits by 10,800,000 rubles in the case of the People's Commissariat of Agricultural Stocks by curtailing distribution expenses; by 21,500,000 rubles in the case of the State Insurance Board because the plan of passenger traffic of the People's Commissariat of Railways, the People's Commissariat of Water Transport and the Chief Civil Aviation Administration, and in connection with this also the passenger traffic state insurance charges to be collected were underrated. The Commission proposes a

reduction of 3,400,000 rubles in the profits tax to be received from the People's Commissariat of the Timber Industry, because this sum was overpaid by the Byelorussian Timber Trust in 1937.

The total increase of revenue for the Union Budget from profits taxes amounts to 193,600,000 rubles, allowing for the reductions made.

The Budget Commission also considers it necessary to increase by 300,000,000 rubles the receipts from state loan bonds purchased with savings banks funds, and by 21,500,000 rubles purchases from state insurance funds, or altogether by 321,500,000 rubles. This increase was determined upon because deposits in savings banks up to July came to 1,200,000.000 rubles, while the year's plan is 1,300,000,000 rubles.

In the time left, there is every possibility of raising the savings bank deposits of the population not merely by 100,000,000 rubles, the balance remaining to complete the year's plan, but by 400,000,000 rubles. Everyone can see that in our country the savings bank deposits of the population are now growing very rapidly because of the high level of the material well-being of the toilers of our country and the consequent steady increase in the people's savings. Therefore the Budget Commission considers it necessary to add these 300,000,000 rubles to the revenue side of the Budget.

The Budget Commission also fully endorses the decision of the Council of People's Commissars of May 12, 1938, setting contributions to the Union Budget from the resources of social insurance at 875,000,000 rubles. The People's Commissariat of Finance has included the sum of 800,000,000 rubles on account of social insurance charges. The 75,000,000 rubles not included must also be accounted for in the Budget.

The draft Budget provides for customs revenues in the sum of 2,100,000,000 rubles. On July 1, the half-yearly assignment had been exceeded by 248,000,000 rubles.

The Council of People's Commissars has passed a decision to increase customs revenues. After going over the figures with the People's Commissariat of Finance and the People's Commissariat of Foreign Trade, the Budget Commission considered it possible to increase customs revenues by 250,000,000 rubles, that is, raise the total to 2,350,000,000 rubles.

In the miscellaneous group of items of revenue, receipts have been increased by 102,100,000 rubles.

The Budget Commission introduces the following change in the expenditure side: we propose an increase of 93,000,000 rubles in the appropriations to the People's Commissariat of Heavy Industry for the Gold-Mining Supply Administration.

At the same time the Budget Commission considers it necessary, on the basis of the computations, to increase allocations for amortization in the case of the People's Commissariat of Heavy Industry by 25,000,000 rubles. In accordance with the decision of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. of January 8, 1938, 11,000,000 rubles of this sum are assigned for capital repairs, while the remaining 14,000,000 rubles are accounted as an additional source for the financing of

capital construction and development. Thus, in heavy industry budgetary appropriations are to increase by 79,000,000 rubles.

In the case of the People's Commissariat of the Food Industry, on the basis of the computations, allocations for amortization are to increase by 26,000,000 rubles, of which 11,000,000 rubles are assigned to capital repairs and 15,000,000 rubles as an additional source for financing capital construction and development, in accordance with which budgetary appropriations are decreased by this sum.

In the case of the People's Commissariat of Agriculture of the U.S.S.R., the following changes have been introduced. In a number of republics, regions and territories certain land improvement projects have not yet been completed. This has a very detrimental effect on the proper management and development of agriculture. After detailed calculations the Budget Commission considered it necessary to increase the appropriations to the People's Commissariat of Agriculture by 30,000,000 rubles for the completion of land improvement operations.

At the same time the Budget Commission considers it necessary to cut down the sums budgeted to the People's Commissariat of Agriculture by 20,000,000 rubles for covering the operation and servicing of the All-Union Agricultural Exposition in view of the fact that the opening of the Exposition is being postponed somewhat.

In respect to administrative and managerial expenses the Budget Commission proposes a reduction of expenses by 20,200,000 rubles in the following departments: by 3,000,000 rubles in the case of the Central Administration of National Economic Accounting; by 4,000,000 rubles in the case of the People's Commissariat of Agricultural Stocks; by 3,900,000 rubles in the case of the Political Administration of the People's Commissariat of State Farms. The said sums were left unutilized in the first half-year and there are adequate appropriations for work in the second half-year.

On the proposal of the Soviet Control Commission there is a reduction of 2,500,000 rubles in the estimated administrative and managerial expenses in the case of the Soviet Control Commission attached to the Council of People's Commissars, in consequence of reorganization, and reduction of staff and of travelling expenses.

In the case of the Chief Hydrometeorological office, administrative and managerial expenses are reduced by 6,800,000 rubles as expenses incorrectly entered among budgetary expense items.

Furthermore, there is a reduction of 19,200,000 rubles in appropriations to educational institutions previously under the jurisdiction of the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R. but subsequently transferred to various People's Commissariats.

In the case of the People's Commissariat of Agricultural Stocks of the U.S.S.R. the Budget Commission proposes a 16,000,000 ruble increase in appropriations. This is called for by the need for much improvement in the work of the agricultural-stock procurement staff.

After a detailed study of the Budgets of the Union republics, the Budget Commission considered that certain changes must be introduced

here too: in the case of the Uzbek S.S.R., an increase of 11,400,000 rubles in the residue of unused Budget resources as of January 1, 1938; in the case of the Turkmen S.S.R. a reduction of 13,000,000 rubles in the residue of Budget resources, as incorrectly entered; in the case of the Byelorussian S.S.R. a reduction of 3,300,000 rubles in the residue of Budget resources, as erroneously entered; increases in appropriations for refunding paid-in share instalments to the former members of housing co-operatives, in line with the Government decision, by 2,294,000 rubles in the case of the Georgian S.S.R., by 500,000 rubles in the case of the Armenian S.S.R. and by 442,000 rubles in the case of the Tadjik S.S.R.

Furthermore, the Budget Commission considers it necessary to increase the assignments in the state Budget of the Georgian S.S.R.—by 866,000 rubles for the teaching of the Russian language in the schools and by 374,000 rubles for the maintenance of the Tbilisi Physical Culture School; to increase by 250,000 rubles the appropriations for physical culture purposes in the Armenian S.S.R.; to increase by 350,000 rubles the appropriations in the Turkmen S.S.R. for financing the press, and by 2,885,000 rubles the appropriations in the Tadjik S.S.R. for replenishing the working capital of the Agricultural Supplies Service.

Thus, after deducting the sums involved in the reductions, the Budget expenditure increases by 38,300,000 rubles. Altogether revenue increases adopted by the Budget Commission will total 1,594,800,000 rubles, with 38,300,000 rubles of increased expenditures excepted.

The Budget Commission requests that these resources be included in the reserve fund of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. Together with the sums budgeted in the draft, this item thus comes to 2,766,500,000 rubles.

The expenditure side of the unified state Budget will total 125,278,993,000 rubles, while in the draft submitted the total is 123,684,218,000 rubles.

The revenues of the unified state Budget will total 126,778,993,000 rubles, while in the draft submitted the total is 125,184,218,000 rubles.

The Budget Commission also considers it necessary to voice its opinion on questions of Budget discipline and the discharge of obligations to the state.

The Budget submitted to the Session for its approval reflects the further growth of the Socialist economy. Our planned Socialist economy is an inexhaustible mine of potentialities for increasing budgetary revenue. The thing is to mobilize these resources and direct them towards the further development of Socialist construction and culture, as well as toward the reinforcement of the country's power of defence. Our Party, the Soviet Government and Comrade Stalin personally demand of all persons employed in the economic and state apparatus the strictest observance of financial discipline. Every worker in the field of economy, every worker in the field of finance, every citizen of our country is duty-bound to fulfil his obligations to the state in full and on time.

Therefore the Budget Commission could not pass by breaches of discipline, the failure on the part of certain People's Commissariats to discharge their obligations to the state. We might take as an example the People's Commissariat of Trade of the U.S.S.R. and the All-Union Consumers' Association (Centrosojuz), which have not complied with the decisions of the Economic Council attached to the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. (passed on April 9) to reduce stocks on hand by 100,000,000 rubles in the case of the People's Commissariat of Trade, by 250,000,000 rubles in the case of the All-Union Consumers' Association; to reduce outstanding debts by 200,000,000 rubles in the case of the People's Commissariat of Trade and by 300,000,000 rubles in the case of the All-Union Consumers' Association. In the first half-year this same People's Commissariat of Trade fell short 224,000,000 rubles in the payment of the turnover tax and 79,000,000 rubles in the profits tax due. In the first half-year the People's Commissariat of the Machine-Building Industry also failed to keep its obligations, having fallen 352,000,000 rubles short in the payment of the profits tax. At the same time the People's Commissariat of the Machine-Building Industry exceeded the wage fund limit by 200,000,000 rubles although output plans were fulfilled only 92 per cent, and furthermore accumulated 388,000,000 rubles' worth of surplus material values. This is a gross violation of plan and Budget discipline and a non-fulfilment of obligations to the state.

The People's Commissariat of Light Industry fulfilled only 44.3 per cent of the turnover tax plan, having failed to pay the state something over 402,000,000 rubles. Moreover, this People's Commissariat was 88,500,000 rubles short in profits tax payments.

The People's Commissariat of Agricultural Stocks was short hundreds of millons in its payments to the state during both the first and the second quarter.

When the Budget Commission went over the Budget in July, it was also interested to see how receipts were coming in. In the first half-year Union Budget receipts were 2,918,000,000 rubles short of the plan.

The main cause of the poor execution of the Budget provisions in the first half-year is the unsatisfactory fulfilment of the turnover tax and profits tax plans traceable to nonfulfilment of production assignments on the part of a number of People's Commissariats and chief departments.

Obligatory payments due from the population also show arrears.

The level of the material well-being of the population of our country is now very high. However, there are arrears in the payment of various taxes and imposts, which can be explained only as being a result of the extremely unsatisfactory work of many local Soviet and finance organs.

More than 420,000,000 rubles of arrears in the agricultural tax and local voluntary taxation was brought forward to 1938, of which sum only 53.8 per cent has been collected up to now.

The final date for the payment of the 1938 rural cultural levy was March 15, but only 70.5 per cent of the assessment has been collected. More than 170,000,000 rubles of arrears have been brought forward to the third quarter. The agricultural tax on individual farmers has been collected to the extent of only 67.2 per cent.

Organizing the work of collecting payments due to the state for the Budget must now be the foremost concern of Soviet bodies, the foremost concern of the finance organs.

Now about expenditures for the first half-year. Specifications for Union Budget expenditures for the first half-year were carried out 42.2 per cent—a divergence of 5,327,700,000 rubles from the planned figure. This means that in the first half-year a number of economic organizations, a number of republics did not completely fulfil the program mapped out.

The situation is particularly alarming in housing and municipal construction and the construction of public health establishments. According to the figures of the People's Commissariat of Finance, during the first half-year 27.3 per cent of the year's plan was applied in housing construction by the local Soviets; 34.6 per cent of the plan in local Soviet municipal construction; 29.7 per cent of the plan in the construction of public health establishments.

The situation is open to criticism in the various republics too. For instance, housing construction funds in the first half-year were applied to the extent of 12.8 per cent in the Azerbaidjan S.S.R., 17.4 per cent in the Tadjik S.S.R., and 20 per cent in the Uzbek and the Byelorussian S.S.R.

There is absolutely no excuse for such a situation. It shows that many local bodies work very badly indeed.

The state releases huge funds to the Union, republican and local Budgets to finance construction for housing, municipal, cultural and general social purposes. In all republics and regions the progress made on construction plans must be examined and all necessary steps taken to catch up so that the year's plan may be completely fulfilled.

A few remarks concerning expenditures on the training of forces. The People's Commissariat of Finance exercises inadequate control over the localities and does not verify the accounts submitted to it.

On January 1, the People's Commissariat of Finance accepted without investigation the student quota submitted to it. The result was an inflation of quotas for January 1, by 3,720 persons in the case of higher educational establishments, by 16,116 persons in the case of training colleges, and by 1,348 persons in the case of workers' colleges; that is, money was given out for non-existent students. This being so, money is being expended obviously in violation of Budget discipline. Proper control over these items has not been established.

Furthermore, the People's Commissariat of Finance accepts the Commissariats' estimates of student instruction expenditures in a mechanical way, without making any changes. As a result, appropriations differ greatly in various educational institutions and go outside the normal limits set for the various kinds of educational institutions. Thus, for instance, the cost of educating one student per year was put

at a figure ranging from 7,905 rubles to 14,379 rubles, the cost being highest in the case of academies under the People's Commissariat of Finance, the State Planning Commission and the People's Commissariat of Foreign Trade, in which educational costs are much higher than in the Industrial and other academies. This is due to the fact that the People's Commissariat of Finance mechanically includes in expenditure everything that the People's Commissariats submit.

The same with the higher educational establishments. The annual cost of educating students fluctuated in the People's Commissariats between 3,267 rubles and 11,315 rubles. This is likewise abnormal and is undoubtedly due to the fact that the Finance Commissariat mechanically accepts estimates from the other People's Commissariats.

Another striking fact is the unsatisfactory situation with regard to the training of trades forces in mass demand. Enormous sums are expended on this item out of state budgetary revenues. In many People's Commissariats this matter is not well organized. In 1938 the People's Commissariat of Agriculture is assigned 566,000,000 rubles for instruction in trades of mass demand—a colossal sum. However, nobody in the People's Commissariat of Agriculture makes this their concern, and the money is distributed mechanically among the chief departments. The latter allocate the sums to the republics and regions. No adjustment is made for the type of training, nor is there any control over this matter. To this day the People's Commissariat of Agriculture has no account for the expenditures for 1937, and is wholly ignorant of the progress of schooling in 1938.

Yet the training of personnel for work in the land bodies and in the procurement of agricultural stocks is of enormous importance if success is to be achieved. This business must be put in order. The funds released must give much greater effect.

One remark concerning the rates of the turnover tax and the norms of working capital. The existing system, under which the turnover tax now has about 2,500 assessment rates, should be considered a serious defect in the work of the People's Commissariat of Finance. In the case of the People's Commissariat of Agricultural Stocks the turnover tax has 614 such rates, and 1,387 in the case of the People's Commissariat of the Food Industry, there being 650 in the Chief Fish Department alone.

The multiplicity of turnover tax rates impedes tax collection as well as the economic unit concerned. It creates one big muddle.

The Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. has instructed the People's Commissariat of Finance to cut down the number of turnover tax assessment rates. A certain diminution in the number of these rates has now been effected in the People's Commissariat of the Food Industry. However, this is still not enough.

Neither can the situation be regarded as normal when enterprises are guided by norms for working capital adopted as far back as 1931. In the interim there have been many changes in our industry, the circulation period of material values is less, technical equipment has changed,

there is less uncompleted production, while the present norms for working capital were adopted many years ago, in 1931. The People's Commissariat of Finance must take up this question with a view to revising the norms of working capital and bringing them in accord with the new conditions of production and circulation of material values.

In some cases the People's Commissariat of Finance has a purely formal approach to the question of carrying out decisions of the Council of People's Commissars; it does not control or assure their practical application. Here is an example. On April 27, 1938, the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. adopted a decision to put rural medical divisions on a sounder footing.

On the strength of this decision divisional doctors receive municipal services and travelling facilities out of the Budget. In line with the decision, the People's Commissariat of Finance provided for expenditure on salary increases, laboratories and libraries; but it made no provision for expenditure on municipal services and the purchase of horses, harness and the maintenance of transport facilities, confining itself to a formal statement that this money may be spent.

Thus, a measure of considerable economic and political importance to the villages is not everywhere being put into practical effect. This is largely the fault of the People's Commissariat of Finance, because it did not compute how much money was needed and did not indicate out of what sources this money might be spent.

Or take the decision of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. adopted on March 26, 1938, which provides for the release of budgetary funds to cover the expense incidental to the industrial practice of university students. The People's Commissariat of Finance did not calculate how much was needed to finance this measure in the various republics. The students' practice has already begun, but the question of financing it has yet to be decided. The result is that the industrial enterprises are engaged in a dispute with the People's Commissariat of Finance and other financial organizations over the question of finance, and the students' practice is suffering in consequence. Instead of putting the decision of the Council of People's Commissars into effect conscientiously, the People's Commissariat of Finance took it in a merely formal spirit.

The People's Commissariat of Finance was formal also in its interpretation of the decision of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. and the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.(B.) concerning the teaching of the Russian language in non-Russian schools. In the Georgian S.S.R. the People's Commissariat of Finance provided 565,000 rubles for this purpose, plainly an underestimation. The Budget Commission found it necessary to increase this expenditure by 866,000 rubles and the People's Commissariat of Finance raised no objections.

Miscalculations of this kind have an adverse effect on the practical execution of Party and Government decisions. Therefore I consider that in these questions the People's Commissariat of Finance must not let its attitude be decided by the amount of money involved. If billions

are involved, it figures over and over again, but if millions or hundreds of thousands of rubles, it does not make such re-calculations between the Union and republican Budgets. This is wrong. This is why a number of very important measures of great economic and political importance are sometimes not put fully into effect, and in this a large portion of the blame rests on the People's Commissariat of Finance, whose duty it is to ensure that the decisions of the Party and the Government are carried out.

Comrades, the Budget submitted for your approval reflects the gigantic progress of our country in all branches of Socialist development. The budgeted figures show vividly how rapidly our country has become a land of large-scale industry, a land of collectivized, mechanized, large-scale Socialist agriculture; transport and trade are growing; accumulations of the Socialist enterprises are increasing. 1938 is a year of new resurgence throughou' our national economy. Our Budget reflects the mighty growth and development of the republics of the Union.

The Lenin-Stalin national policy has united all the peoples of the U.S.S.R., it has created insoluble bonds of friendship among them, it has given them moral and political unity. Whatever republic we take, everywhere unprecedented progress in economy and in the material and cultural well-being of the toiling masses is in evidence.

Our Budget reflects, mirror-like, the profound concern of the Party of Lenin-Stalin and of the Soviet Government for the people, their material, social and cultural demands.

That is why our whole multi-national Soviet people cherish such love and devotion for and have such faith in the Soviet Government, our Bolshevik Party and the leader, friend and teacher of all toilers, Comrade Stalin. (*Loud and prolonged applause. All rise.*)

The Chairman: We shall now pass on to the discussion of the Budget. The first speaker on the list is Deputy Korotchenko, Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the Ukrainian S.S.R.

D. S. Korotchenko (*Amur-Nizhnedniepr ovsk Area, Dniepropetrovsk Region, Ukr. S.S.R.*): Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet. A question of great state importance is up for discussion at the Session of the Supreme Soviet—the Budget of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics for 1938. The enormous capital investments in industry, agriculture, the transport system, for the needs of education, health protection, social maintenance and the defence of our country are a vivid reflection of the further flourishing of our Socialist economy, of the further consolidation of the strength and might of our great Socialist state. Thanks to the genius of Lenin and Stalin, thanks to the efforts of the Communist Party, the Soviet Government and the whole of the working people, our Soviet homeland has been transformed, from an agrarian and backward country, into a first-rate industrial country, into a country of the most advanced, large-scale, Socialist agriculture equipped with the most up-to-date machinery.

With us, Socialism is not a dream of the remote future. It has already become established in the lives of millions of working people. Every

day the creative constructive work of the multi-national Soviet people is bringing us new victories and achievements, making our life richer and more joyous. All this is a result of the fact that our Bolshevik Party, the Soviet Government, our wise Comrade Stalin, have no other concern, no other life, except "life for our great cause, life for the struggle for the universal well-being of the people, for joy for all the working people, for the vast masses." (Stalin.)

An enormous role was played in the development of our national economy by our Budget system, which enabled us to mobilize over 80,000,000,000 rubles for the work of Socialist construction during the period of the First Five-Year Plan, and over 350,000,000,000 rubles during the period of the Second Five-Year Plan. All of it was obtained from our internal resources, without usurious credits and loans from abroad. Under the conditions of the Soviet system of economy, our Budget and our whole system of finance represent a mighty weapon for influencing our entire national economy.

While in capitalist countries the Budget and the whole system of finance serve the object of exploiting, enslaving and robbing the masses of the people, in our country the Budget and the whole system of finance have been placed at the service of the working people, so that they may lead a richer and more prosperous life, and so as to strengthen the power and might of our glorious fatherland.

The publication of the Budget bears witness to the democracy of our system, it bears witness to the fact that our Budget palpably and cogently reflects the interests of the whole Soviet people.

An entirely different situation obtains in the capitalist, and particularly in the fascist, countries. Ever since 1935 the fascist government of Germany has not been publishing its Budgets at all. The reason is obvious. Year after year the Budgets of the fascist countries—Germany, Italy and Japan—are drawn up with huge deficits owing to the rise of expenditures for preparing and waging predatory wars, for maintaining a large espionage network and for other parasitic purposes. The fascist authorities take the last pennies from the toilers and spend them on brigandage and wars of conquest—in Abyssinia, Spain and China. Even official bourgeois statistics cannot conceal the financial bankruptcy of a whole number of capitalist, and particularly fascist, countries.

In Italy the expenditures on the war with Abyssinia amounted to 975,000,000 lire in 1934-35, 11,136,000,000 lire in 1935-36, and 17,519,000,000 lire in 1936-37.

The war which Italian fascism is waging in Spain is draining the last resources of Italy's stinted Budget. As a result the deficit in the Budget of fascist Italy is growing from year to year. According to data published in the press, Italy has contracted debts on foreign and internal loans amounting to over 200,000,000,000 lire. This is ten times as much as the income provided for in her Budget for 1938. Military expenditures and payments on loans represent 75 per cent of the entire Budget of this aggressive fascist country.

The state debt of Japan had reached 13,000,000,000 yen by April

1938. Japan has been feeling the approach of financial bankruptcy particularly strongly of late, in connection with the predatory war she is waging in China.

The debts of fascist Germany are growing from year to year. In 1937 Germany's state debt amounted to 38,000,000,000 marks. In 1937 Germany's military expenditures amounted to 15,500,000,000 marks.

These data alone are enough to show the parasitic character of the Budget in the fascist countries, their deep financial bankruptcy.

The Budget of the land of victorious Socialism is fundamentally different, both in content and in purpose, from the Budget of any capitalist country. The state Budget of the Soviet Union is based on the might of Socialist economy and is drawn up fully in accord with the interests of the people. In our state each kopeck goes to improve the life of the working people, to strengthen the dictatorship of the working class, to strengthen the Socialist system.

The figures of the Budget for 1938 show that its source of income is Socialist economy, the growth of Socialist accumulation in industry, in transport, in trade, in agriculture.

The figures of the expenditures show that our resources are used for the growth of Socialist economy, for the development of the culture of the peoples of the U.S.S.R., for strengthening the defence capacity of our country. Thus, our Budget fully reflects the genuine interests of the peoples of the U.S.S.R., Stalin's solicitude for the individual. A Budget like this is possible only under the conditions of a Socialist state.

In tsarist Russia the basis of the Budget was the robbing of the toiling people for the enrichment of the landlords and capitalists. While tsarist Russia spent millions and tens of millions of rubles on noblemen parasites and on military adventures, the Socialist state of workers and peasants is expending billions and tens of billions of rubles on education and hospitals, on developing the culture of the peoples of the U.S.S.R.

I want to cite some characteristic figures. According to data for the year 1912, the expenditure for the needs of education in the Ukraine for a whole year amounted to one ruble per capita of the population. In the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic the expenditures of the state Budget and local Budgets for the needs of education amounted to 4.82 rubles per capita in 1927, 18.04 rubles in 1932, and 75.53 rubles in 1937. If we add to this the expenditures provided for in the Union Budget, the per capita expenditure for education in 1937 amounted to 93.35 rubles.

Here you have, comrades, the real Bolshevik, Lenin-Stalin struggle for culture, for education. The Bolshevik Party and the Soviet Government are brilliantly realizing the Lenin-Stalin national policy in all questions, including the question of the Budget. The Party and the Government are allocating large means for the development of the economy and culture of the national republics. A vivid and cogent proof of this is furnished by the flourishing of the economy and culture of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. Under the leadership of the Party of Lenin and Stalin, with the fraternal assistance of the great Russian people,

the Ukrainian people has won, in the struggle against foreign and internal enemies, its liberty, independence and a happy and joyous life. (*Applause.*)

In the course of the years of the Stalin Five-Year Plans, the Ukrainian Republic—which is an inseparable part of the great Union of Soviet Socialist Republics—has become transformed into an impregnable fortress of Socialism on the western frontier of our fatherland. And if the fascist instigators of war—whether the Poland of the *pans*, the Rumania of the *boyars*, Hitler Germany, or all of them together—force a war upon us, the Soviet people will answer with a crushing blow and will smash the enemy in his own territory. In reply to the machinations of the fascist aggressors and their dastardly agents—the Trotskyites, Bukharinites, and bourgeois nationalists—the Ukrainian people unanimously declare: We are for the Bolshevik Party, we are for the Soviet Government, we are for the brotherhood of the peoples, for the great Soviet Union!

The Ukrainian people has demonstrated its moral and political unity at the elections to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. and the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian S.S.R. The Ukrainian people are supremely devoted to the Soviet Government, the Communist Party and the leader of peoples, our great Stalin. (*Prolonged applause.*)

In the course of the years of the Stalin Five-Year Plans the economy of the Ukraine has been growing at a tempestuous rate. The generation of electric power has grown to eighteen and a half times what it was before the war. The Dnieper Lenin Hydroelectric Power Plant alone generates more electric power than was generated in the whole of tsarist Russia. Coal output has more than trebled as compared with pre-war times. In coal output the Ukrainian Republic has outstripped Poland, Japan and France. The amount of ore extracted is two and a half times, of manganese three and a half times, and the amount of pig iron produced three times that produced in pre-war times. Already in 1936 the plants of the Ukraine produced twice as much pig iron as was produced in the whole of tsarist Russia in 1913.

A new large-scale industry has been created. A new machinery construction industry has been created. New mines have been sunk, and factories and works built. The working class is growing. Wages are increasing.

In 1928 total wages in the whole of the national economy of the Ukraine amounted to 1,464,000,000 rubles; in 1937 they had already reached the sum of 13,427,000,000 rubles—a more than nine-fold increase!

The peasants of Soviet Ukraine have united in collective farms. There are 27,344 collective farms in the Ukraine, uniting over 96 per cent of all peasant farms. 88,000 tractors and 27,000 harvester combines are working the fields of the Ukraine. 99 per cent of the area of the collective farm fields are served by machine and tractor stations. The yield of all crops has increased.

Simultaneously with the growth of the political and economic might of the Ukrainian Republic, its Budget has been growing. In 1928-29

the state and local Budgets of the Ukraine aggregated 724,500,000 rubles, whereas in 1937 they had already reached the sum of nearly 5,200,000,000 rubles, that is to say, seven and a half times as much. The Budget of the Ukraine is continuing its further uninterrupted growth: in 1938 it reaches nearly 6,000,000,000 rubles. Billions of rubles are allocated in the Union Budget for investment in all branches of industry in the Ukraine, particularly in heavy industry. As for industry controlled by the republic, 743,000,000 rubles were invested in it during the years of the Second Five-Year Plan alone.

Written into the Stalin Constitution are the rights of the working people to education, to rest, to material security in old age. These great rights which are enjoyed by the working people of our country find their material expression in the enormous growth of the Budget appropriations for social and cultural services. Whereas in 1928-29 the state and local Budgets of the Ukraine allocated 240,300,000 rubles for the financing of social and cultural services, these expenditures had reached the sum of 996,200,000 rubles in 1933 and 3,708,000,000 rubles in 1937—a fifteen-fold increase!

Where, in what other country, can one find such solicitude for the working people? This is possible only in a country in which power is in the hands of the workers and peasants, in which the state is headed by our mighty and glorious Party of Lenin and Stalin, supremely devoted to the working class and all the working people. (*Loud applause.*)

In 1938 it is proposed to allocate in the Budget 4,474,000,000 rubles for the social and cultural needs of the working people of the Ukraine, which represents an increase of 18.6 per cent as compared with the preceding year.

Whereas under tsarism 80 per cent of the population of the Ukraine were illiterate, Soviet Ukraine in 1938 is a country of universal literacy. In the Ukraine the law providing for universal elementary education has been put into effect. All children of school age attend school. 5,600,000 children receive instruction in the elementary, part-grade intermediate and full-grade intermediate schools of the Ukraine. This is as many as the entire population of Lithuania, Latvia and Esthonia taken together.

While in the Ukraine Socialist culture is growing and flourishing, the number of illiterates in Poland amounts to more than 23 per cent of the population—over 5,500,000 people. Practically every fourth inhabitant of Poland is illiterate. In addition there are over a million people in Poland who are semi-literate.

A whole army of teachers is engaged in the schools of the Ukraine—171,000 people. From year to year the quality of instruction given in our schools is improving, and the material base of the schools is growing. During the last three years alone 1,343 new fine, light schools were built. The Ukrainian people are successfully carrying out Comrade Stalin's historic advice about training their own Soviet intelligentsia from the ranks of the workers and peasants. 110,000 students attend the 117 higher educational establishments of the Ukraine, and 159,000 students attend her 576 training colleges and special schools. Every year thousands of young specialists graduate from the higher educational establishments and the training colleges of the Ukraine, swelling the ranks of the active builders of Socialism.

The Soviet state ensures the broadest material base for the development of science and art. In the Budget of the Ukraine for 1938, 65,000,000 rubles are allocated for the financing of art, and 83,000,000 rubles for scientific research institutions and undertakings.

Only in our country, in the Land of Socialism, is a real growth and the flourishing of culture, art and science possible.

In the countries of fascism cultural values accumulated in the course of centuries are being destroyed. The fascist barbarians are keeping the masses of the people in a state of darkness and ignorance. Science is ill-treated in the fascist countries, and its best representatives have been banished to other countries or are languishing in prisons.

In our country, in the land of victorious Socialism, there is an unparalleled flourishing of science and art.

Exceptionally great solicitude is shown for the health of the working people in the U.S.S.R. Our state is expending vast means for protecting the health of the working people. In the Ukraine expenditures on health protection in the course of the last fifteen years have increased to 33 times what they were, amounting to 1,284,000,000 rubles in 1938.

The constant solicitude on the part of the Party and the Government and on the part of Comrade Stalin for the improvement of the material and living conditions of the working people is reflected also in the huge investments for housing and municipal services. Whereas in the First Five-Year Plan period investments in municipal services in the Ukraine amounted to 315,500,000 rubles, during the years of the Second Five-Year Plan they amounted to 799,000,000 rubles.

The data of the Second Five-Year Plan show an active development of housing construction and a considerable improvement in housing as a whole in the Ukraine. The actual volume of financing of housing construction in the Ukraine during the Second Five-Year Plan period amounted to 1,103,000,000 rubles, as against 769,800,000 rubles during the First Five-Year Plan period. During the Second Five-Year Plan period 3,300,000 sq. m. of fine housing space was built and put into operation.

In 1914 expenditures on municipal improvements in nine cities of the Ukraine—Kiev, Kharkov, Dniepropetrovsk, Zaporozhye, Mariupol, Voroshilovgrad, Poltava, Vinnitsa and Chernigov—amounted to 3.68 rubles per capita of the population; in 1927 they amounted to 41.73 rubles, and in 1937 to 149.94 rubles.

Before the Great October Socialist Revolution, only 39 cities in the Ukraine had waterworks. Today 61 cities have waterworks. There were nine cities with tramways; today there are twenty such cities.

The material well-being of the working people of the Ukraine is thus growing from year to year.

Comrades, I should like to raise two questions at this Session, ques-

tions of quite serious significance for the Ukrainian people and for the whole national economy of the U.S.S.R.

First: it is well known that there are few forests and tree plantations in the Ukrainian S.S.R., particularly in its southern part. For the purpose of securing big stable harvests and an extension of forestry in the steppe regions of the republic, it is necessary to carry out measures for tree plantation on a wide scale, as well as for a considerable extension of protective forest zones. This is why I ask that the necessary appropriations for carrying out these measures in our republic be provided for in the Union Budget.

Second: the question of water supply in the Donetz Basin and in the Krivoy Rog district. The Donbas and Krivoy Rog districts play a very important part in the national economy of the whole country. A great number of industrial enterprises of Union importance are concentrated there. Thanks to the constant care of the Party and the Government, the Donetz Basin is growing from day to day. During recent years many new mines, factories, workers' settlements have come into being. This growth brings up in a sharp form the question of the need for carrying out resolute measures to improve the water supply both of the industrial enterprises and of the population. The Donetz Basin and the Krivoy Rog district must be ensured their water supply.

I ask that the appropriation of the necessary means for carrying out measures ensuring a radical improvement in the water supply of the Donetz Basin and the Krivoy Rog district be provided for in the Union Budget.

Comrades, there is no doubt that the Session will confirm the financial program for the year 1938—the first year of the Third Stalin Five-Year Plan. The huge state Budget for 1938, expressing the growth of Socialist construction and providing for the satisfaction of the material and cultural requirements of the working people of our country and for strengthening the defence capacity of the Socialist state, must be carried out.

When we speak of carrying out the financial plan for the year 1938, we must demand a real Bolshevik struggle on the part of the economic organizations, of the managers in industry, trade and the co-operatives, and particularly of the finance organs, for the realization of the gigantic financial program for 1938.

It is universally known that in the course of a number of years the enemies of the people—the Trotskyites, Bukharinites, bourgeois nationalists—the whole pack of them, carried on undermining, hostile work in the sphere of finance. They endeavoured to disorganize this extremely important sector of Socialist construction in order to arouse discontent among the population with the Soviet Government and the Communist Party.

The glorious People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs, with the Stalinian People's Commissar Nikolai Ivanovich Yezhov at their head, have destroyed the enemy nests, including also those that existed in the organs of finance. (*Loud applause.*)

Comrades, the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. has submitted the Budget of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics for approval to the Session of the Supreme Soviet. In the Budget for 1938 the sum of 27,000,000,000 rubles is designated for the defence of our magnificent and flourishing homeland. I think I will express the common opinion of all the deputies when I declare: Let the Japanese *samurai* know, let the German fascists and their hangers-on—the Polish *pans* and the Rumanian *boyars*—know that we not only approve this appropriation of 27,000,000,000 rubles, but, if necessary, will treble it! (*Loud applause.*) We will not only give billions of rubles for strengthening the defence of our homeland; if it becomes necessary we will not spare our lives to defend our country and destroy any enemy. (*Loud applause.*)

Comrades, our Budget expresses the great might of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. We are confidently looking ahead, for our country is guided by our leader and teacher, the great Stalin! (*Loud applause.*)

Forward under the leadership of Comrade Stalin, to new victories for Communism! (*Loud and prolonged applause.*)

The Chairman: I call upon Deputy Kuliyev, Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the Azerbaidjan S.S.R.

T. I. Kuliyev (*Abir-Abad Area, Azerbaidjan S.S.R.*): Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet. I fully and wholly second the motion of Deputy Korotchenko to approve the Budget of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The Budget which has been placed before the Second Session of the Supreme Soviet for consideration reflects the enormous successes which have been achieved in all branches of our national economy under the guidance of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union—the Bolsheviks—the glorious Party of Lenin and Stalin, under the guidance of our beloved leader and teacher, Comrade Stalin. (*Loud applause.*)

Our Soviet Budget ensures the further consolidation of Socialist national economy, the steady rise of the material well-being of the working people, the enormous growth of social and cultural services, and the strengthening of the defence capacity of our country.

The Budget of the Union, as here proposed, has been drawn up with a view to the all-round satisfaction of the daily rising cultural and economic requirements of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. One confirmation of this fact is presented by the Budget of the Azerbaidjan Soviet Socialist Republic.

The appropriations in the Budget of Azerbaidjan for 1938 provide for a large sum to be invested in national economy and for social and cultural development. From year to year, the national economy of Soviet Azerbaidjan is growing and strengthening, and its Socialist culture is extending.

The Budget of Azerbaidjan is a brilliant expression of the Lenin-Stalin national policy of our Party. In this Budget we again see the Stalinian solicitude of the Party and the Government for the Azerbaidjan people.

If we take the year 1933, total appropriations in the Budget of Azer-

baidjan for that year amounted to 228,400,000 rubles, whereas in 1938 they have grown to 915,700,000 rubles, or 401.3 per cent. Expenditures for the development of national economy have increased 344 per cent as compared with 1933, investments in industry of republican importance having increased by 261 per cent, and in agriculture by 389 per cent. This does not include the oil industry, railways and sea traffic.

During the years of Soviet power the oil industry has been considerably extended, compared to what it was before the war; new oilfields, such as the Kaganovich, Molotov and others, have been opened up.

As a result of the measures of the Party and the Government, thanks to the personal attention of the great Stalin and the daily guidance and assistance given by Comrade Lazar Moiseyevich Kaganovich, the entire Azerbaidjan oil industry has been raised to the proper level, corresponding to the tasks not only of supplying Socialist industry and agriculture in times of peace, but also of uninterruptedly supplying the whole powerful military technique of the glorious workers' and peasants' Red Army.

There has been a particularly large growth of appropriations in the Budget of Azerbaidjan for social and cultural services. Whereas in 1933 the expenditures on these services amounted to 107,500,000 rubles, the amount to be spent in 1938 is 636,000,000 rubles—a 591.6 per cent increase. Appropriations for public education have increased to 506 per cent in five years, for health protection to 828 per cent.

It was only thanks to the Great October Socialist Revolution, under the banner of the Soviet power, that the long-suffering Azerbaidjan people obtained liberty, and began to breathe freely. It is only under the banner of the Soviet power, under the leadership of the heroic Communist Party, that the Azerbaidjan people have become the full master of their land and their resources. It is only under the banner of the Great October Socialist Revolution, with the aid of the great heroic Russian people, under the leadership of the glorious Communist Party of the Soviet Union—the Bolsheviks, the Party of Lenin and Stalin, that the Azerbaidjan people have achieved the present unparalleled victories of Socialism, the present free, happy, joyous and cultured life. (*Applause.*) Thanks to the support of the Soviet Government, headed by Comrade Molotov, and the daily attention, fatherly solicitude and help of the great old Bakuan, our leader and father, Comrade Stalin (*loud applause*), Azerbaidjan has become transformed into a luxuriant flourishing garden. Our Socialist homeland represents a great family of peoples welded together by the unshakable Stalin friendship.

The Azerbaidjan people love their country, Soviet Azerbaidjan, which has been awarded an Order; the Azerbaidjan people boundlessly love their great Socialist country—the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, their own Communist Party, the Party of Lenin and Stalin, their great teacher and own father, Comrade Stalin. (*Loud applause.*)

As a result of the Lenin-Stalin national policy of the Bolshevik Party, our republic has achieved very great successes.

There are 3,333 elementary and part-grade and full-grade intermediate schools in Azerbaidjan at present, which are attended by 339,557 Azerbaidjan boys and girls.

Whereas before Azerbaidjan became Soviet there was not a single higher educational establishment in the country, we have now ten higher educational establishments with 9,728 students, including 5,671 Azerbaidjanians of both sexes. There is a wide network of special schools and training colleges, in which 36,000 students are receiving instruction. 600,000 people in all attend the schools and higher educational establishments of Azerbaidjan.

In 1938, 109 new school buildings are being erected in Baku and in the various districts of Azerbaidjan.

The enemies of the people, who were active in the organs of the People's Commissariat of Education, tried to frustrate the measures of the Party and the Government in the sphere of education. But this gang was caught by our valiant intelligence service and punished as it deserved.

During the years of Soviet power new industrial cities—Kirovabad, Nukha, Stepanakert—have come into being.

In the countryside, the collective farm system has scored the final victory. Our collective farmers lead a prosperous, joyous and cultured life. The percentage of collectivization of agriculture rose from 45.4 on January 1, 1933, to 87.3 on January 1, 1938. We have at present about 150 millionaire collective farms. The main branches of agriculture have been mechanized. On January 1, 1938, we had 62 machine and tractor stations. 5,562 tractors are working the fields of our collective farms.

The number of large cattle rose by 39.3 per cent between 1934 and 1938, that of small cattle rose by 88.7 per cent. The number of dairy farms rose from 806 to 4,069 during the same period.

These facts show that during the years of the Second Five-Year Plan the collective farm peasantry of Azerbaidjan, as well as of the whole Soviet Union, surrounded by the attention and solicitude of the Soviet Government, the Communist Party, and Comrade Stalin personally, received enormous material and financial assistance and help from the Soviet State. In the course of five years agriculture in Azerbaidjan absorbed capital investments amounting to 497,912,000 rubles.

Azerbaidjan has a wide network of hospitals, dispensaries, scientific research institutes, maternity hospitals, nurseries, women's and children's consultation dispensaries. During the year 1937 alone twenty new nurseries with 1,224 beds were built. By the end of 1937 the number of maternity hospitals had already reached 130, of which 52 are in collective farms. 8,961 students receive instruction in medical schools.

In Azerbaidjan we have a wide network of scientific research institutes, theatres, cinemas.

Azerbaidjan art has achieved enormous successes, as was shown during the ten-day visit of Azerbaidjan artists to Moscow. These successes were honoured with a high award by the Party and the Union Government.

Before the revolution not a single newspaper was published in the districts of Azerbaidjan. Today, newspapers are published not only in the various districts, but also in many large enterprises. There are 123 newspapers with an aggregate circulation of 650,000 copies, and 19 magazines with an aggregate circulation of 80,000 copies.

The enumerated achievements are characteristic for our autonomous sections as well—for the Nakhichevan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic and the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region. Whereas in 1933 the Budget of the Nakhichevan A.S.S.R. constituted 7,800,000 rubles, it amounts to 27,400,000 rubles in 1938; whereas the Budget of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region totalled 8,000,000 rubles in 1933, in 1938 it already amounts to 30,000,000 rubles.

Our Budget reflects the gigantic victories of Socialism which the workers and peasants have achieved under the leadership of the Party of Lenin and Stalin. These achievements—the greatest in history—are written into that remarkable document of our epoch—the Stalin Constitution.

The enemies of the people—the Trotskyite, Bukharinite and bourgeois-nationalist agents of fascism—caused us a great deal of damage in all sections of Socialist construction, including the system of finance and the matter of strict observance of financial discipline. As a result there is in Azerbaidjan a considerable non-fulfilment of plans in some branches of national economy, in cultural development and in the sphere of improving living conditions, and there are cases of insufficient utilization of state funds allocated to us.

Com. Zverev has correctly pointed out in his report the fact of handing in exaggerated statements with regard to the quota of students in 1937, and of the violation of the limits of managerial expenses. This was done by enemies of the people, who have now been exposed and punished as they deserved.

The Chairman of the Budget Commission, Comrade Sidorov, speaking here today, pointed out that Azerbaidjan had failed to make full use of the funds allocated for construction. That is correct. We are working badly, Comrade Sidorov. But at the same time Comrade Sidorov should have looked more deeply into the matter and seen whether the cause is only that we are working badly and do not utilize these funds, or whether there is another cause which should have been dwelt upon here. It seems to me that no little part in the matter is played by the question of the rationed materials which should have been released to us according to the plan. For insufficient or untimely delivery of the same naturally must reflect itself in the utilization of the funds as well. Comrade Sidorov should have taken this aspect of the matter into consideration.

Comrades, the Second Session of the Supreme Soviet has begun its work in a grave moment, when the Japanese military clique is trying to plunge the Soviet Union into a war with Japan and has attacked Soviet territory.

Our own heroic Red Army has given a proper rebuff to the Japanese *samurai* and has driven them back from the Soviet land. The vast masses

of the Soviet people have grimly declared that they will stand up in defence of the sacred borders of their country.

On December 12, 1937, the Soviet people showed that under the banner of the Stalin Constitution, under the leadership of the Party of Lenin and Stalin, in the Communist and non-Party bloc, a popular force has grown up and become consolidated, which fears no trials whatever. (*Loud and prolonged applause.*) The Soviet people are confident of their strength. We want no war. "We stand for peace and champion the cause of peace. But we are not afraid of threats and are prepared to answer the instigators of war blow for blow," Comrade Stalin said. (*Loud and prolonged applause.*)

The fascists will never be able to claw the sacred land of our Socialist homeland with their dirty paws!

If we are forced to answer with a blow, the Azerbaidjan people, together with the whole vast multi-national Soviet people, under the leadership of our Party, headed by the First Marshal of the Soviet Union, Klim Voroshilov (*loud applause*), at the first call of the leader and teacher of the working people of the whole world, our beloved, our own father, our great Stalin (*loud and prolonged applause*), shoulder to shoulder, step in step with our own valiant Workers' and Peasants' Red Army, will crush the enemy like a mighty avalanche, and by a blow of lightning speed destroy him in his own territory. (*Loud and prolonged applause.*)

The Chairman: Deputy Pichugina.

P. N. Pichugina (*Proletarsky Area, Moscow*): Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet. I also second the motion to approve the Budget presented to the Session of the Supreme Soviet for its consideration.

In discussing the Budget of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, presented by the Government, we must note that the state Budget of the U.S.S.R. mirrors those great social and economic changes which have lately occurred in the Land of Soviets. The striking figures illustrating the tremendous growth of the Budget speak for themselves.

I shall remind you of the words of Comrade Molotov, who said that "were it not for this rapid growth of the state, republican and local Budgets, and were it not for this rapid increase in the credit transactions of the State Bank of which we have just spoken, our economic and cultural development could not have advanced so fast and our national defence have become so rapidly strengthened as they have in the past few years."

The growth of the Soviet Budget reflects the gigantic victories of Socialism, which we, the workers of the Land of Socialism, have achieved under the guidance of the Party of Lenin and Stalin and the great leader of the working people, Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin. (*Loud applause.*)

Nor must we forget that our successes in the sphere of Soviet finances, as our successes in Socialist construction in general, are founded primarily on the correct policy of the Bolshevik Party, which is directing all our Socialist construction.

In all the successes of Socialism, in all our victories, we see the

all-conquering power of Leninism. We have won by being faithful to Leninism—and this is what Comrade Stalin has taught and is teaching us. (*Loud applause.*)

The Soviet Budget is placed wholly at the service of Socialist construction. It is used by the Soviet government to steadily improve the material welfare of the working people, to consolidate and develop the industrialization of our country still more, to increase the independence and defensive capacity of our fatherland, to develop and strengthen the state farms and collective farms still more. We know that every ruble of our Budget serves the cause of Socialism, serves the cause of the people. That is why we, the members of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., must exercise particular care and attention in examining every item of the Budget, revenues as well as expenditures.

In connection with this I should like to dwell on a few questions concerning the work of our industry. It must be said that the Union industry alone, under the management of the five principal industrial People's Commissariats, will contribute 45,000,000,000 rubles to the Budget of the U.S.S.R., while it will receive from it 14,000,000,000 rubles, or 30.8 per cent of its contribution to the Budget.

This offers striking proof of the fact that our Socialist industry is operating on a particularly paying basis and correctly reflects the nature and structure of our Socialist Budget.

The budgetary revenues accruing from the Union industry of only the five industrial Commissariats make up about 40 per cent of the total revenues.

Our national economy has been and is being financed with the internal resources of the Land of Soviets, without usurious credits and loans from abroad, by the income and accumulation of the national economy of the U.S.S.R. Therefore, it is naturally the duty of every business executive, every engineer and technician, every worker, to be thrifty in spending every Soviet kopeck, to utilize all reserves, constantly to raise labour productivity and reduce the cost of production. All this forms one of the most important sources for the accumulation of funds in the hands of the state.

The struggle for improved quality of the work of our industry constitutes the main task of the Stakhanovites, shock brigade workers and all workers and other employees.

However, it must be said that some of our institutions and organizations still lack the proper sense of duty towards the state in money matters.

I had occasion to take part in the work of the Budget Commission in preparing material for the Second Session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., and I should like to say a few words here about the People's Commissariat of the Machine-Building Industry. The enterprises of this Commissariat are operating on a highly paying basis—their profits amounting to 16.9 per cent of the cost of the realized product as against 13.1 per cent in 1937. But at the same time the enterprises of the People's Commissariat of the Machine-Building Industry are still

far from having exhausted all the possibilities of further increasing accumulations. Some of the Chief Departments of the People's Commissariat of the Machine-Building Industry continue to live on state subsidies. This applies to the Chief Heavy Machinery Construction Department, the Chief Transport Machinery Construction Department and the Chief Rubber Industry Department. But even those chief departments which are considered to be operating at a profit have big possibilities of contributing considerably greater funds to the revenues of the state. Take as an example the Chief Ball-Bearing Industry Department. One of the plants under its management is the First State Ball-Bearing plant, which is located in our Taganka district. The profits plan of this plant for the first half of 1938 was 18,000,000 rubles. The actual profits for the first half of the year amounted to 25,000,000 rubles. This would seem to indicate that everything is in fine order, but in reality what we have there is not order, but bungling. Eighteen million rubles' worth of the plant's output in the first half of 1938 proved to be scrap, and the amount of wages paid out was 2,000,000 rubles more than the amount planned.

The question arises, what profits could this plant have given the state had it not been for these glaring shortcomings, or, to put it plainly, this disgraceful bungling, in its work? This single example shows how much the *collective* of a single plant could do to increase the receipts of the state Budget, which could be used to develop our industry, and to strengthen the defensive capacity of our fatherland.

I think that those in charge of the People's Commissariat of the Machine-Building Industry ought to think hard about this. We, the members of the Supreme Soviet, must demand of our People's Commissariats that they keep business-like account of every Soviet kopeck. It is beyond doubt that if those in charge of the People's Commissariat of the Machine-Building Industry worked as they should, there would be no need of granting subsidies to any of the chief departments under this Commissariat.

I should like to dwell in brief on the Budget of the Taganka district, and, in connection with this, on the Budget of the city of Moscow.

Comrade Stalin has said that "the distinctive feature of our revolution is that it brought the people not only freedom, but also material benefits and the possibility of a prosperous and cultured life." Together with all the people of the Soviet Union, the working people of the city of Moscow also feel through their own experience the truth of these words of Stalin's. Twenty years of Soviet power have transformed Moscow and turned it into a centre of Socialist culture and science. Take, for example, the Taganka district. During these years there have sprung up on its territory such large enterprises as the Ball-Bearing Plant, the Mikoyan Meat-Packing Plant, the Central Scientific Research Institute of Machine-Building and a number of other enterprises. During these years scores of new schools have been built in our district. Formerly, in old times, there was not a single intermediate school on the territory of this district.

With every year Moscow is changing its aspect, is becoming a model city. Let us look at the figures of the Moscow Budget. In 1931 Moscow became an independent administrative centre and its Budget constituted 270,000,000 rubles, while now, in 1938, the Moscow Budget has increased sevenfold, totalling 1,949,000,000 rubles. The Budget of our district alone amounts to 33,500,000 rubles. In 1931 expenditures on education in Moscow amounted to 39,900,000 rubles, whereas in 1938 they will reach 390,908,000 rubles, which is an increase of 979 per cent. On its theatres alone the Moscow Soviet expends 15,200,000 rubles a year.

In 1931, expenditures on public health in Moscow totalled 31,600,000 rubles, while in 1938 such expenditures will reach 423,261,000 rubles—a thirteen-fold increase.

This year the Taganka district will expend 12,300,000 rubles on public health, whereas last year this district expended only 9,000,000 rubles.

The general plan for the reconstruction of Moscow, adopted in 1935 by the Central Committee of the Party and the Government, is an expression of the Stalin solicitude for the individual. Under the guidance of the Moscow Bolsheviks and under the immediate guidance of the Central Committee of the Party, and Comrade Stalin personally, the working people of Moscow are busily engaged in carrying out this remarkable plan.

Moscow is becoming transformed under our very eyes and you, members of the Supreme Soviet, who were here at the First Session and are now attending the Second Session, can see with your own eyes how rapidly the appearance of Moscow is changing. You see the Stalin general plan for the reconstruction of the city of Moscow in full action.

In a short period of time Moscow has become a city of wide asphalted streets. The water supply system of the city has radically improved. In 1913, in Moscow there were only 61 litres of water per capita, while in 1938 there are 225 litres per capita. The inhabitants of Moscow are already using more water than those of Berlin, London and Vienna. (*Applause.*)

From this simple statement of facts we, comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet, see that the money allocated by our Budget goes to improve the life of the working people.

I have not said anything here about the great amount of housing construction and repairs of houses going on. This year, in our district alone, 3,905,000 rubles are being assigned for the repair of houses, while last year only 377,000 rubles were allotted for this purpose.

Great successes have been achieved in the matter of school construction. In 1931 there were only 274 schools in Moscow. Now there are 609 schools open and 57 are under construction. In the Taganka district alone 46 schools have already been built. More than half of these were erected during the last three years.

While carrying out the general plan for the reconstruction of Moscow, we, the working people of the capital, know that our work is being

attentively followed by the head of the Soviet Government—Comrade Molotov, and by Comrade Stalin. (*Loud applause.*) They help us daily to carry out this gigantic work, which has no parallel in history.

The growth and the improvements of our Red capital reflect the development of our mighty fatherland, and arouse a sense of pride and joy in all the working people of the Soviet Union. The victories of Socialism, among which the achievements in the reconstruction of Moscow occupy an honourable place, have a most immediate effect on the growth of the prosperity of the toilers. Such figures as those of the birth rate are eloquent testimony to this. In 1913 there were 54,400 births in Moscow and in 1937—135,800. Child mortality has been reduced to half what it was in 1913.

In conformity with the law on the payment of state benefits to mothers of large families, the Moscow Soviet paid out 1,280,000 rubles in such benefits in 1936 and 3,479,000 rubles in 1937.

In accordance with the provisions of the Budget of the Moscow Soviet, a great number of maternity hospitals, consultation dispensaries, new kindergartens and nurseries have been built in Moscow. Only recently a new maternity home accommodating 420 patients was completed in our district and we are beginning to build a new hospital.

Another striking index is the increase of deposits in savings banks. The average individual deposit in the savings banks of our Taganka district on January 1, 1931, equalled 86 rubles, while on April 1, 1938, it equalled 782 rubles.

These figures show how, together with the growth of the Budget, together with the growth in the might of our fatherland, the material welfare of each citizen of the Land of Socialism is improving. We all know that we have achieved these victories under the guidance of the Communist Party and our leader, Comrade Stalin. Under your brilliant leadership, Comrade Stalin, we will march ahead, towards Communism! (*Loud applause.*)

The Chairman: Deputy Shagimardanov.

F. V. Shagimardanov (*Duvan Area, Bashkir A.S.S.R.*): Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet. The unified state Budget, totalling 125,184,218,000 rubles, submitted by the Council of People's Commissars to the Second Session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. for consideration and ratification, deserves exceptional attention and the absolute approval of and ratification by the Session.

This Budget reflects the great might of our Socialist state. The Budget estimate of 125,000,000,000 rubles vividly shows how immeasurably our country has grown, how strong and mighty our Soviet Union is. No matter what branch of national economy we take, we see everywhere tempestuous growth, rapid progress.

The gigantic development of the U.S.S.R. has been, and is, carried on on the basis of the internal resources of the country. Hundreds of giants of industry have been built in the course of the Stalin Five-Year Plans. Quite a number of new branches and types of industry have been created. The country has been covered with a thick network of electric

power stations. From a country of wood, it has become transformed into a country of metal. The U.S.S.R. has taken first place in Europe and second in the world in respect of industrial output. The technical and economic independence of our Socialist state has been achieved and made permanent.

Not a single country of the capitalist world has, or can have, a state Budget like ours, one that conforms and corresponds to the interests of the broad masses of the working people.

Any Budget in any capitalist country is primarily a weapon for the exploitation of the millions of toilers. Our Soviet Budget is the Budget of the joyous and happy life of the masses of the people.

From year to year the industry of the Soviet land, now grown to immense proportions, is yielding additional hundreds of millions of rubles of revenue for our Budget. This year the receipts from the People's Commissariat of Heavy Industry alone, in payment of the turnover tax and the profits tax, will amount to about 10,000,000,000 rubles. The Budget provides for receipts from the People's Commissariat of the Food Industry to amount to about 26,000,000,000 rubles. Our Budget indicates the further flourishing of Socialist industry.

The Budget provides for appropriations amounting to about 20,000,000,000 rubles for the development of industry.

Victories of world historical importance have been scored by our country in the sphere of the Socialist reconstruction of agriculture as well. Instead of the small, scattered individual peasant farms, we now have the collective farms and state farms, equipped with up-to-date technique. The U.S.S.R. has become the country of the most advanced, Socialist agriculture, run on the largest scale in the world. The Budget provides for about 11,000,000,000 rubles to be expended on the further development of agriculture.

The Budget which has been submitted to the Session provides for an expenditure of over 12,000,000,000 rubles on the development of social and cultural services. These investments, both in the sphere of industry and agriculture and in the sphere of social and cultural services, will undoubtedly bring about a further flourishing of all branches of the national economy of the great Soviet state. And this, in its turn, will bear witness to the fulfilment of the historic instructions of our beloved leader, Comrade Stalin, to steadily raise the material and cultural level of the masses of the working people.

I think that I shall express the opinion of all the deputies when I declare that our Budget has been drawn up fully in accord with the instructions of our Party in the sphere of industry and agriculture, as well as in the sphere of social and cultural services and the raising of the well-being of the broad masses of the working people of our country. The Session will therefore absolutely approve of this Budget and ratify it. (*Applause.*)

Now, comrades, I want to stress another exceptional peculiarity of our Budget—I am referring to the fact that the Budget provides

for the further growth of the economy and culture of the Union and autonomous republics.

Who could have thought before the Great October Socialist Revolution that the Ukraine would have a Budget amounting to 6,000,000,000 rubles, and that this vast sum would be designated in the first place for the further improvement of the material and cultural conditions of the working people of Soviet Ukraine?

Or take the Budget of the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic. Before the Great Socialist Revolution the toilers of Uzbekistan were ruthlessly oppressed and exploited. At that time there could have been no talk of a Budget of their own! Yet today the Uzbek S.S.R. has a Budget amounting to 1,314,693,000 rubles.

Take Bashkiria, an Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic. In the past, before the revolution, Bashkiria was a country doomed to extinction. From year to year the birth rate diminished and mortality increased. Only the year 1913 was considered a successful year in capitalist Russia. It was even called a year of prosperity. And in this "year of prosperity," 99,785 human lives perished in Bashkiria from various diseases.

In the past Bashkiria was a destitute, impoverished, starving country. Before the revolution the Bashkirs were called cattle breeders. But, then, among these "cattle breeders," according to the data of a census taken in 1898-99, there were 19 per cent who had no cattle at all, 29.9 per cent who had no horses, 42.2 per cent who had no cows. In 1916 the number of those who owned no horses reached 52 per cent of the population.

Such was the hard and joyless condition of our people twenty years ago. From the viewpoint of history this is a small span of time, but during these twenty years our Bashkiria has become unrecognizable.

From a colony of the tsarist autocracy, Bashkiria has been transformed, under the leadership of the great Party of Lenin and Stalin and of our father, leader and teacher, Comrade Stalin, into a flourishing, happy Soviet republic which has been awarded an Order. (*Applause.*)

Her Budget has been growing from year to year; the capital investments in the national economy of the country have been growing. In the year 1932 alone capital investments in Bashkiria amounted to as much as was invested by tsarist Russia in the course of fifty years prior to the revolution.

During the period of the Second Five-Year Plan over 1,000,000,000 rubles was invested in the national economy of Bashkiria, and in the year 1938 alone over 350,000,000 rubles is being invested in Bashkiria's economy.

Before the revolution, a Budget for Bashkiria was out of the question. In 1923-24 her Budget totalled 6,875,000 rubles, while in 1938 her Budget already reaches the sum of 337,500,000 rubles, or almost a fifty-fold increase as compared with the Budget of 1923-24.

These budgetary funds are designated primarily for raising the material and cultural level of the working people of Soviet Bashkiria.

Before the revolution Bashkiria was a region of absolute illiteracy. According to the data for the Ufa Province, only 20 per cent of all children of school age attended school in 1913. These were for the most part the children of the *bais* and the clergy.

In the current year the peoples of Soviet Bashkiria have come close to doing away with illiteracy, and today Bashkiria is about to become a republic of universal literacy.

Over 600,000 children attend the schools of Bashkiria—this is our splendid new generation. More than 20,000 teachers are employed in these schools. Whereas in the former Ufa Province 2,767,000 rubles were allocated for education in the year 1914, the Budget for 1938 provides for the financing of public education to the amount of 180,000,000 rubles.

Or take public health. Before the war great numbers of people on the territory of Bashkiria died of various social diseases, epidemics, starvation.

On the whole territory of present-day Bashkiria there were 68 dispensaries in 1913. In 1937 there were 192 dispensaries. There were 49 hospitals, now there are 117. There were 58 first aid stations, now there are 183. There were seven sanitary physicians, now there are 76. There were 100 doctors, now there are 620. The intermediate medical staff comprised 341 people, now it comprises 2,572 people.

Expenditure on health protection in 1938 will amount to 57,600,000 rubles.

These comparisons in the spheres of culture and public health clearly show the great growth and flourishing of the former tsarist colony, today happy Soviet Bashkiria.

Before the revolution there were practically no industrial enterprises in Bashkiria. Now there are scores of newly built factories, as, for instance, the Ufa Motor Works, the Cracking Works, the Ishimbayevo oil fields, the reconstructed Beloretsk and Baimak plants. In 1938 the sum of 45,000,000 rubles has been appropriated for the construction of the second section of the Motor Works, 90,000,000 rubles for the Cracking Works, 55,000,000 rubles for the Ishimbayevo and Tuimazin oil fields.

At the Seventeenth Congress of the Party Comrade Stalin demanded of us that we should organize an oil base in the districts on the western and southern slopes of the Ural range. We can proudly state that Stalin's assignment has been carried into effect! We have oil fields in the east! (*Applause.*)

The enemies of the people—the Right and Trotskyite bandits and bourgeois nationalists—tried in every way to sever Bashkiria from the Soviet Union, to enslave her to Japanese and German fascism.

The Central Committee of the Party, Comrade Stalin personally, Comrade Zhdanov and the glorious Soviet Chekists under the guidance of Nikolai Ivanovich Yezhov dealt the fascist reptiles a death blow, smashed the dastardly hornets' nests of the enemies, and helped the Bashkir people to clear their own land of this filth. The people are

boundlessly grateful to the Party, the Government, Comrade Stalin, and the Soviet intelligence service, directed by Comrade Yezhov.

The Bashkir people are united as never before around their beloved Bolshevik Party, around their beloved leader, Comrade Stalin. (*Loud applause.*)

The enemies of the people wanted to turn Bashkiria into a colony of fascist Japan. The whole people of Soviet Bashkiria declare: Never, never shall this dream of the *samurai* come true! (*Applause.*)

Permit me now, comrades, to dwell upon some sore questions of the Budget. In the first place, the practical workers in the localities are more interested in the expenditure side of the Budget, they are paying less attention to the revenue side, forgetting that non-fulfilment of the assignments with regard to receipts deprives us of the possibility of fully carrying out the measures provided for in the Budget. Great attention should be paid to this defect in our work. We must immediately put an end to this kind of attitude to a most important state matter.

Secondly, as a rule the estimates of revenues in the Budget are drawn up, not in the beginning of the year, but in the middle. In addition, revenues are regulated by the so-called percentage deductions from the tax on the turnover. In practice this leads to a situation under which there is no sufficient stimulus in the localities for bringing to light new sources of revenue.

It is necessary to bring about a situation in which fixed revenues are drawn up for the village, district and republican Budgets in the beginning of the year, on the understanding that by bringing to light additional sources of revenue the particular district Soviet may increase the corresponding expenditures.

Thirdly, it should be taken into consideration that the funds raised by local voluntary taxation come in mainly after the harvest, *i. e.*, during the autumn months. This jeopardizes the carrying out of the measures planned for the first, second and third quarters. The Budget Commission and the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. should consider this question.

The building of village schools is proceeding unsatisfactorily in the localities. One of the causes is that the finance workers do not sufficiently reckon with this question. These constructions are financed from local voluntary taxation, but the funds raised by such taxation are received only in the autumn. There is insufficient clarity on these questions in the People's Commissariat of Finance of the R.S.F.S.R.

In addition I should like to touch upon another question which I have come across in the course of my practical work in the People's Commissariat of Finance of the Union, and also in the People's Commissariat of Finance of the R.S.F.S.R. One cannot help noticing that their apparatus is largely out of touch with practical life.

The first shortcoming, both in the Union People's Commissariat of Finance and in the R.S.F.S.R. People's Commissariat of Finance, is the absence of sufficiently concrete and daily guidance of the work in the sphere of finance in the regions. We see no strong hand controlling and

setting right the carrying out of the provisions of the Budget in the process of the work.

I shall cite as proof some examples from practical life. In planning the accumulation of funds from the operation of the Ufa Central Electric Power Station, the People's Commissariat of Finance of the R.S.F.S.R. took the average percentage of growth in the production program as its starting point and fixed the accumulation of funds by this station at 4,381,000 rubles. In the meantime the station itself and the People's Commissariat of Municipal Economy of the R.S.F.S.R., basing their estimates on exact calculations of the amount of power consumed, could not arrive at a sum higher than 2,200,000 rubles. The financing is made to depend on the first estimates, and as a result the Central Electric Power Station is now in an exceptionally difficult financial position. But the workers in the People's Commissariat of Finance confine themselves to promising to go further into this question. This should be done more quickly, for the matter has been dragging on since March.

I shall cite another example. There exists in Ufa a trust of Public Catering, whose work is not bad. But in connection with the extension of industrial enterprises and the transfer to them of a number of restaurants, whose turnover increased by 2,500,000 rubles (which was not foreseen at the beginning of the year), and as a result of the fact that some of the restaurants transferred to the trust were in debt, the trust is experiencing an obvious lack of working capital. But in the People's Commissariat of Finance they say: We sympathize with you, but we can do nothing to help you.

Similarly, the question of financing independent purchases of timber supplies, which is of enormous importance for construction, has not been settled; neither has the question of such an extremely important matter for our country as the utilization of the vast natural resources available in Bashkiria been settled. We have 52 types of mineral deposits: gold, molybdenum, tungsten, and other rare metals. The question of their utilization must be tackled without delay.

I could cite a number of other examples, but those mentioned are quite sufficient.

Comrades, our Soviet Budget is a strong weapon in the hands of the state of the working people for successful Socialist construction. Therefore it is the duty of all of us to devote our utmost attention to the consideration of the Budget, as well as (and particularly so) to its being carried out in life.

The working people of Bashkiria will never surrender the conquests of the Great October. And the working people of Bashkiria fully approve of the appropriation of 27,000,000,000 rubles for strengthening the defensive capacity of our country! We, the deputies of the people, are in duty bound to ratify this expenditure, for it is directed towards making our country even more powerful and more impregnable.

I conclude with the expression of confidence that the provisions of the unified state Budget which we are adopting will be fully realized.

The pledge of it is in the boundless devotion of all the working people of our country to the cause of Lenin and Stalin. The pledge of it is in the unparalleled rise and in the moral and political unity of the broad masses of the working people. The pledge of it is in the firm and far-sighted leadership of our glorious Communist Party. The pledge of it, comrades, is in the fact that our wise, beloved father, friend and teacher, our own Stalin, is leading us from victory to victory, teaching us hourly and showing his constant solicitude for us. (*Applause.*)

The Chairman: Comrade Popov.

V. F. Popov (*People's Commissar of Finance of the R.S.F.S.R.*): Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet. The unified state Budget of the Land of Soviets submitted to the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities reflects the gigantic victories of Socialist construction which the working people of our great Socialist country have achieved under the leadership of the Party of Lenin and Stalin. The interests of our Socialist construction, the growth of the public wealth of the country, the steady rise of the material and cultural level of the working people, the consolidation of the independence of the Soviet Union and the strengthening of its defensive capacity—all find striking expression in this Budget.

Throughout the development of Socialist economy, vast importance has been attached to finance. Soviet finance has been one of the powerful levers of the dictatorship of the working class for consolidating the Socialist state.

During the period of the First Five-Year Plan the sum of over 80,000,000,000 rubles was collected in revenues for the work of Socialist construction, and during the period of the Second Five-Year Plan the sum of 350,000,000,000 rubles. For 1938—the first year of the Third Five-Year Plan period—the Budget totals over 125,000,000,000 rubles. These figures speak for themselves. Such tempestuous growth is possible only in the Land of Socialism, where all the means of production belong to the people, who are conducting their economy under the guidance of the Party of Lenin and Stalin, under the wise pilotage of our beloved leader, Comrade Stalin. (*Loud applause.*)

Our Budget is made up of a vast number of separate Budgets: the Union Budget, the Budgets of the Union and autonomous republics, the Budgets of the territories, regions, areas, cities, districts and villages. According to the Constitution, every Soviet of Toilers' Deputies has its Budget. All these Budgets are links of the unified state Budget, which has now been presented for consideration to the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities.

The Stalin Constitution states that the unified state Budget must be ratified by the Supreme Soviet. In essence, the Supreme Soviet considers all revenues and expenditures without any exception.

An entirely different picture is presented in the bourgeois countries, where the rights of Parliament in the matter of ratifying the Budget are systematically encroached upon, and where the executive power is usurping all the rights with regard to the Budget. In the fascist coun-

tries the practice of parliamentary discussion of the Budget has been entirely done away with.

In pre-revolutionary Russia the schedule of revenues and expenditures, after its ratification by the State Duma and the Privy Council, had to be ratified by the tsar. In substance this situation meant that the Duma had no rights as far as the Budget was concerned.

Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, in his article "On the Debates about Extending the Rights of the Duma with Regard to the Budget" gave a vivid description of how the Duma in tsarist Russia was deprived of rights.

Vladimir Ilyich said: "The Russian State Duma has no rights with regard to the Budget, for a refusal to accept the Budget does not, 'according to law,' stop the putting of the Budget into effect. This law, which was passed by the counter-revolutionary government after the defeat of the December insurrection (February 20, 1906—the notorious 'fundamental laws'), is a mockery of popular representation on the part of the Black Hundreds, the tsar and the landlords."

An entirely different picture, as I have already said, is presented by the way the Soviet state Budget is considered and approved.

The strength and might of the unified state Budget for 1938, as submitted to the Supreme Soviet, is guaranteed by the accumulations of Socialist economy. The proportion of revenues from socialized economy comprises 92.4 per cent of the total revenues in the state Budget of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

In the capitalist countries the working class is being burdened with exceptionally heavy taxation. In our country taxes and levies on the population amount to only 2.7 per cent of all the revenues.

Three-fifths of the funds obtained through the state Budget is used to finance national economy and defence; 31,000,000,000 rubles, or one quarter of all the budgetary expenditures, are to be expended on social and cultural services.

In this we see the expression of the constant concern of the Government, of the Party, and of Comrade Stalin personally, for the school, the teacher, the Soviet family, for mother and children.

The Soviet Budget played a great part in giving effect to the national policy of Lenin and Stalin, in overcoming the profound economic and cultural inequality of the nationalities, and the backwardness of the national border regions which had been inherited from tsarist Russia. While the general growth of the state and local Budgets submitted to this Session amounts to 14.3 per cent, the growth of the Budget of the Azerbaidjan S.S.R. amounts to 20.2 per cent, that of the Tadjik S.S.R. to 22 per cent, and that of the Kirghiz S.S.R. to over 30 per cent.

In close amity with the peoples of the whole multi-national Soviet Union, under the guidance of the brilliant leader of the peoples, Comrade Stalin, the working people of the R.S.F.S.R.—first among the equal Union republics—are confidently marching from victory to victory.

The interests of the Russian Federation find their proper reflection

in the unified state Budget of the Union. Whereas the Budget of the whole of tsarist Russia in 1913 amounted to 2,500,000,000 rubles, the Budget of the Russian Federation alone in 1938 amounts to 21,400,000,000 rubles.

The Budget of the R.S.F.S.R., as well as the Budgets of the other Union republics for 1938 drawn up by the Union Government, indicates the tempestuous growth of Socialist economy and culture.

In the Budget of our Republic 70 per cent of all the expenditures are designated for social and cultural services to the working people. This tells us of the remarkable blossoming of culture in every corner of the country.

Nine-tenths of the population of the R.S.F.S.R. are literate. The Budget provides for instruction to be given in elementary and intermediate schools to about 20,000,000 children, *i. e.*, 2.5 times the number of school children in tsarist Russia.

The protection of the health of the working people is ensured by the maintenance of about 250,000 beds in the general and maternity hospitals in the cities, and 110,000 beds in the rural districts.

In no other country in the world is there such solicitude for mother and child as in our country. Since the promulgation of the decree of the Government prohibiting abortions and providing for assistance to women in childbirth, about one billion rubles has been paid out in benefits to mothers of large families.

The 1938 Budget provides for the maintenance of 350,000 beds in nurseries in the cities and 89,000 beds in the rural districts.

According to the Budget for 1938, the working people of our Republic will receive 1,397,000,000 rubles for material security in old age, as well as in cases of illness or loss of capacity to work.

The Party and the Government are doing everything to ensure the flourishing of Socialist economy in the autonomous republics of the Soviet Union. The autonomous republics of the R.S.F.S.R. are successfully developing their economy and culture, national in form and Socialist in content.

The volume of the Budgets of the autonomous republics of the R.S.F.S.R. has grown so that in 1938 it is three times as large as in the first year of the Stalin Second Five-Year Plan. In some of the autonomous republics the increase is even greater. Thus, for instance, the Budget of Yakutia has increased 3.5-fold, that of Bashkiria four-fold, that of Kabardino-Balkaria more than five-fold. We have a similar situation in the other republics.

All these facts and figures bear palpable testimony to the flourishing of the economy and culture of the Soviet republics, to the triumph of the Lenin-Stalin national policy.

Local Budgets in the Union increased more than three-fold during the period of the Second Five-Year Plan and have reached a total of 26,300,000,000 rubles in 1938.

The 1938 estimates of the local Budgets in the R.S.F.S.R. total about 18,000,000,000 rubles. This growth of the local Budgets is a result of

the general growth of our national economy and of the Unified State Budget, as well as of the initiative and activity of the local Soviets. There is nothing of the kind, nor can there be anything like it, in the capitalist countries. The so-called organs of local government in the capitalist countries are not organs serving to protect the population and satisfy its needs, but organs for the oppression and exploitation of the toilers. The rights, the competence and the material base of the organs of local government in bourgeois countries are being sharply curtailed.

From the figures of the *Zemstvo* and municipal Budgets in pre-revolutionary Russia we can judge how narrow the material base of the organs of local government was at that time. In 1913, the revenues of the *Zemstvos* in 40 provinces comprised 286,000,000 rubles, or 3 rubles per capita of the population. The expenditures of the *Zemstvos* on all cultural needs equalled 163,000,000 rubles. This is considerably less than the sum spent by the tsarist government on the maintenance of the gendarmerie, the police and prisons.

The situation was even worse with regard to the financial base of the municipal Budgets, which deprived the cities of every possibility of developing their municipal services and introducing elementary improvements. Suffice it to say that in 1913 the revenues of 971 cities in tsarist Russia totalled 275,000,000 rubles, *i. e.*, 4.5 times less than this year's Budget of the one city of Leningrad.

Now every Soviet of Toilers' Deputies has charge of the local economy and has its own Budget. This is an additional confirmation of the profound democracy of our entire Soviet system of administration.

The unparalleled growth of Socialist economy in our country has created favourable conditions for the development and growth of our state Budget. As a result of the successful fulfilment of the Stalin Five-Year Plans, the financial might of our country has reached an exceptionally high level and represents a most important condition for the development of the productive forces of our country. The 1938 Budget is a further step in the development of our Socialist state.

We do not doubt that our Soviet people, under the guidance of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and of our wise leader, Comrade Stalin, will achieve even greater victories for the cause of Socialist construction. (*Applause.*)

The Chairman: Deputy Kurbanov.

M. Kurbanov (*Kulyab Area, Tadjik S.S.R.*): Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. At the joint sitting of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities last night we heard the comprehensive report of the People's Commissar of Finance of the U.S.S.R., Comrade Zverev, on the unified state Budget for 1938.

The indicated receipts in the state Budget, aggregating 125,000,000,000 rubles, show the multi-national Soviet people in an exceptionally striking manner the greatness and might of the Soviet state.

The proposed Budget ensures extensive satisfaction of the demands

of the working people, the rapid growth of Socialist economy, of cultural development and of the defensive capacity of the Land of Soviets.

I fully second the motion made by the deputies who spoke here to ratify the state Budget of the U.S.S.R. for 1938 as presented at the present Session.

Comrades, our Budget reflects the great victories of Socialism in all sections of the economic, cultural and social life of the country, achieved by the Soviet people under the guidance of the Bolshevik Party, under the direct guidance of the leader, friend and teacher of the peoples, the great Stalin. (*Loud and prolonged applause.*)

These successes have been achieved in the untiring struggle against the Trotskyite and Bukharinite agents of fascism, against the counter-revolutionary bourgeois nationalists and the other enemies of the people who tried to impede our progress.

Comrades, we are discussing the question of the state Budget at an extremely grave moment. Throughout our country a wave of indignation at the impudent provocations of the Japanese military is surging. The whole Soviet people and the Red Army are demonstrating their fighting preparedness to repulse any enemy, no matter whence he comes. The Japanese military clique miscalculated, the *samurai* met with a strong rebuff on the part of the valiant workers' and peasants' Red Army, which is vigilantly guarding the inviolability of the borders of our great homeland. (*Loud applause.*)

We note with a feeling of profound satisfaction that proper attention is given in the Budget to questions of the defence of the country. I am certain that all the members of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. will unanimously approve of and sanction the expenditure of 27,000,000,000 rubles on measures of defence, as proposed in the Budget. (*Applause.*)

It is important to stress the fact that an enormous part of the Budget—31,400,000,000 rubles—is designated for social and cultural services. This structure of our Budget will have its effect on the growth of the well-being of the vast population of the country, on the growth of its culture and political activity.

Let us take the Tadjik S.S.R. as an example. During the period of the two Stalin Five-Year Plans the appearance of Tadjikistan changed entirely. In quite recent times the main part of Tadjikistan—the former Eastern Bokhara—was under the double yoke of the Emir of Bokhara and tsarist Russia. A country of great economic and cultural possibilities was kept for hundreds of years in slavery and poverty. The toiling population—ignorant and downtrodden—was subjected to cruel exploitation, with unbearable taxes and levies and arbitrary rule imposed upon it. There was a Tadjik saying that the air was the only thing that was not taxed in Bokhara. Only one-half per cent of the population was literate, and this one-half per cent was made up mostly of representatives of the officialdom, the clergy and the *bais*. The children of the toilers could not attend school, they were kept in darkness and ignorance, they were illiterate.

All the means which the Emir squeezed out of the population were spent by him at his own discretion. The tsarist satraps allocated pennies—and sometimes absolutely nothing—for economic measures and social and cultural services. As a result, there was not a single industrial enterprise, not a single kilometre of railway, no decent roads in Tadjikistan in the past.

Today communication along the new roads takes several hours where formerly one had to spend weeks in making one's way by inaccessible paths. Connections with the remote and mountainous districts of the republic are well organized at present.

In the course of the years of Soviet power, particularly during the years of the two Stalin Five-Year Plans, Tadjikistan has made enormous progress in both economic life and cultural development. The coal mines of Shurabugol, the "Kim" and "Nefteabad" oil fields, the silk mills of Stalinabad and Leninabad, the large canneries in Leninabad and Kanibadam, the leather factory and clothing factory in Stalinabad, cotton-ginning plants and oil mills, and many other industrial enterprises have been created and are operating in the republic.

There has been a considerable growth of local industry, which is supplying local building materials to all the construction jobs and enterprises in the republic.

By 1936 the output of locally-controlled industry and the producing co-operatives had grown to 116 times the pre-war output.

Extensive construction is being carried on in the capital of the republic—Stalinabad. A large textile mill, a meat-packing plant, a cement mill and a brewery are among the enterprises under construction. Work has started on the construction of a state theatre of opera and drama.

The achievements of Soviet Tadjikistan are particularly great in the sphere of Socialist agriculture. In the agriculture of the Tadjik S.S.R., as in the whole of the Soviet Union, the collective farm system has been finally and irrevocably victorious. More than 92 per cent of all farms in the republic have been collectivized. Instead of the pre-revolutionary *omach* and *ketmen*, the equipment of agriculture in Tadjikistan includes 3,000 tractors, harvester combines, a great number of up-to-date agricultural implements. The Socialist agriculture of Tadjikistan is served by 49 machine and tractor stations.

The collective farmers of Tadjikistan have achieved exceptional success in the development of cotton-planting. In 1937, 170,000 tons of raw cotton were gathered. The state plan of cotton deliveries was fulfilled 121 per cent. The republic advanced to the front ranks with regard to the cotton yield. Whereas in 1934 the yield per hectare of American cotton was 6.2 metric centners, in 1937 it was over 16 metric centners.

Silk production has been extensively developed. This year the plan of deliveries of cocoons is already exceeded. More than 1,400 tons of cocoons have been delivered to the state this year.

A number of collective farms in Tadjikistan have become millionaires. In the Leninabad district alone there are eighteen millionaire collective farms.

There is a rapid rise of culture—national in form and Socialist in content—in Soviet Tadjikistan. Scores of higher and intermediate educational establishments have been created. Today we have 4,000 schools, which are attended by over 200,000 children.

In addition, there are over 250,000 people attending schools for adults.

Expenditures on public education have risen from 39,000,000 rubles in 1932 to 219,000,000 rubles in 1938. More than 20,000,000 rubles have been allocated for the building of new schools in 1938.

Today more than 70 per cent of the population are literate.

The republic's Budget for public health has grown from 18,000,000 rubles in 1932 to 68,000,000 rubles in 1938.

There are now over a hundred hospitals and over 400 medical institutions and dispensaries in the republic. Formerly, seventeen years ago, there was not a single institution of this kind in Tadjikistan. True, there was one hospital, but it accommodated only the officials of the Emir. Not a single toiler among the Tadjiks received treatment in this hospital.

Today there are two state theatres and more than ten district theatres in the republic.

All this constructive work for the cultural and economic development of the republic, which has been carried out by the masses of the working people of Tadjikistan under the leadership of the Communist Party, naturally required the investment of enormous funds. Accordingly, the Budget of the Republic has been growing and developing from year to year. In the past ten years there has been a twenty-fold increase in the Budget, and in 1938, if we include the amendments of the Budget Commission, it amounts to over 448,900,000 rubles.

The revenues in the Budget of Tadjikistan have been growing from year to year, so that for 1938 the Budget of the republic has been drawn up without any deficit.

From the moment of its formation, the Tadjik Republic, relying for support on the fraternal assistance of the other Soviet Socialist Republics, and with the help of the great Russian people, engaged in enormous constructive work. Under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, and enjoying the constant attention of Comrade Stalin and great help on the part of the Union Government, the Tadjik S.S.R. has achieved unprecedented success in all spheres of Socialist construction and has become transformed into a flourishing, cultured Socialist republic. The Tadjik people, which has obtained its liberty at the hands of the Great October Socialist Revolution, lives joyously and happily, knowing that it enjoys the solicitude of the Party, of the Government of the Union, and of the great friend of peoples, our dear father and teacher, Comrade Stalin. (*Loud applause.*)

Comrades, as a member of the Budget Commission of the Soviet of the Union, I consider it necessary to note certain defects which have

come to light in drawing up the unified state Budget of the U.S.S.R. for 1938.

The first remark concerns the part of the Budget dealing with revenues. The past months of the current year have shown the weakness of the work of the People's Commissariat of Finance and its organs in the localities with regard to ensuring the fulfilment of the plan of the mobilization of funds and of state revenues. In quite a number of regions and republics, including, I am sorry to say, also the Tadjik Republic, we have considerable arrears in the turnover tax, the income tax on the collective farms, the single agricultural tax, and in the payment of the assessments for cultural purposes levied on individual peasant farms.

The apparatus of the finance system, beginning with the tax collectors in the localities and ending with the People's Commissariat of Finance of the U.S.S.R., is still insufficiently prepared to carry out the plan of the mobilization of funds in a Bolshevik manner.

We must advise the People's Commissar of Finance, Comrade Zverev, to proceed more energetically to organize the work of the finance organs and the carrying out of the financial plans of the state. Of course, the active assistance of the leading organizations in the republics, territories and regions is necessary in this work, and we must lend this assistance.

The second remark concerns the organization of the work in the Audit and Control Department of the People's Commissariat of Finance. The People's Commissar, Comrade Zverev, ought to make a serious effort to enliven the work of this department, so that the country may feel the results of its work, and so that Bolshevik order may soon be introduced in the work of accounting and the correct expending of state funds.

Comrades, the growth of the Budgets of the various republics confirms over and over again the correctness of the Lenin-Stalin national policy, which aims at the further advance and blossoming of the economy and culture of all the fraternal republics of our Soviet Union. Under the brilliant leadership of our great Stalin, the peoples of the Soviet Union will confidently advance towards new victories for Communism! (*Loud applause.*)

The Chairman: It is time to adjourn the sitting. There is a motion to have no sitting of the Soviet of the Union on August 12. Are there any objections?

Voices: None, agreed.

The Chairman: In that case, the next sitting of the Soviet of the Union will take place on August 13, at 11 o'clock in the morning.

This closes the sitting.

THIRD SITTING

August 13, 1938

T. D. Lysenko, Vice-Chairman of the Soviet of the Union, takes his seat on the dais, and the members of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. and the leaders of the Party and the Government enter the boxes. They are greeted with loud and prolonged applause. All rise.

T. D. Lysenko (*in the chair*): Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet. I hereby open the sitting of the Soviet of the Union. We shall continue the debate on the report on the unified state Budget.

I call upon Deputy Natalevich.

N. Y. Natalevich (*Slutsk Area, Byelorussian S.S.R.*): Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet. The unified state Budget of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics for 1938 has been presented by the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. for approval to the Second Session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

The Budget of our Socialist state in 1938 aggregates the colossal sum of 125,184,200,000 rubles on the revenue side and 123,684,200,000 rubles on the expenditure side. Revenues exceed expenditures by 1,500,000,000 rubles. Not a single capitalist country has such a strong Budget.

The U.S.S.R., the land of victorious Socialism, has the largest, the strongest and the most stable unified state Budget.

The estimated total of the unified state Budget for 1938 bears witness to the stability of the Soviet ruble, to the financial and economic might of our Socialist fatherland and to the invincible strength and power of our Socialist state. All the working people of the great Soviet Union are firmly confident that the provisions of our state Budget will be carried out.

We have all the opportunities of realizing it.

The material resources of our country are colossal. The power and possibilities of the great Soviet people are boundless. The working people of our great fatherland clearly understand that the firm and undeviating fulfilment of the provisions of the state Budget secures the

realization of the plans of our great Socialist construction. The realization of the state Budget for 1938 submitted to the Second Session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. will improve and raise the welfare of the working people to a still greater extent, and will make it possible to further improve the supply of the most up-to-date military equipment to our glorious, beloved and invincible Workers' and Peasants' Red Army—the faithful sentinel of our Soviet frontiers; it will make it possible to raise still higher the defensive power of our great Socialist fatherland, to the dismay of our enemies and the joy of our friends.

The working people of our country well know that every ruble and every kopeck in the Soviet state Budget goes for Socialist construction, for the benefit of the great Soviet people. That is why every citizen of the Soviet Union, as a proud patriot of his country, considers it a duty and an honour to exert all efforts to assist the carrying out of the provisions of the state Budget for 1938.

The successful realization of the Soviet state Budget is ensured by the system of our Socialist state, of whose superiority not only our friends but even our enemies have long since become convinced. Some of these enemies have felt the advantages of the Socialist system to their cost.

The successful realization of the state Budget is secured by the wise leadership of our glorious, invincible Party of Lenin and Stalin and of our great and wise Comrade Stalin personally. (*Loud applause.*)

Our Party and the Soviet Government have no other interests than the interests of the Soviet people. Therefore the unified state Budget for 1938 presented by our Soviet Government for approval to the Second Session of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics expresses the will and hopes of the whole Soviet people.

Messieurs the capitalists find it necessary to refrain from submitting the state Budget for discussion in the bourgeois parliaments. They strive to conceal from the workers the exploiting and parasitic nature of the capitalist Budget, in their attempt to conceal the parasitic nature of capitalism itself. The Soviet Government has no reason to conceal from the people the sources of the budgetary revenues and the items of its expenditures. On the contrary, the Soviet Government presents the state Budget to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. for discussion and approval, so that the whole Soviet people through their chosen representatives, the members of the Supreme Soviet, should discuss and confirm every item of revenue and expenditure, so that every Soviet ruble should be economically and rationally used in the interests of Socialist construction, the flourishing of our fatherland and the consolidation of its defensive power.

The Soviet people in their millions will fight to a man to see the measures ensuring the realization of the provisions of our state Budget put into effect. Herein lies the advantage and strength of Soviet democracy, herein lies the superiority and stability of our state Budget.

The revenue estimates in the unified state Budget of the U.S.S.R.

for 1938, aggregating 125,184,200,000 rubles, mirror all the grandeur of the victories of the working class and the collective farm peasantry, achieved under the guidance of the glorious, invincible Party of Lenin and Stalin and our wise leader and teacher, our great Stalin. (*Loud applause.*)

We have built up our heavy industry, which enabled us to lay the technical foundation for all branches of national economy, to ensure our economic independence of the capitalist countries, strengthen the defensive power of the Land of Soviets and make our fatherland an impregnable fortress against which any fascist dog that dares encroach upon our inviolable Soviet frontiers will break its teeth.

We have become a country of Socialist agriculture. Our collective farmers are leading a prosperous, cultured and happy life. The peoples of our multi-national Soviet Union have achieved unprecedented development in the sphere of culture and art.

Our U.S.S.R. is a country of advanced industry, advanced agriculture, advanced science and technique, a land in which the vast masses are leading a bright, joyous, cultured and prosperous life. For all these achievements and victories the Soviet people are obliged to the Party of Lenin and Stalin and to our wise leader, friend and teacher, our great Stalin. (*Loud applause.*)

The daily concern shown by our Party and the Soviet Government for the economic and cultural development of the national republics and regions finds its vivid reflection in the Budget of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic for 1938.

The Budget of the Byelorussian S.S.R. for 1938 totals 1,167,210,000 rubles. Until the Great October Socialist Revolution the Byelorussians had no state of their own. Consequently, at that time a state Budget in Byelorussia was out of the question. The wealth of Byelorussia—its forests and land—belonged to landlords, princes and priests. For centuries the Byelorussian peasant bent his back, toiling for the Polish and Russian landlords, kulaks and priests, living in penury, and suffering cold and starvation. The land was cultivated with wooden plough and harrow, bread was baked half and half with chaff and bark, and even that bread lasted only until Christmas.

In their letter to the great Stalin the Byelorussian people described their horrible past in the words:

> "It was in the not far distant past:
> The land yielded naught for all our toil;
> For meals we had nothing but bran with grass,
> And the end was a grave in the barren soil."

Want and hunger drove the Byelorussian peasant to emigrate. In the twelve years preceding the revolution, 80,000 persons emigrated to America alone and 642,000 to Siberia.

The Great October Socialist Revolution buried the landlords, capitalists and all exploiters forever. For the first time in history the Byelorussian people, thanks to the Bolshevik Party, led by Lenin and Stalin,

have their own state. The Great October Revolution brought the Byelorussian people the opportunity to develop their great creative powers and abilities. Despite the machinations of the vile enemies of the people, the mercenary Trotskyite-Bukharinite and bourgeois-nationalist pack of German and Polish spies and diversionists, the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, under the leadership of the Party of Lenin and Stalin and with the mighty assistance of the great and heroic Russian people, achieved outstanding successes in all branches of Socialist construction.

Byelorussia has become an industrial and agricultural republic with a large-scale industry and Socialist agriculture. Agricultural machines now furrow the fields where formerly the wooden plough used to pass. Where formerly a lean nag dragged the plough and wooden harrow. tractors and combines work today.

Byelorussia has become a flourishing republic. It has been awarded the Order of Lenin. The Soviet Union has ensured to the Byelorussian republic a steady growth of its state Budget and a correspondingly rapid pace of development of Socialist industry.

In 1913, the gross output of all industry on the territory of present-day Byelorussia amounted to 89,000,000 rubles in the prices of 1927. The gross output in 1937 equalled 2,100,000,000 rubles.

During the years of the two Stalin Five-Year Plan periods Byelorussia has undergone a radical change. Our industries now include metal-working enterprises, peat extraction, saw mills, chemical works, printing plants, agricultural machinery construction, the production of machine tools, and enterprises of the light and food industries.

The expenditures provided in the Budget for 1938 on the development of the industry of the Byelorussian S.S.R., totalling 66,000,000 rubles, will make it possible to achieve new successes and still more to strengthen our border republic.

A few words about agriculture. The enemies of the people, the traitors to our fatherland, the Polish hirelings, did a great deal of damage to agriculture. Our Party, the Government, the organs of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs, headed by its glorious Stalinian commissar, Comrade N. I. Yezhov, and our great Stalin helped the Byelorussian people to expose and destroy the mortal enemies of the people and rendered us great assistance in reorganizing agriculture.

Before the Great October Socialist Revolution there were 838,400 individual peasant households in Byelorussia, 214,587 wooden ploughs and 420,942 wooden harrows.

Now we have 9,964 collective farms, which cultivate 96.4 per cent of the total sown area, 215 machine and tractor stations with 8,140 tractors, 1,000 harvester combines, 3,800 threshing machines, 1,200 flax pullers, 3,416 motor trucks. All this equipment helps the Byelorussian people in their efforts to achieve a high harvest yield, a prosperous, happy collective farm life.

The provision in the 1938 Budget for the expenditure of 36,465,000 rubles on the development of agriculture in Byelorussia ensures still greater possibilities for the technical equipment of agriculture, for the

still greater economic and organizational consolidation of the collective farms, and for the Bolshevik struggle of our collective farmers for a high, Stalin harvest, for a prosperous and cultured life.

Expenditures on social and cultural services in the Byelorussian S.S.R. in 1938 are to amount to 830,000,000 rubles as against 685,000,000 rubles in 1937, which represents an increase of 21.2 per cent in comparison with last year.

Before the revolution 75 per cent of the population of Byelorussia were illiterate. As for the women, 90 per cent of them were illiterate. On the other hand, Byelorussia had 3,000 Orthodox churches, 704 synagogues, 113 Roman-Catholic churches, 5,000 vodka shops and 6,000 Orthodox priests, rabbis and Roman-Catholic priests.

In 1914 the tsarist government expended about 60 kopecks per capita on public education. Now in Byelorussia over 100 rubles per capita are being expended on public education.

The Byelorussian Republic now boasts 100 per cent literacy. There are 7,069 schools in Byelorussia, attended by 1,068,000 children of the working people; 32,976 students receive instruction in 98 training colleges and 14,626 students in 23 higher educational establishments. The schools employ 32,050 teachers. Each year the higher educational establishments and training colleges graduate thousands of young Soviet experts, active builders of Socialism.

Only under the conditions prevailing in the land of victorious Socialism is such development of culture, science and art possible.

The constant concern of the Party, the Soviet Government and Comrade Stalin personally for improving the material and living conditions of the working people finds its striking reflection in the expenditures column of the Budget for 1938.

In 1914 the tsarist Government expended 800,000 rubles on public health in Byelorussia. The Budget of the Byelorussian S.S.R. for 1938 (not including the local Budgets) provides for the expenditure of 69,964,000 rubles on public health and 32,322,000 rubles on social security.

Since the promulgation of the law on assistance for mothers of large families, 55,212,000 rubles have been paid out in state allowances.

Thus the material and cultural well-being of the working masses of Byelorussia is improving from year to year.

I fully second the motion of the deputies who have spoken here to approve the unified state Budget of the U.S.S.R. for 1938 as submitted to the Second Session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., with due regard to the suggestions made by the deputies.

In his report, the People's Commissar of Finance of the U.S.S.R., Comrade Zverev, justly and correctly criticized the weak activity of the finance organs of the Byelorussian S.S.R. His remark that the Byelorussian S.S.R. is lagging behind in revenue receipts from taxes and levies collected from the population is correct. Not only the finance workers are to blame for this. A large part of the blame falls on the workers of the village Soviets, district executive committees and the staff of the region-

al and republican government bodies. Their fault is that they do not conduct real Bolshevik work among the individual peasants, that they have not been able to get them to fulfil their state obligations on time. In fact these workers have themselves acted contrary to the law, having so far failed to collect from the individual peasants the payments due from them, which amount to 3,162,000 rubles for the agricultural tax and 8,418,000 rubles for the levies for cultural purposes. The officials of the Byelorussian S.S.R. will undoubtedly take into account the critical remarks of Comrade Zverev in their work, and the arrears will be collected in the near future.

I must draw the attention of the staff of the People's Commissariat of Finance and of Comrade Zverev personally to the unsatisfactory work of the staff of the People's Commissariat of Finance in drawing up the material for the Budget. In particular, until the present day there is no clarity on the question of making good the 6,000,000 rubles which the People's Commissariat of Local Industry of the Byelorussian S.S.R. is short in working capital. In drawing up the finance plan of the People's Commissariat of the Timber Industry, the People's Commissariat of Finance of the U.S.S.R. crossed out the sum of 4,692,000 rubles to be refunded to the Byelorussian Timber Trust on the profits tax for 1937. The People's Commissariat of Finance admitted this error, but has not yet corrected it.

For 1938 the People's Commissariat of Finance drastically reduced the percentage of stipends for the students of most of the higher educational establishments, training colleges and workers' colleges in the Byelorussian S.S.R. as compared with 1937 and the actual number on January 1, 1938. This question also has not yet been settled.

Allocations from the turnover tax and the figures on administrative expenditures in connection with the organization of regions in the republic have also remained vague. I hope that the staff of the People's Commissariat of Finance of the U.S.S.R. and Comrade Zverev will introduce clarity into all these questions within the next few days.

The Second Session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. is being held at a time when the international situation is extremely tense. The incessant provocations on the part of the fascist aggressors and in particular the provocations of the Japanese militarists on our Far Eastern frontiers bear witness to the aspiration of the fascist states to drag us into a war. True, all these attempts shatter against the invincible strength and might of our glorious Workers' and Peasants' Red Army. But this should by no means set us at ease. We must increase still more the defensive capacity of the Soviet Union, we must raise still higher the fighting power of the Red Army. That is why the expenditure of 27,000,000,000 rubles for the defence of our country provided in the draft Budget meets with exceptional approval on the part of the deputies of the Byelorussian people.

In voting for the approval of the unified state Budget for 1938 as a whole, in voting for the budgetary appropriation of 27,000,000,000 rubles for the defence of the country, I think I will not be wrong if I say that

we thereby completely and fully express the will of our electors, the will of our great Soviet people. Our people are prepared at any moment, at the call of our Party and the Soviet Government, at the call of our great Stalin, to rise in defence of their beloved fatherland, and together with our glorious Workers' and Peasants' Red Army destroy any enemy that dares to encroach upon our independence, upon our sacred land, upon our freedom.

May the indestructible strength and fighting might of our invincible, glorious Workers' and Peasants' Red Army increase!

Long live our Red Army—the faithful guardian of the Soviet frontiers!

Long live its glorious leader—the First Marshal of the Soviet Union, Comrade Voroshilov! (*All rise. Loud cheers for Comrade Voroshilov. Cries: "Long live the First Marshal of the Soviet Union, the iron Commissar, Comrade Voroshilov!"*)

May the defensive power and might of our Socialist fatherland increase, to the dismay of our enemies and the joy of our friends!

Long live our magnificent Soviet fatherland!

Long live the great genius of mankind, our leader and teacher—the wise and great Stalin! (*All rise. Loud and prolonged cheers for Comrade Stalin.*)

The Chairman: I call upon Deputy Bakradze.

V. M. Bakradze (*Kutaisi Area, Georgian S.S.R.*): Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. The draft of the unified state Budget endorsed by the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. and presented for approval to the Second Session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. fully reflects the great victories of Socialism achieved by the working people of our country in the course of the two Stalin Five-Year Plan periods under the guidance of the Party of Lenin and Stalin, under the wise guidance of the leader of peoples, our great Stalin. (*Loud applause.*)

Fully in agreement with the interests of the working people, the funds allocated in the Budget are properly designated for the realization of the huge program provided for the first year of the Third Five-Year Plan period.

Reflected in the Budget of the country of victorious Socialism are the principal aims of the further development of our Socialist economy, of raising the culture and the material well-being of the masses of the people, of strengthening the defensive power of our Socialist fatherland.

The figures of the Budget show that the revenues accruing from Socialist economy are the main source of the enormous funds of the Land of Soviets. It was with particular joy that we heard the statements showing that our Socialist industry, which has been built up as a result of the successful realization of Stalin's slogan of the industrialization of the country, is systematically increasing its output, that it is firmly established on a paying basis and is contributing increasing revenues to the state Budget.

Each figure in the Budget of the U.S.S.R. bears witness to the great solicitude shown by the Party of Lenin and Stalin and by the Soviet Gov-

ernment for the interests of the working people. Our Budget is indeed a Budget of popular well-being, a Budget of a happy and joyous life for the working people, a Budget for the increasing prosperity of the Socialist land. A Budget like this is possible only in the Land of Soviets.

You will not find a single country in the world, except the U.S.S.R., in which the Budget of the state corresponds to the interests of the working people. The Budgets of the capitalist countries, particularly those of the fascist countries—Germany, Italy, Japan—are based on the spoliation of the masses of the people. The greatest part of the Budget funds is spent by the fascist states for purposes of aggression, for the preparation of a new world imperialist war. And it cannot be otherwise, for fascism, as is well known, is the open terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, the most chauvinist and most imperialist elements of finance capital.

Fully in agreement with the national policy of Lenin and Stalin, the draft of the unified state Budget of the U.S.S.R. provides for the further development of the economic life and culture of the national republics.

The People's Commissar of Finance of the U.S.S.R., Comrade Zverev, and the Chairman of the Budget Commission of the Soviet of the Union, Comrade Sidorov, cited data in their reports palpably demonstrating the flourishing of the national republics. This flourishing has been achieved as a result of the correct realization of the national policy of Lenin and Stalin, as a result of our great Stalin's daily attention to and concern for the national republics, as a result of the systematic help on the part of the Government of the Soviet Union, and of the head of the Government of the U.S.S.R., Vyacheslav Mikhailovich Molotov, personally. (*Loud and prolonged applause and cheers.*)

Under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, the working people of Georgia have achieved enormous success in the work of developing Socialist economy and of advancing culture and the well-being of the people.

In the course of the years of Soviet power, Georgia—formerly a backward colony of tsarism—has, with the assistance of the great Russian people, been transformed into one of the advanced flourishing republics of the Soviet Union. New large industrial enterprises have been built up in the republic in the years of the Stalin Five-Year Plans. Georgia—a country which in the past could boast no industry of any importance—has been transformed under Soviet power into an industrial-agricultural country.

During the years of the Second Five-Year Plan alone, investments in the national economy of the republic amounted to 2,240,800,000 rubles. The Second Five-Year Plan for the Georgian S.S.R. was fulfilled ahead of time.

In 1937, the gross output of the enterprises controlled by the industrial People's Commissariats in Georgia amounted to 670,000,000 rubles. If we add the enterprises under the control of the other, non-industrial, People's Commissariats, the total output amounted to over 1,000,000,000 rubles.

By 1937 the gross output of industry in the Georgian S.S.R. had grown to more than eighteen times the gross output of industry before the war. I am drawing no comparisons with the volume of industrial output during the period of Menshevik rule in Georgia, because under their rule industry, agriculture and the culture of the Georgian people were reduced to utter ruin.

The plan of the current year provides for a 13.4 per cent increase in the gross output of industry in the republic as compared with the actual output in 1937.

There has been a considerable development of local industry, based on the extensive utilization of the local sources of raw materials. As regards the volume of output, our local industry occupies fourth place in the U.S.S.R. The 1938 plan of local industry provides for an output to the value of 69,400,000 rubles.

Georgian industry has overfulfilled its plan for the first half of the year 1938, the only exception being the enterprises of the People's Commissariat of Local Industry, which are just a few per cent behind their plan. It is primarily the non-metallic minerals industry, particularly the barite-mining enterprises, that is responsible for the non-fulfilment of the plan by the People's Commissariat of Local Industry. The People's Commissariat of Local Industry of Georgia supplies barite for the Azerbaidjan oil industry, the Konstantinovka Bottle Works, and the paint and varnish industry of the Union.

At present the enterprises engaged in barite mining are still in a difficult position and are not fulfilling their plans. We have adopted a number of measures to improve the work of these enterprises, and, with the assistance of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R., we shall be able in the near future to pull them up and secure the uninterrupted supply of barite to the oil industry.

The plan for this year provides for capital investments in the enterprises of only four industrial People's Commissariats of Georgia to an amount of 60,300,000 rubles. A considerable part of the capital investments is designated for the food industry, in the first place for its principal branch—the tea industry.

Comrade Stalin has set us the task of ensuring the supply of all the coal needed for the economy of Georgia and the whole of Transcaucasia with the output of the Tkvibuli and Tkvarcheli mines. We have adopted all the necessary measures to carry out this task and raise the annual output of the Tkvibuli mines to 1,400,000 tons, and that of the Tkvarcheli mines to 1,000,000 tons within the next two years. We think that with the great help we are receiving from the People's Commissar of Heavy Industry, Lazar Moiseyevich Kaganovich, we shall successfully cope with this important task.

We have all the conditions necessary for developing the oil industry in Georgia. This year the People's Commissariat of Heavy Industry of the U.S.S.R. has appropriated 15,000,000 rubles for the work of the Georgian Oil Trust.

A thorough change has taken place in the agriculture of Georgia.

From a country of backward, impoverished agriculture, Georgia has been transformed during the years of Soviet power into a country of highly valuable special and industrial crops—tea, citrus fruits, geranium, tobacco, grapes, beets, etc.

In Georgia, as everywhere else in the Soviet Union, the collective farm system has achieved final victory. About 80 per cent of all the peasant farms in the republic are now united in collective farms. The collective farms are already the principal producers of tea, tobacco, beets, grain and other crops.

The income of the collective farms and the prosperity of the collective farmers are growing from year to year. Already last year there were 13 collective farms whose cash income exceeded one million rubles, and 22 collective farms whose cash income reached nearly a million rubles each.

In the first half of 1938 the tea plantations extended over an area of 43,743 hectares. The yield of green tea-leaf has increased considerably. Last year the amount of tea-leaf gathered from one hectare was 2,115 kg. This year we must gather 2,150 kg. of tea-leaf per hectare. We have set ourselves the aim of gathering on an average not less than 2,500 and up to 3,000 kg. of tea-leaf per hectare by 1940. In 1936, 20,000 tons of green tea-leaf were delivered to the state. This year deliveries will reach 35,000 tons.

By assiduously putting into effect the decision of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. (B.) and of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. on the development of citrus fruit growing, as well as of vine-growing and the production of high-grade wines, the working people of Georgia have ensured a wide extension of activity along these lines. Citrus fruit growing has been successfully maintained in the old citrus districts and is being widely introduced in new districts. The area under citrus fruits now totals 9,672 hectares. The plan of planting 4,000 hectares to lemons, oranges and tangerines in the spring of 1938 has been fully carried out.

The vineyards extend over an area of 42,771 hectares. In the spring of 1938, 1,409 hectares were added to the area of the vineyards. There are about 60,000 hectares of orchards in Georgia, and the area planted to fruit trees is extending considerably from year to year.

The yield of tobacco is steadily increasing, while the area under tobacco is extending. The area planted to tobacco in 1938 comprises 20,822 hectares. This year about 16,000 tons of high-grade tobacco will be delivered to the state. The large funds allotted each year by the Soviet state for agriculture have raised it to a high level of development and have created all the necessary conditions for a prosperous and cultured life for the collective farmers of Georgia.

The aggregate of the state and local Budgets of the Georgian S.S.R. for 1938 has been set at 1,068,637,000 rubles, which considerably exceeds the sum of the Budget for 1937. The allocations for the national economy of Georgia in the current year exceed those of last year by 10.3 per cent, and the allocations for social and cultural services by nearly 20 per cent.

Out of the total of the state and local Budgets of the Georgian S.S.R., more than 735,160,000 rubles, or 68 per cent, is to be expended this year on social and cultural services. Over 484,000,000 rubles will be expended in the current year on public education, which constitutes 636 per cent of the expenditures on education in 1931. Over 20,000,000 rubles will be expended this year on capital development in the sphere of public education.

At present there are in Georgia 4,437 elementary and part-grade and full-grade intermediate schools, in which about 700,000 children of the working people receive instruction. About 20,000 students attend the 18 higher educational establishments of the republic. During the last two years alone, 33 new schools were built in the cities and 114 in the rural districts. This year 15 new school buildings are under construction in the cities and 84 school buildings are being completed in the rural districts. This year the building of new schools in the cities was somewhat behind schedule, but, as a result of the measures adopted, construction in the past months has been going on at a much more rapid pace, and most of the school buildings will be completed before the beginning of the new school year.

We are paying particular attention to improving the teaching of Russian in the non-Russian schools. The enemies of the people—the Trotskyite-Bukharinite and bourgeois-nationalist spies, diversionists and wreckers—who were active in the organs of public education tried to reduce to nil the teaching of the Russian language, this powerful means of intercourse between the brother peoples of the Soviet Union.

Conscious of the great political and practical importance of the study of the Russian language, we have been putting into effect measures designed to ensure a radical improvement in the teaching of Russian in the non-Russian schools. The study schedules of the elementary and intermediate schools and of the higher educational establishments provide for a considerable increase in the number of hours devoted to the teaching of Russian. The quota of students to be admitted to the Russian departments of the Stalin State University of Tbilisi, as well as of the pedagogical institutes and teachers' training colleges, has been increased to 550. Approximately 2,000 teachers of Russian graduated from special training courses this year. We have secured the preparation and publication of the necessary textbooks for the study of Russian in our schools. The Budget for the current year provides for an expenditure of 2,000,000 rubles on improving the teaching of the Russian language. These measures will make it possible to impart a knowledge of Russian to all graduates from intermediate schools, so as to enable them, upon entering higher educational establishments, to make full use of the rich literature available in the Russian language.

The Budget for 1938 provides for expenditures on public health amounting to 189,573,200 rubles, which constitutes 612 per cent of the expenditures on public health in 1931. At present there are in the republic 262 hospitals with accommodations for 11,684 patients. As compared with 1931, the number of beds in hospitals has doubled.

This year the construction of a number of new hospitals will be completed. Some of the old hospitals are being enlarged. Thus the number of beds in the hospitals will be further increased.

In 1938 the number of rural medical stations will reach 652, of which 51 will be organized this year.

During the last two years, 39 new maternity homes were built, with accommodations for 221 patients. In 1938 work will be completed on the construction of an additional 28 new maternity homes with accommodations for 409 patients.

During the past two years, 48 new nurseries were built, with accommodations for 2,326 children. In 1938 the construction of an additional 59 nurseries, with accommodations for 2,470 children, will be completed.

Allocations for capital development in the sphere of public health for the current year amount to 20,550,000 rubles. During the first half of the year the plan of capital development in the sphere of public health was fulfilled only 73.1 per cent. Consequently, we are a great deal behind in this respect, and we must make up for it.

We have in Georgia a number of first-class health resorts of Union importance. Every year scores of thousands of working people from all over the Soviet Union rest and take the cure in these resorts. This year the sanatoriums in the Georgian resorts had accommodations for over 11,000 people. Last year expenditures on health resort development in Georgia, through the various departments and organizations involved, amounted to 22,200,000 rubles; this year they will reach 29,000,000 rubles.

So far capital development in the health resorts has proceeded unsatisfactorily. We have taken the necessary measures, and we expect that with some assistance on the part of the People's Commissariat of Public Health of the U.S.S.R. the plan that has been drawn up for capital development will be fully carried out.

The Budget of the Georgian S.S.R. provides for an expenditure of 195,145,000 rubles on capital development in 1938. This year practically the whole amount of expenditures on capital construction will be used to complete building projects started in previous years.

During the first half of the year we succeeded in fulfilling only 73.8 per cent of the plan of capital development. The plan of construction in the sphere of municipal development for the first half of the year was fulfilled 80.1 per cent; the plan of housing construction was fulfilled 72.2 per cent. The reason for this slowness in capital development is the bad work of our organizations, particularly the building trusts, as well as the insufficient supply of necessary building materials.

It is well known what enormous importance for the further improvement of the cultural and living conditions of the working people attaches to the fulfilment of the plans of capital development. We must make effective use of all the funds allotted for capital development.

The revenue estimates of the Budget for 1937 in the Georgian S.S.R. were realized to the amount of 822,100,000 rubles, and actual expenditures amounted to 803,400,000 rubles. Revenues exceeded expenditures by 18,700,000 rubles. An examination of the various items has shown that

in the first half of the year 1938 the fulfilment of the provisions in the Budget of the Georgian S.S.R. was satisfactory in respect of both revenues and expenditures. However, it should be noted that in the first half of the year the plan of receipts from the turnover tax was fulfilled only 96.8 per cent. This was the consequence, on the one hand, of the non-fulfilment of the trade turnover plan due to the still unsatisfactory work of our trading organizations, and, on the other hand, of the fact that the organs of the People's Commissariat of Agricultural Stocks of the U.S.S.R., particularly the Southern Grain Purchasing Department, have failed to carry out the Government plan of flour shipments both as to quantity and as to quality. The result of this was that the receipts from the tax on the turnover of the Grain Purchasing Department fell far short of the estimates.

The estimates of receipts from taxes and levies for the first half of the year were realized to the extent of 84.1 per cent. In this respect we are behind particularly with regard to the collection of arrears from individual peasants. In conformity with the instructions of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. (B.) and the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R., we have adopted the necessary measures to catch up within a brief period of time on the collection of taxes from the population.

In the first half of the year the enterprises under the People's Commissariat of Light Industry of the Georgian S.S.R. had an overexpenditure on wages. A check-up has brought to light an overexpenditure on wages to an amount of over 350,000 rubles due to the fact that the People's Commissariat of Light Industry of the U.S.S.R. had failed to settle the question of revising the norms of output in the silk mills and other enterprises of the People's Commissariat of Light Industry of the Georgian S.S.R., whereas the amount of wages had been fixed with a view to the revision of the norms and a corresponding change of rates of pay. The delay in the settling of this question will cause a further overexpenditure on wages. The People's Commissariat of Light Industry of the U.S.S.R. ought to have this in mind.

Comrades, I fully agree with the criticism which the Chairman of the Budget Commission of the Soviet of the Union, Comrade Sidorov, levelled at the work of some of our organizations and People's Commissariats, particularly of the People's Commissariat of Finance of the U.S.S.R. The People's Commissar of Finance of the U.S.S.R., Comrade Zverev, must give heed to the critical remarks of the members of the Supreme Soviet and take prompt measures to put an end to the defects in the work of the People's Commissariat of Finance. The tasks connected with the successful realization of the huge plan of national economy and of the Budget for 1938 require exceptional thriftiness with regard to every Soviet ruble, strict observance of state discipline and a considerable improvement in the work of all our organizations, particularly the finance organizations.

It must be stated that the finance organizations have not been sufficiently prompt in removing the consequences of the activity of the

wreckers, and the People's Commissar of Finance of the U.S.S.R. ought to pay more attention to this matter.

When we check up on the work of our organizations, we find in many of them quite a number of cases of gross violation of Budget provisions and of financial discipline, and cases of irregular expenditure of state resources. We must secure strict observance of Budget provisions and financial discipline and economy in the expenditure of every kopeck. We must train our workers to show a genuinely Socialist attitude to public property.

Comrades, it was with a feeling of profound satisfaction that we listened to the announcement that the Budget of the U.S.S.R. provides for a considerable increase of expenditures on the strengthening of the defensive power of our country. The Session of the Supreme Soviet and the whole Soviet people unanimously approve the increase in the appropriations for the defence of the country. This fully accords with the situation at the present moment, when the arrogant Japanese military clique is openly and impudently attempting to start a criminal war against the Soviet Union by seizing Soviet territory.

It is with a feeling of profound satisfaction that the Session of the Supreme Soviet and the whole Soviet people endorse the firm stand taken by our Government. Our mighty and invincible Red Army has smashed the Japanese *samurai* and driven them beyond the borders of Soviet territory. We will not surrender a single inch of Soviet territory to anyone! Let the Japanese aggressors know that if they continue their impudent provocations they will be smashed and annihilated by our valiant Red Army, behind which the whole Soviet people stands like a wall of steel. The invincible, mighty Land of Socialism, over which soars the banner of the great Stalin Constitution—the most democratic Constitution in the world—is becoming stronger each day.

During the elections to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. and to the Supreme Soviet of the Georgian S.S.R., the people of Georgia demonstrated their firm and unshakable unity and attachment to the Party of Lenin and Stalin and to the Soviet Government. By unanimously voting for the candidates of the Communist and non-Party bloc, the Georgian people have expressed their feeling of boundless love and devotion to the leader of peoples, our great Stalin! (*Loud applause.*)

The Georgian people are prepared to march to defend the borders of the great Soviet state at the first call of the Bolshevik Party and of the Government of the Soviet Union. Let the fascist provocateurs know that a war instigated by them against the U.S.S.R. will be, as Comrade Stalin has said, "a very dangerous war for the bourgeoisie. It will be a very dangerous war, not only because the peoples of the U.S.S.R. will fight to the very death to preserve the gains of the revolution; it will be a very dangerous war for the bourgeoisie also because such a war will be waged not only at the fronts but also in the rear of the enemy. The bourgeoisie need have no doubt that the numerous friends of the working class of the U.S.S.R. in Europe and Asia will be sure to strike a blow in the rear

at their oppressors who commenced a criminal war against the fatherland of the working class of all countries."

Let no one doubt but that, should the moment require it, the whole Soviet people to a man will rise to defend the sacred borders of the Soviet Union, to deal a blow at the instigators of war. This will be a crushing blow for the fascist countries. Victory will be ours, for we are led by the heroic Communist Party of Lenin and Stalin, for the peoples of the Soviet Union are led by the greatest strategist of the proletarian revolution, the genius of humanity—our great Stalin! (*Loud and prolonged applause. All rise.*)

The Chairman: I call upon Deputy Nikanorov.

A. F. Nikanorov (*Archangel Area, Archangel Region*): Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet. The unified state Budget of the U.S.S.R. for the year 1938, presented by the Government to the Second Session of the Supreme Soviet for consideration and approval, will unquestionably be approved and ratified by the Session of the Supreme Soviet. It will unquestionably be fully approved by the millions of the people of our great country. This Budget, both in its total, aggregating 125,184,200,000 rubles, and in its structure, is a truly popular Budget of the country of victorious Socialism.

Our Budget is a striking manifestation of how, under the leadership of the Communist Party, under the leadership of our great Stalin, the Soviet people are firmly and confidently marching towards Communism.

The People's Commissar of Finance, in his report, and the deputies who spoke here were right in stressing the sharp distinction between the Budget of the Land of Soviets, where the people are free, and the Budgets of the capitalist countries, where the working people are kept under the yoke of exploitation and oppression.

It is necessary, comrades, that we ourselves, the whole people and our class brothers abroad should remember that quite recently our country was under the yoke of an autocracy, of landlords and capitalists. This found its reflection also in the Budget of tsarist Russia. In an article entitled, "Apropos of the State Revenue Roll," written in 1902, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin analysed the Budget of the tsarist government drawn up by Witte and exposed the entire system of robbing the people. In discussing the fact that one of the items of revenue was foreign loans, Lenin showed that the tsarist Budget reflected the policy of enslaving a great country to foreign capital.

As for our Budget, not a single kopeck of its huge total goes into the pocket of any sort of capitalists, not a single kopeck goes to pay any loans advanced by foreign capitalists, as was the case in tsarist Russia.

In the same article Lenin showed what huge funds were assigned in the Budget for the maintenance of "personages of the imperial family."

At the same time all that the Budget of the tsarist government provided for in expenditures through the Ministry of Public Education, which Lenin dubbed the "Ministry of Public Obscuration," amounted to 36,000,000 rubles. If the expenditures made through the various departments are included, the allocations for education comprised a little over

4 per cent of the entire Budget of tsarist Russia. At present we are expending 20,000,000,000 rubles, or 17 per cent of the Budget, on public education.

In those years in tsarist Russia all the schools, from lowest to highest, were attended by a little over 6,000,000 people, *i.e.*, less than 50 for every 1,000 population. In 1938, however, in the U.S.S.R. the elementary and intermediate schools alone are attended by 33,300,000 children, and approximately 2,000,000 students receive instruction in the higher educational establishments, training colleges, and schools for adults. And think, comrades, of all the people taking various kinds of courses! Here, for example, is our Archangel Region, which formerly was a place of exile for revolutionaries. In the city of Archangel alone there are 50,000 people, and in the region as a whole approximately 200,000 people who are studying.

I am deliberately comparing today's data with those referring to the years of the Russo-Japanese war. Today, when the Japanese military, not without the knowledge and approval of other imperialists, are trying to invade the Land of Soviets, we may point to the vast distance which we have travelled under the leadership of the Party of Lenin and Stalin.

27,000,000,000 rubles for the People's Commissariat of Defence and the People's Commissariat of the Navy! A Budget aggregating 125,000,000,000 rubles! The moral and political unity of the 170,000,000 people of the Soviet Union!

These are our arguments, which shall serve as a stern warning to the aggressors.

It was with pride and joy that Lenin, after the revolution, announced to the delegates who attended the Congress of the Comintern that the Soviet state had accumulated 20,000,000 rubles in gold for the realization of an advance in industry. And in 1933 Comrade Stalin announced in his report to the January Plenum of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. that the Party had brought about not only the restoration of our industry, but also its rapid development, by using our internal resources, without usurious credits and loans from abroad.

Since then 350,000,000,000 rubles have been expended on strengthening the might of our country, on the development of industry, the collectivization of agriculture, the advancement of culture. We see the great victories of Socialist industrialization and of Socialist agriculture throughout our vast country, from end to end, from sea to sea.

In our Archangel Region, on the shores of the White, Barents and Kara Seas, in the regions of the Far North, Socialist life is seething like a hot spring, just as in every other part of our great country. This is attested to by our mechanized sawmills—as, for instance, the V. M. Molotov Mill—the Sulphate Works now under construction in Archangel, the paper mills, the 2,165 collective farms, representing 96.3 per cent of all peasant households in the region, the hundreds of mechanized timbering stations, the thousands of tractors, harvester combines and other agricultural machinery cultivating our fields.

We, the deputies to the Supreme Soviet from the Archangel Region,

are of the opinion that the economic development of the North can and should be further advanced, and that it can and should be done more vigorously.

Timber is the principal resource of the Archangel Region. But the timber industry includes not only timber cutting and floating, but also the wood-chemical industry; however, the wood-chemical industry is still very little developed in our region. This is the result of the activity of the wreckers who for a long time had a hand in the administration of the region.

Valuable timber waste, which furnishes the raw material for chemical products and the production of furniture, remains unutilized in our region. Moreover, this waste represents a constant danger of causing fires. It is necessary to build not only large factories and enterprises, but also small factories and special shops for the utilization of the waste.

Timber is not the only item of the wealth of the Archangel Region. We are also very rich in water. We have the greatest possibilities for the development of fisheries and of the canning industry. But these are very little developed. In some districts of the region, particularly in the extreme north, in the Pechora, Bolshaya Zemlya and Kanin-Timan districts, there are rich deposits of coal and other minerals. The Soviet tundra is not only a pasture for deer; it can become a base for the development of powerful industries. The working people of the Archangel Region—Russians, Nentsy and Komi—will do everything the Party and the Government demand in order to get the lights of Socialist industry to outshine the lights of the aurora borealis.

Under the conditions prevailing in the Archangel Region, agriculture occupies a comparatively small place in the economic life. But there are great possibilities for its development, since the harvest yields are fairly stable and high. The Archangel Region is the home of the fine Kholmogory breed of cattle, and we can achieve the introduction of this breed on a larger scale in other parts of the Soviet Union.

We are rich not only in an economic respect, but also in that we have remarkable people. There is not a single branch of economy in which we could not find people who are known not only in the Region, but throughout the country.

The enemies of the people tried to retard the development of our Region. They have been exposed by the organs of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs, directed by Nikolai Ivanovich Yezhov, and, on the whole, have been weeded out.

The capitalists are preparing to attack the Soviet Union. The working people of Archangel will never forget the hard labour prisons which the interventionists instituted on the islands of Mudyug and Yokanga in 1918-19, and in which many Soviet people perished. Like the whole Soviet people, the working people of our Region—Russians, Nentsy and Komi—will rise at a moment's notice to the defence of our sacred Soviet borders!

It will be absolutely necessary in the Budgets of the coming years to provide for an even more rapid development of the economy of the North,

for an even more rapid development of mechanization in timber cutting and floating.

But in the current year some funds could also be provided for improvements in Archangel.

The question of the utilization of timber waste should be tackled at once.

A few critical remarks concerning some People's Commissariats. These remarks are based on the experience of the work of the Budget Commission, of which I am a member.

First, with regard to the work of the People's Commissariat of Finance. When we discussed questions of estimates and plans, when we discussed special financial assessments, the officials of the finance organs showed that they knew their business. But when it came to the question of control, of checking up on how the finance organs are directing the carrying out of the Budget provisions, we established the fact that this work was unsatisfactory. The finance organs must draw from this very serious conclusions for themselves. We have impermissibly big arrears in the collection of taxes from the rural population, particularly from the individual peasants. As for the collection of taxes from persons of the so-called liberal professions, it is particularly badly organized. In July 1938 the Budget Commission could not even get an answer to the question as to the sum of the arrears on this item in 1937.

The People's Commissariat of Finance has given an unsatisfactory account of itself in the work of developing the savings banks system. Most of the savings banks and the greatest part of the depositors are in the cities, while in the rural districts the savings banks system is very little developed.

The People's Commissariat of Finance has not been paying proper attention to the question of state insurance. With good work we should be able in the immediate future to double and treble the number of citizens insuring their lives and property.

The Government must demand that the People's Commissariat of Finance and other People's Commissariats should definitely improve their work in drawing up their Budgets. We cannot tolerate a situation when plans of financing are drawn up without regard to plans of production, when plans of financing are drawn up before the plans dealing with production, labour productivity, utilization of equipment, etc.

When the Budget Commission examined the Budget of the People's Commissariat of Agricultural Stocks, this Commissariat appeared in a very unfavourable light. We know that our country is very rich in grain, that in the rural districts there is plenty of grain and flour. We know that the population now wants to get higher-grade flour, that the population demands better work on the part of the trading organizations and the Commissariat of Agricultural Stocks. Instead of improving the work, the People's Commissariat of Agricultural Stocks proposed to the Budget Commission to curtail the plan of realization of flour, which also meant curtailment of receipts from the turnover tax. This was wrong, for the

Budget Commission had information from a number of towns about difficulties in satisfying the demand for higher-grade flour.

The shortcomings in the work of the other People's Commissariats have already been mentioned. But it would be wrong, while criticizing the People's Commissariats, to pass by those shortcomings in the work of securing 100 per cent fulfilment of the Budget provisions for which we, the members of the Supreme Soviet, and the local Party and Soviet organizations are responsible.

For instance, in our region the fulfilment of the Budget provisions in the first half of the current year was as follows: revenues 52.3 per cent, expenditures 49.3 per cent. At first glance, this seems not bad; but a closer scrutiny of the various items reveals that the revenue from local industry amounted to only 29 per cent of the estimate for the year. This is intolerable, and we, the leading workers of the region, are no less to blame for it than the workers of the People's Commissariats, for the Archangel Region has very extensive possibilities for the development of local industry.

A few words about the People's Commissariat of the Timber Industry. Its share in the Budget revenues is not a large one, but, as has been correctly pointed out both in speeches and in the press, its work is unsatisfactory. We, the leading workers of the Archangel Region, cannot disclaim responsibility for this state of the timber industry. We are now bending our efforts to ensure the carrying out of the Government order about discarding log floating on the Northern Dvina. Perhaps some of the comrades do not know what this log floating represents. It means that the timber is floated not in rafts, but in single logs. On such a fine river as the Northern Dvina, these logs have caused great damage to our economy: steam boats have been smashed up through collisions with them, and an enormous amount of timber has been carried out into the White Sea. In 1932 approximately 2,000,000 cubic metres of timber drifted away into the sea. This year we shall make sure that our timber does not drift away into the White Sea.

Comrades, under the leadership of our Government, under the leadership of the Communist Party, the people of our country distribute the wealth they create along such channels as are necessary in the interests of Socialism. Consequently, the fulfilment of each item in the Budget depends on all of us, on every Soviet citizen. We members of the Supreme Soviet must remember Comrade Stalin's words about the duties of deputies and we shall have to improve our work for the fulfilment of the provisions of the Budget.

Comrades, the approval of the unified state Budget for 1938 by the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. will signify our full endorsement of the foreign and internal policy of the Soviet Government and the Communist Party. The approval of the state Budget by the Supreme Soviet will again demonstrate the unity and solidarity of the millions of the multinational Soviet people, confidently marching towards communism under the leadership of our Party, under the leadership of the greatest man of our epoch—Comrade Stalin. (*Applause.*)

The Chairman: Deputy Sharafeyev.

S. M. Sharafeyev (*Menzelinsk Area, Tatar A.S.S.R.*): Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet. I fully second the motion made by the deputies who have spoken before to approve the draft of the unified state Budget submitted by the Government, with the amendments proposed by the Budget Commission, *i. e.*, revenues to amount to 126,778,993,000 rubles, and expenditures to 125,278,993,000 rubles.

The Stalin Constitution has given legislative consolidation to the great victories of Socialism. Socialist ownership of the means and instruments of production is the basis of our social system.

In the course of two Five-Year Plan periods our country, under the leadership of the Party of Lenin and Stalin, has been transformed from a backward agrarian country into a powerful industrial state, into a country of advanced science and technology, into a country of advanced, Socialist agriculture.

The Soviet Union holds first place in Europe and second in the world in respect of industrial output.

Socialism has become part of the life of the working people in town and country. The collective farm system in the countryside has opened up great vistas for the development of agriculture, which is confidently approaching the fulfilment of Stalin's bidding to produce from 7,000,000,000 to 8,000,000,000 poods of grain a year.

The greatest attainment of Socialism is the building up of a happy, joyous, prosperous and cultured life for the masses of the working people of the Soviet Union.

"The distinctive feature of our revolution," Comrade Stalin has pointed out, "is that it brought the people not only freedom, but also material benefits and the possibility of a prosperous and cultured life."

In our country we have realized the right to work, the right to rest, to education, to material security in old age.

We have achieved the greatest successes in the work of the Socialist reorganization of society because all our work is guided by the great leader of peoples, Comrade Stalin. *(Loud and prolonged applause.)*

Under Comrade Stalin's leadership, the peoples of the Soviet Union have achieved the victory of Socialism in our country and the unparalleled flourishing of the economy and culture of the Socialist fatherland.

The constant growth of the public wealth and the well-being of the masses of working people is the basis of the strength and stability of the Soviet ruble, the basis of the enormous growth of the state Budget.

The development and consolidation of our finances was of vast significance for solving the great historic problem of building Socialist society.

The Unifed State Budget of the Land of Soviets submitted to the Second Session of the Supreme Soviet mirrors the gigantic victories of Socialist economy which the working people of our great Socialist country have achieved under the leadership of the Party of Lenin and Stalin.

This Budget will further increase the public wealth of the country, will bring about a further rise in the material and cultural level of the

working people, the further consolidation of the independence of the Soviet Union and the strengthening of its defensive power.

The Budgets of capitalist countries, particularly those of the fascist states, are based on the most unrestrained plundering of the workers and peasants for the sake of the interests of finance capital, for the sake of preparing for a new imperialist war. The Budgets of bourgeois states are Budgets of the impoverishment of the people.

In 1938 the Japanese military clique will swallow up 79 per cent of all budgetary expenditures. At the same time the *samurai* will spend only 1.8 per cent of the Budget on education.

How different from this is our Socialist Budget of popular prosperity, the Budget of the flourishing of our country! The main source of the vast means at the disposal of the Land of Soviets is the revenue obtained from Socialist economy.

The presented draft of the unified state Budget for 1938 provides for an appropriation of 27,000,000,000 rubles to be expended on defence. In my opinion this provision is entirely realistic and absolutely necessary for us. By approving this expenditure on the defence of the country, we will express the will of all the working people of the Soviet Union, the will of our electors. And right here we ought to remind the fascist rulers that, if necessary, we can double and treble this sum.

The presumptuous Japanese military will do well to remember that "we stand for peace and champion the cause of peace. But we are not afraid of threats and are prepared to answer the instigators of war blow for blow."

Comrades, the national policy of Lenin and Stalin has united the peoples of the Soviet Union into a multi-national brotherly family and has transformed our national border regions into flourishing republics.

The presented draft vividly reflects the enormous growth of the Budgets of the Union Republics. The Budget of the Kirghiz S.S.R. will increase by 30.5 per cent as compared with the Budget for 1937, that of the Tadjik S.S.R. by 22 per cent, that of the Azerbaidjan S.S.R. by 20.2 per cent. Is not this the most striking testimony to the concern shown by the Party and the Government for the development of the economy and culture of the Union and autonomous republics?

The Budget of the Tatar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic also very vividly reflects the great successes attained by Tataria, for which she has been awarded an Order. During the last ten years—from 1928 to 1938—our Budget has increased 19-fold—from 19,200,000 rubles to 364,200,000 rubles.

This tempestuous growth of the Budget of the Tatar A.S.S.R. was made possible by the great help which the Bolshevik Party and the Governments of the U.S.S.R. and the R.S.F.S.R. lent us, by transferring to our Budget large sums from taxes and other state revenues. These transfers to the Budget of the Tatar Republic have been growing from year to year. In 1928 they constituted 34 per cent of the entire Budget. In 1938 they will constitute 68.4 per cent of the Budget.

Local revenues serve as the best indication of the state of the public

economy of the Tatar Republic. In ten years these revenues have grown from 5,900,000 rubles to 73,200,000 rubles.

The rapid growth of local revenues and the assistance given us by the Government of the U.S.S.R. and the Government of the Russian Republic have made it possible for Tataria considerably to increase the financing of her economy and of social and cultural services.

Comrades, the Tatar A.S.S.R. recently celebrated its eighteenth anniversary. Under the leadership of the Party, and in a struggle against the enemies of the people, the Tatar A.S.S.R. has achieved marvellous successes during these eighteen years. The appearance of the former Kazan Province has changed beyond recognition. The national policy of Lenin and Stalin has ensured the rapid development of its public economy.

Since 1928 the sum of 432,000,000 rubles has been invested in the Socialist industry of Tataria. Today our industry represents 70 per cent of the economy of the Tatar Republic.

During the eighteen years of its existence, the Tatar Republic has succeeded, with the assistance of the Bolshevik Party and the Union Government, in effecting a radical change in agriculture as well. The formerly scattered, impoverished individual farms have been transformed into large-scale mechanized Socialist agriculture. 6,885 tractors, 2,871 harvester combines, 2,500 complex threshing machines are working our Socialist fields.

Even more remarkable are the successes we have attained in the sphere of cultural development. In the current year, we have in Tataria 3,385 elementary and full-grade and part-grade intermediate schools, attended by 507,000 pupils. It is worth while to note that before the Great October Socialist Revolution there were altogether 35 Tatar schools, or 1.9 per cent of the total; today the number of Tatar schools is 1,648, or 48.6 per cent of the total number of schools. Before the revolution there were 9 training colleges; today there are 54 of them. It is particularly important to stress the fact that more than 50 per cent of the students in these training colleges are Tatars.

Before the revolution there were three higher educational establishments; now there are thirteen higher educational establishments and technical colleges, and as many scientific research institutes, in the Tatar Republic.

In the first year of the formation of our autonomous republic, in 1920, only 24.9 per cent of the population were literate, and among the Tatars the percentage was only 18.1. In the current year 91 per cent of the population are literate.

In 1913 there were 88 hospitals with accommodations for 3,345 patients in the then Kazan Province. At present we have 119 hospitals with accommodations for 6,659 patients. There are also 180 dispensaries in Tataria at present, as against 75 in 1913.

Together with all the working people of our great country, the workers, peasants, employees and intelligentsia of Tataria, under the leadership of the Communist Party, under the leadership of our great Stalin, have achieved gigantic victories for Socialism.

And, like the whole people of the Soviet Union, they will vigilantly guard and defend their flourishing fatherland. No enemy shall ever set foot on our land!

Comrades, a great and responsible work has been entrusted to the staff of the finance organs.

Comrade Zverev was absolutely right when in his report he drew our attention to the fact that the local finance workers and Soviet organs are still not sufficiently imbued with the consciousness of the importance and significance of their work. It is a frequent occurrence that the fulfilment of the Budget provisions, as regards both revenues and expenditures, is attended by serious deficiencies. Many enterprises have been grossly violating financial discipline and Budget provisions.

These remarks of Comrade Zverev fully apply also to the finance workers and Soviet organs in the Tatar A.S.S.R.

On the other hand, however, we cannot but note the sluggishness of the People's Commissariat of Finance of the U.S.S.R. and the People's Commissariat of Finance of the R.S.F.S.R. in settling questions concerning some very important measures.

It must be frankly stated that so far we have not felt in their work any promptitude in dealing with daily problems. The settlement of questions that are put before the People's Commissariat of Finance of the U.S.S.R. or of the R.S.F.S.R. usually drags on for months. Thus, we have not succeeded in getting the question of the financing of our local industry settled in the course of seven months.

To this day the People's Commissariat of Finance has not taken any measures to simplify the collection of the turnover tax. But this must be done without any undue delay, because the existing system is complicated and confusing.

Through the fault of the People's Commissariat of Finance of the U.S.S.R. we were late with the collection of the levy for cultural services in the rural districts. When we thought of it, it was late, with the result that the collection of the levy was done in haste and unsatisfactorily. I also second the motion of Deputy Shagimardanov to regulate the question of local voluntary taxes.

In the finance organs there are many good workers, people devoted to the cause of the Party of Lenin and Stalin. There are many shock-workers among them. But our work among them is still not what it should be, it is still not Bolshevik work. Unfortunately, the People's Commissariat of Finance of the U.S.S.R. has not shown sufficient concern for them and is very slow in giving encouragement to the best workers. In this respect the People's Commissariat of Finance ought to follow the good example of other People's Commissariats.

Comrades, it is beyond any doubt that under the guidance of our Party and of Comrade Stalin the Budget for 1938 will be fully realized.

Long live the Soviet Government!

Long live Comrade Molotov, the head of the Soviet Government! (*Loud and prolonged applause and cheers.*)

Long live our great leader and teacher, our wise Comrade Stalin! (*Loud and prolonged applause. All rise.*)

The Chairman: A motion has been made to adjourn for fifteen minutes.

(*Adjournment.*)

The Chairman: The sitting is resumed. I call upon Deputy Piruzyan.

A. S. Piruzyan (*Kirovakan Area, Armenian S.S.R.*): Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet. The report of the People's Commissar of Finance, Comrade Zverev, dealt with all the main questions of our economic and cultural development, of the further improvement of the well-being of the Soviet people and of strengthening the defensive power of our country.

At the elections to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. and to the Supreme Soviets of the Union and autonomous republics the Soviet people demonstrated their unshakable moral and political unity. The Communist and non-Party bloc, which obtained a brilliant victory at the elections, is an expression of the devotion of our people to the great Party of Lenin and Stalin and to the Soviet Government.

Under the banner of the Stalin Constitution, under the leadership of the Party of Lenin and Stalin, a mighty popular force in the shape of the Communist and non-Party bloc has grown up and strengthened—a force which fears no difficulties whatever. The world historical victories of Socialism which we have achieved, and which are written into the great Stalin Constitution, have united the multi-national Soviet people. In spite of the machinations of the enemies of the people, these victories and successes of Socialism have been growing and multiplying from day to day. These victories and successes are constantly increasing the strength of the unity of the people.

Comrade Zverev, in speaking in his report about the economic achievements of the Union Republics, quite rightly noted the great achievements of the national economy of the Armenian S.S.R. During the years of the two Stalin Five-Year Plans Soviet Armenia has been transformed from the poor country it was into a country of advanced culture. The gross output of industry in 1937 was more than double the output in 1933. In the course of the two Stalin Five-Year Plans investments in the national economy of Armenia amounted to 1,253,000,000 rubles, including more than 540,000,000 invested in industrial development.

The state Budget of the Armenian S.S.R. has grown enormously during the period of the two Stalin Five-Year Plans. At the beginning of the First Five-Year Plan period the annual Budget of the republic totalled 22,600,000 rubles. In 1937 it equalled 338,000,000 rubles, and in the current year, 1938, it will amount to 388,000,000 rubles.

During the years of Soviet power, new branches of industry—chemicals, cement, textiles, tobacco, leather, meat-packing, clothing, shoes, soap, cotton-ginning—have grown up and developed in Armenia. During the years of Soviet power there have been built in Armenia the Kirovakan chemical works, the Davalin cement mill, the Leninakan textile mill and meat-packing plant, the Yerevan cannery, mechanical works and many other large industrial enterprises. A synthetic rubber plant of Union importance is under construction. In 1937 the proportion of industry in the economic life of the republic constituted more than 71 per cent of the total. Alongside the growth of heavy and light industry, there has been an exceptionally rapid development of the food industry in Armenia. The output of the food industry increased more than 20-fold as compared with the year 1913. In 1937 the Yerevan cannery produced 18,000,000 cans of goods. The output of electric power has grown enormously. A number of large hydroelectric power stations, such as the Kanakir, Dzora, Leninakan, Yerevan, and scores of smaller electric power stations feed the growing industries of Armenia, give electric light and at the same time bring culture to the towns and villages of Armenia. These successes are a result of the fact that it is the mighty Party of Lenin and Stalin, headed by the great leader of the peoples of our Socialist fatherland and of the working people of the whole world, our great Stalin, that is guiding us, that is courageously and confidently leading our country from victory to victory. (*Loud applause.*)

During the years of Soviet power a fundamental change has been effected in the agriculture of Soviet Armenia. Out of the small, scattered peasant farms, which had been ruined by the Dashnak rule, there have grown up powerful Socialist farms in Armenia. The socialized sector comprises 96 per cent of the entire cultivated area of the republic.

Tractors, harvester combines and thousands of other agricultural machines are working the fields of the collective and state farms. The number of machines and tractors in 1937 was more than three times as large as in 1933. In 1938 the number of head of cattle has shown the following increase as compared with 1934: large cattle—48 per cent, small cattle—97 per cent, horses—24 per cent, hogs—207 per cent.

A striking indication of the growth of the economic life is presented by the growth of the Budget of the republic. The aggregate republican and local Budgets of the Armenian S.S.R. for 1938 represent a more than five-fold increase as compared with the first year of the Second Five-Year Plan period. As compared with 1937, revenues in 1938 will increase by 12 per cent.

The aggregate profit from Socialist economy in 1938 is planned to reach 54,000,000 rubles, including 42,000,000 rubles from industry. In 1938 the tax on these profits will amount to nine times as much as in the first year of the Second Five-Year Plan period. The turnover tax and the tax on profits together comprise more than 90 per cent of all the revenues in the state Budget.

Considerable success has also been achieved in the Armenian S.S.R. with regard to attracting the savings of the population. The working people of Soviet Armenia are well aware of the significance of state

loans and savings, and they enthusiastically place their savings where they can serve the cause of strengthening the might of the Socialist fatherland.

The enemies of the people tried to stir up discontent among the working population by distorting the taxation policy and by unlawfully raising the rates of the agricultural tax. The enemies had miscalculated. The exposure of the wreckers and the measures adopted by the Party and the Government to remove the effects of the activity of the wreckers have still more consolidated the collective farms.

The growth of the economic strength and of the material well-being of the broad masses of the working people of Armenia has been accompanied by a tempestuous growth and flourishing of culture, national in form and Socialist in content. Art, literature and science are developing.

Expenditures on social and cultural services represent the main items in the state Budget of the republic.

In 1933 expenditures per capita of the population on social and cultural services amounted to 43 rubles: in 1938 they will amount to 210 rubles, *i.e.*, will increase nearly five-fold.

At present there are in Armenia 512 elementary schools, 505 part-grade intermediate schools and 140 full-grade intermediate schools, which are attended by 265,000 children, or 24 per cent of the entire population of the republic. During the last few years alone 138 elementary and 63 intermediate schools were built in the rural districts. Thirteen schools with parallel classes, accommodating 11,000 children, and 10 schools with single classes, accommodating 4,000 children, were built in three cities of the republic. There are eight higher educational establishments in Armenia; they are attended by about 5,000 students. In the current year the higher educational establishments will graduate 778 engineers, physicians, agricultural experts, breeding experts, and teachers.

During the years of Soviet power there has taken place an unparalleled development of Armenian literature. We can point to particularly great achievements in the work of translating into Armenian and publishing the works of the classics of Marxism-Leninism. The works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin have been translated and published.

The Budget provides for an expenditure of 57,000,000 rubles on public health. During the period of the two Stalin Five-Year Plans the expenditures on public health have increased 20-fold. 26,000,000 rubles have been expended on the building of hospitals, dispensaries, nurseries and maternity homes. We have established a medical institute and a number of medical training colleges, and organized numerous courses for giving additional training to medical workers. Over 3,000 students are receiving instruction in the training colleges of the People's Commissariat of Public Health.

Stalin's solicitude for the health of the people has found its expression in the growth of the number of village hospitals, medical stations, rural obstetrical stations, etc. A network of maternity homes, women's consultation dispensaries, and milk stations has been built up.

The general growth of national economy has secured a fundamental improvement in the material condition of the masses of the working people, the builders of joyous Socialist life. This is natural, too, because the Budget of the only Socialist country in the world is alone designed to improve the material well-being of the people.

The working people of Armenia have achieved these successes as a result of the correct application of the national policy of Lenin and Stalin, and thanks to the strengthening of the indestructible Stalinian friendship between the peoples of the U.S.S.R. We have achieved these successes thanks to the daily solicitude shown by our great Stalin for the happiness of the people. *(Loud applause.)*

In carrying out the Budget, our task is to strengthen the financial control over all institutions, to tighten financial discipline, and more quickly to remove the effects of the activities of the wreckers.

The unified state Budget for 1938 submitted to the Supreme Soviet reflects our successes in all spheres of Socialist construction. It reflects the steady growth of the prosperity and the rise of the culture of the working people of the Soviet state.

Our Socialist Budget is a Budget of the well-being of the people, a Budget of the flourishing of our country. It expresses the solicitude for the individual shown by the genius of the world proletariat, Comrade Stalin. *(Applause.)*

Together with all the peoples of our Socialist country, the Armenian people is ready to rise to the defence of our happy fatherland at the first call of our Bolshevik Party, the Soviet Government and the leader of the peoples, Comrade Stalin. Let it be known to the Japanese interventionists and to the German and Italian fascists that the Soviet people is united as never before around the Party of Lenin and Stalin, around its own and beloved leader, Comrade Stalin. *(Loud applause.)*

That is why, comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet, we will all vote for the approval of the state Budget of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. (*Loud applause.*)

The Chairman: I call upon Deputy Ivanov.

S. M. Ivanov *(Ulan-Ude Rural Area, Buryat-Mongolian A.S.S.R.)*: Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet. The unified state Budget of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics presented by the Government of the U.S.S.R. for approval to the Session of the Supreme Soviet is a striking reflection of the strength and might of our great Socialist country. The Budget is entirely devoted to the further, even more rapid, flourishing of the first Socialist state of workers and peasants in the world.

That is why I fully second the motion made by a number of deputies to approve the Budget of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

A great part in all the successes which we have achieved in the past years was played by our finance system; for, unlike the Budgets of capitalist countries, the primary purpose of our Soviet Budget is to

advance the national economy of our country, to improve the material well-being of the masses of the working people. It reflects the constant concern of the Bolshevik Party, the Soviet Government and Comrade Stalin personally for the flourishing of the formerly backward and downtrodden peoples, for raising their economy and culture to the level of the advanced peoples of the Soviet Union.

Our Buryat-Mongolian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic furnishes a striking example of this. From a formerly backward border region of tsarist Russia, Buryat-Mongolia has been transformed during the years of the Stalin Five-Year Plans into one of the advanced republics of the great Soviet Union. Gone forever is the wretched life of the Buryat-Mongolian people, the savage arbitrary rule and mockeries of the tsarist officials, the local feudal tribal nobility, the noyenats, lamas and kulaks. Gone forever are ignorance and lack of culture.

During the years of the Stalin Five-Year Plans the Soviet Government allocated huge funds for the advancement of our economy and culture. Here are a few figures. During the two Five-Year Plan periods, capital investments in our Socialist industry amounted to 436,000,000 rubles. During the years of the Second Five-Year Plan, capital investments in the industry of the republic totalled more than twenty times as much as during the years of the First Five-Year Plan and 280 times as much as in the first year after the foundation of our republic.

Ten years ago the industry of Buryat-Mongolia represented an entirely unnoticeable little islet; today it has grown into a mighty force.

At the beginning of the First Five-Year Plan period industry comprised 12.2 per cent of the national economy of the republic; today it has grown to 71.1 per cent.

From a backward, downtrodden, semi-nomad country, Buryat-Mongolia has been transformed into an industrial-agrarian country. In the course of the two Five-Year Plans, an industry has been built up of which our people had never even dreamt before. On the territory of our republic industrial enterprises have been built which are of Union importance, such as the locomotive and railway car works, the meat-packing plant, the Djidinsk Tungsten Works, a mechanized glass works, etc. Parallel to the construction of new industrial enterprises, old enterprises have been enlarged and reconstructed.

Our agriculture has also undergone unparalleled development. We no longer have any nomad and semi-nomad camps—we have large scale Socialist agriculture. As a result of the liquidation of the pre-revolutionary agrarian relationships, as a result of the nomads' adopting a settled mode of life, and as a result of the collectivization of peasant farms and the equipment of the collective farms with up-to-date machinery, agriculture in Buryat-Mongolia has undergone a fundamental change.

The collective farm system has been created and consolidated. In place of the tiny and poor individual peasant farms we have created large-scale Socialist agriculture. Today our collective farms comprise 91 per cent of all peasant households and 93.5 per cent of the entire

area under cultivation in the republic. The area under cultivation is growing from year to year. From 123,980 hectares in 1923, the cultivated area extended to 358,598 hectares in 1937, which represents a 180 per cent increase. Buryat-Mongolian agriculture has a strong technical base. Twenty-five machine and tractor stations serve nearly 80 per cent of the entire cultivated area of our republic. 1,168 tractors, 344 harvester combines and thousands of other agricultural machines are working on our collective farm fields.

The collective farm system has brought new culture to the Buryat-Mongolian villages. New cadres of an agricultural intelligentsia have grown up. The cultural level of the collective farmers, men and women, has risen even more.

Soviet Buryat-Mongolia has achieved great successes in the development of culture, national in form and Socialist in content. Hundreds of elementary and intermediate schools and four higher educational establishments have been built in the republic. From a country lacking any culture, from a country of illiteracy and superstition, from a country of religious stupefaction, priestly obscurantism and lama quackery, Buryat-Mongolia has been transformed in the years of Soviet power into one of the most advanced republics of the Soviet Union in respect of culture.

The number of children attending elementary and part-grade and full-grade intermediate schools, all taken together, has increased 5.4-fold in fifteen years. Formerly very few children attended intermediate schools. In fifteen years the number of children attending intermediate schools has increased 28-fold.

Our Government allocates scores of millions of rubles annually for expenditure on public education in our republic. Whereas at the beginning, when our republic had just been formed, in 1924, the sum allocated for public education was 665,600 rubles, in 1938 allocations for expenditure on public education amount to 46,444,800 rubles. This represents a nearly 70-fold increase in fifteen years.

I shall draw a characteristic comparison. In 1913 the tsarist government spent on public education 70 kopecks per capita of the population. The per capita expenditure on public education in Buryat-Mongolia in 1937 amounted to 74.63 rubles.

Whereas at the beginning of the century only 4 per cent of the Transbaikal Buryats could read and write, today fully 90 per cent of our population is literate. During the last few years, aymak houses of culture, in addition to the collective farm clubs, have appeared in the aymaks and districts of our republic, where formerly there existed numerous monasteries of lamas, which served as centres for stupefying the people. The number of village reading rooms has increased from 43 in 1924 to 251 in the current year.

Large funds are assigned for expenditure on public health in Buryat-Mongolia. The number of medical institutions, such as hospitals, dispensaries, medical stations, sanatoriums, rest homes, etc., has grown enormously.

Soviet Buryat-Mongolia is a flourishing Socialist republic—a strong outpost of Socialism in the East. Under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, and with the help of the great Russian people, the peoples of Buryat-Mongolia, formerly doomed to extinction, have now obtained a happy and joyous life.

Comrades, the gigantic growth of the economy and culture of Buryat-Mongolia has been accompanied by a similar growth in the Budget of our republic. Whereas at the beginning of the First Five-Year Plan period the Budget amounted to 5,658,500 rubles, it amounted to 21,760,000 rubles at the beginning of the Second Five-Year Plan period, and to 104,101,000 rubles in 1937. In the last ten years alone our Budget has thus increased 18-fold. The greater part of our Budget goes for expenditure on public education and health. Out of a total expenditure of 113,382,000 rubles provided for in the 1938 Budget, 67,000,000 rubles are to be used for social and cultural services, as against 2,400,000 rubles in 1927. This is 59.8 per cent of the total expenditures provided for in the Budget for the current year.

All our successes have been achieved under the leadership of the Party of Lenin and Stalin and the Soviet Government, with the daily help and attention of our great leader and teacher, the inspirer of our victories, Comrade Stalin (*loud and prolonged applause*), and his faithful associate, Comrade Molotov. (*Loud and prolonged applause.*)

Our successes would have been still greater had it not been for the enemy activity of the Trotskyite-Bukharinite and bourgeois-nationalist fascist spies, diversionists, wreckers and murderers, who harboured designs for restoring the old system in Buryat-Mongolia and severing her from the great family of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. But the enemies miscalculated. With the help of the glorious Soviet intelligence service, headed by Nikolai Ivanovich Yezhov *(loud applause)*, the Buryat-Mongolian people has broken up the hornets' nests of the spies, wreckers, diversionists and murderers.

Comrades, I shall draw your attention to a number of defects and errors made by the People's Commissariat of Finance of the U.S.S.R. and the People's Commissariat of Finance of the R.S.F.S.R. in drawing up the local Budgets. These Commissariats sometimes pay little attention to certain distinguishing features of the remote republics, as in the case of Buryat-Mongolia. The People's Commissariats of Finance are not paying sufficient attention to the fact that she is remote from the centre and situated on the frontier. This sometimes leads them to ignore a number of questions which for us are of vital importance.

Firstly, I wish to point to the insufficient appropriations for the repair of school buildings and the purchase of school supplies. That is why many of our schools are badly repaired and ill-equipped.

Secondly, I must draw the attention of the deputies to the fact that the People's Commissariat of Finance of the R.S.F.S.R. and the Art Department do not provide sufficient funds for the development of our national art. The art of Buryat-Mongolia has blossomed forth only under the Soviet power, and large sums are allocated every year for

its development. None the less, I must state that Buryat-Mongolia is receiving considerably less than other republics, despite the fact that the development of our art at present demands greater assistance.

The most backward section of our work is housing and municipal services. Owing to the development of industry and the transformation of Ulan-Ude into the administrative and cultural centre of our republic, its population is growing at an exceedingly rapid pace. However, the State Planning Commission and the People's Commissariat of Finance of the R.S.F.S.R. are holding back the development of the municipal services, and our housing accommodations are hardly growing at all. This situation has obtained for a number of years.

In the conditions of Buryat-Mongolia, particularly great importance must be attached to melioration. In spite of this, the State Planning Commission and the People's Commissariat of Finance of the R.S.F.S.R. are paying entirely insufficient attention to this matter. Yet, in view of our droughty climate, irrigation would greatly increase the yield of our crops.

I want to draw your attention to a few other questions. The People's Commissariat of Finance is not taking into consideration the distinguishing features of each autonomous republic. Thus, having fixed the average norms for the amount of wages and other expenditures, it did not take into consideration the special features of each republic, among others Buryat-Mongolia, thus introducing equalization.

It is necessary to bear in mind that the distances separating the various districts of Buryat-Mongolia, and the necessity of maintaining direct contact under these conditions, require a larger expenditure on means of transportation and their upkeep.

The system of drawing up the control figures and the manner in which the Budgets of the autonomous republics are considered and approved represent questions of very great importance. The People's Commissariat of Finance of the R.S.F.S.R. treats the control figures as if they were the Budget. Thereby it encroaches on the budgetary rights of the local Soviets. The control figures for the Budget are determined by the People's Commissariat of Finance and other People's Commissariats of the Union republics. In the control figures everything is strictly itemized under the respective heads and exact figures are stated. Thus they become the Budget before the Councils of People's Commissars of the autonomous republics have had a chance to consider them. Consequently the governments of the autonomous republics are deprived of the opportunity of introducing amendments and corrections necessitated by local conditions. Such a system does not create favourable conditions for the initiative of the local organs, but, on the contrary, stifles initiative.

A few words about the establishment of a fixed percentage of allocations from Budget revenues, particularly the turnover tax. This year the People's Commissariat of Finance has changed the percentage of allocations from the revenue items of the Budget twice, and as a result placed us twice in financial difficulties.

I am confident that the Government of the U.S.S.R. and the People's Commissariat of Finance will take these remarks into account.

Comrades, I share the opinion of the deputies who have spoken here and also lay particular stress on the necessity of approving the appropriation of 27,000,000,000 rubles for expenditure on the defence of our country. We live in a capitalist encirclement. The fascist warmongers, in trying to provoke us to a war, are endeavouring to deprive the peoples of our country of their happy and joyous life; but their efforts are vain. Never shall this happen! Not a single enemy shall set foot on Soviet territory! Let it be known to the Japanese *samurai* that in case of any provocation they will have to deal with the great Soviet state, with its valiant Workers' and Peasants' Red Army, which is prepared to destroy the enemy on his own territory. (*Loud applause.*)

Having met, before the eyes of the whole world, with a deserved repulse at the hands of the glorious Workers' and Peasants' Red Army, the Japanese military had another opportunity to become convinced of the strength and might of our country.

I am expressing the will of the electors of the frontier republic of Buryat-Mongolia, who are ready at any minute, at the first call of the Party and the Soviet Government, to rise to the defence of the Soviet borders, when I am asking the Council of People's Commissars and its Chairman, Comrade Molotov, to act in the future with the same resolution and firmness in dealing with the impudent aggressors who may try to violate peace and kindle the flames of war. Rest assured that every measure of the Soviet Government taken for the preservation of peace and for the defence of the Soviet frontiers will always meet with the universal approval and support of the heroic Soviet people. (*Loud applause.*)

The regenerated Buryat-Mongolian people loves the Party of Lenin and Stalin, its Soviet Government, its happy fatherland. Together with all the peoples of the U.S.S.R. it is prepared to defend the achievements of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

Comrades, permit me to assure you that, under the leadership of the Stalin Central Committee of our Party, under the leadership of Comrade Stalin, the working people of the Buryat-Mongolian Republic will achieve even greater successes and will wipe out the last remnants of the enemies of the people.

Long live the organizer and inspirer of the gigantic victories of Socialism—our great and wise, our own Comrade Stalin! (*Loud and prolonged applause. All rise.*)

The Chairman: I call upon Deputy Nikolayeva.

K. I. Nikolayeva (*Kashin Area, Kalinin Region*): Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet. Our Government has presented the revenue and expenditure estimates in the unified state Budget to the Session of the Supreme Soviet for its consideration and approval.

We have heard the report of the People's Commissar of Finance, Comrade Zverev, and the co-report of the Chairman of the Budget Commission, Comrade Sidorov.

Every one of us listened with great joy to the provisions of the Budget of the Soviet Union. Each figure of the Budget speaks strikingly and convincingly of the enormous growth of the national income and wealth of our country, of the growth of the prosperity and culture of the millions of the people of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Only in our country are there unlimited possibilities for the rise of the productive forces and for a tempestuous growth of all branches of national economy—industry, transport, agriculture, trade, as well as culture, science and technology.

From year to year the national economy of our great country is growing. From year to year the Budget revenues and expenditures of our country are increasing.

Our Budget differs fundamentally from the Budgets of capitalist countries. There is no such Budget in any capitalist country. The budgetary resources of the capitalist countries, particularly those dominated by the fascists, are expended on the preparation and waging of new sanguinary wars, wrecking the culture of humanity and destroying millions of human lives. Unbearable taxes and growing poverty and unemployment are strangling the working class and all the working people in the capitalist countries.

The lot of the labouring masses of town and countryside is particularly hard in such countries as Germany, Italy and Japan. The peoples of these countries are forced to carry the burdens of the wars which fascism has instigated. Fascism is draining all the life-sap of the labouring masses and is turning the national resources into death-dealing weapons which are used against the people.

A fundamentally different picture is presented by our Socialist country. The Party of Lenin and Stalin and the Soviet Government are leading our country from victory to victory. Under the leadership of our great Stalin, our country has become the mightiest power in the world. The figures of our Budget reflect the grandeur and might of our magnificent country.

The U.S.S.R. is the country of the most advanced, Socialist industry and of Socialist agriculture, run on the largest scale in the world. The years of the two Stalin Five-Year Plans were years during which agriculture was equipped on a mass scale with tractors, harvester combines and other agricultural machinery. The collective farm system has opened up boundless possibilities for the development of all branches of agriculture.

The Soviet countryside is keeping pace with our cities. Together with the working class, the labouring people of the countryside are demonstrating their strength and the fact that they are united around the Party and the Soviet Government, they are demonstrating their love and devotion to the leader of peoples, Comrade Stalin. (*Applause.*)

Comrades, it is the millions of the people themselves, led by the Party of Lenin and Stalin, who are creating happiness and joy in our country.

The Stalin Constitution ensures the right to education, the right to rest, the right to maintenance in old age and in case of disability. The figures of our Budget reflect the great and constant solicitude of our Party and the Government for the individual, for the health of the people, their concern for the children, for mother and child, their concern for the training of the younger generation, their concern for creating new cadres for industry and agriculture, their concern for the great growth of culture, science, technology and art.

In 1933 expenditures on social and cultural services totalled 6,000,000,000 rubles; in 1938 they will increase to 31,386,000,000 rubles. As compared with the year 1937, expenditures on social and cultural services will increase by 23.3 per cent. Together with expenditures from sources not provided for in the Budget, they will reach the sum of 42,000,000,000 rubles. In no other country in the world are such great resources spent for such purposes.

About 10,000,000,000 rubles will be expended on education and the training of children.

Under tsarism, only one-fourth of the number of children attended school, and in the national regions, where the working population was particularly oppressed by tsarism, the percentage of children attending school was extremely small; girls received no instruction at all.

At present all children in our country attend school. In 1938 the number of children attending school equals 33,247,000.

Appropriations for education in tsarist Russia in 1913 totalled 182,000,000 rubles; whereas in the Soviet Union in 1938 the sum of 20,137,000,000 rubles will be expended on education.

The Budget provides for the expenditure of over 7,000,000,000 rubles on the training of cadres. This includes instruction in higher educational establishments, training colleges, and workers' colleges, in which great numbers of our youth are studying. These expenditures include about 2,000,000,000 rubles for mass training at various courses.

Tsarist Russia had only 91 higher educational establishments; in the Soviet Union we have over 700 universities and institutes. In tsarist Russia there were 233 training colleges; we have 2,572.

The enormous growth in the number of educational establishments and their attendance puts upon us the obligation to see to it that the funds allocated by the Government for the training of cadres are utilized with the greatest possible effect. Particular attention must be paid to regulating the questions of student contingents, of cost standards, of the organization of instruction, of cultural services to the students and of their living conditions.

The training of cadres on a large scale at courses and through correspondence is carried on by all People's Commissariats without exception. This is very important and very necessary work, but it is not everywhere well organized.

Take, for instance, the People's Commissariat of Agriculture, which will receive 809,000,000 rubles for expenditure on science, kindergartens and the training of cadres.

As you see, the Government is allocating to the People's Commissariat of Agriculture huge funds to be spent on the development of science and the training of cadres. But this work is badly organized in the Commissariat, particularly with regard to the training of cadres in mass demand. The People's Commissariat of Agriculture is supposed to train harvester-combine operators, tractor drivers, mechanics, chauffeurs, workers for experimental fields, etc. However, in the People's Commissariat of Agriculture they do not know how the work went on last year and how many people were receiving instruction. The funds are not utilized effectively, and in many cases there is no control over the way they are spent.

Neither do they know how work has been organized this year. In the People's Commissariat of Agriculture the direction of the work of training cadres is left to the various departments. There is neither centralized management nor direction of this work. No financial accounts are kept for the network of courses, and nobody knows how many courses and schools exist and function.

The People's Commissariat of Agriculture must concern itself with both the organization and the management of this work.

We find in each People's Commissariat a different approach to the organization of courses, and also different rates of expenditure per student. It would be expedient to work out a single plan for the organization of the various courses and make the rates uniform.

The Budget provides for a huge expenditure—more than 1,000,000,000 rubles—on scientific research institutes. This is an expression of the concern shown by the Party and the Government for the development of science. Actually, the total expended on the development of science is considerably larger, because the scientific research institutions of the industrial People's Commissariats are financed from two sources: from the funds allotted in the state Budget and from the funds of industry.

However, the funds allotted in the state Budget are lumped together in the total sum of expenditures on scientific research work; they are not itemized, and it is not always that the People's Commissariat of Finance considers the schedule of expenses for each scientific research institute separately.

This situation leads to a lack of control over the expenditure of funds.

The People's Commissariat of Public Health, for instance, has 264 scientific institutes; and in some cases there are several institutes working on the same subject. It behoves the People's Commissariat of Public Health to check up on each institute, merge the smaller ones, and regulate the work of the institutes.

Our Party and Government are concerned about the individual when he is in good health and when he is ill, when he works and when he is disabled.

In our country children are happy, and old people are not afraid of old age, for they know that the Soviet state ensures their maintenance in

old age. This is evidenced by the allocations for social maintenance, as well as by the funds provided in the Budget for social insurance. For 1938, the sum of benefits for temporary disability, to be paid out of the social insurance funds at the disposal of the trade unions, has been fixed at 2,136,600,000 rubles.

There is a growth in the total of wages paid out to workers and other employees. Whereas in 1937 the total amounted to 82,000,000,000 rubles, it is scheduled to increase to 94,000,000,000 rubles in 1938.

More than 1,000,000,000 rubles has been allotted for rest homes and sanatoriums belonging to the trade unions, to be paid out of the funds of social insurance.

The state Budget provides for an expenditure of 77,000,000 rubles on physical culture; in addition, the Budget of social insurance provides for an expenditure of 148,000,000 rubles on physical culture.

The number of people accommodated in the rest homes and sanatoriums is growing from year to year.

All this shows what vast benefits are enjoyed by the working people in the Soviet Union. All that is necessary is that the organizations whose business it is to look after cultural services and measures for the improvement of living conditions should do their work well and should fully utilize all the possibilities placed at their disposal.

The considerable increase in expenditure on public health secures the further growth of the network of hospitals, maternity homes. nurseries, consultation dispensaries. However, during the examination of the Budget many defects in the work of the public health organizations were brought to light.

The material dealing with the way the Budget was carried out in 1937 shows that the existing network of hospitals, maternity homes and nurseries was not everywhere utilized to the full. For instance, while the plan provided for the utilization of each bed in the hospitals in the cities during 330 days of the year, actually hospital beds were utilized during 322 days of the year in the R.S.F.S.R., and 319 days in the Byelorussian S.S.R.

In rural hospitals, with regard to which the plan provided for the utilization of each bed during 300 days of the year, the actual average time of utilization was 280 days in the R.S.F.S.R. and 283 days in the Byelorussian S.S.R.

In the nurseries, with regard to which the plan provided for the utilization of each bed during 330 days of the year, the actual time of utilization was 261 days in the R.S.F.S.R. and 234 days in the Byelorussian S.S.R.

This situation obtains not only in the institutions under the local organs, but also in the hospitals and nurseries in the charge of the People's Commissariat of Public Health of the R.S.F.S.R.

Thus, in the hospitals serving the workers of water transport the actual average time of utilization of a hospital bed was 306 days instead of 330 days, and the time of utilization of a bed in nurseries was 237 days of the year.

This situation is entirely due to the lack of efficiency on the part of the public health organizations and to the wrong tendency to reduce the time of the utilization of beds.

The 1938 plan provides for a considerable increase in the number of children's nurseries, both in the cities and in the rural districts. The number of beds in nurseries is to increase by 161,000.

In spite of the fact that 343 newly built nurseries and 207 maternity homes have been opened, it is necessary to point out that the construction of new nurseries and maternity homes, for which the necessary funds have been allotted, is proceeding unsatisfactorily. The construction of children's institutions must be accelerated.

The Party and the Government are showing exceptionally great solicitude for the children. The Party and the Government are doing everything to make childhood and motherhood happy and joyous. In no other country is so much love shown for children and young people as is shown by our Party, our Government and Comrade Stalin. *(Applause.)*

Comrades, in our country the birth of a new human being does not constitute a burden on the family, as is the case in capitalist countries, and particularly in fascist countries.

It is stated in a German magazine that 700,000 abortions were made in Germany in one year. In the Land of Soviets 5,350,000 births were registered in the year 1936, and 6,290,000 births in the year 1937, while infant mortality was reduced by half as compared with the year 1913.

In 1938, state funds allotted for social insurance will amount to 6,230,000,000 rubles; out of this sum about 1,000,000,000 rubles is provided for pregnancy and maternity benefits.

State assistance for mothers of large families was paid out to 255,026 families, the total amounting to 1,177,000,000 rubles. In Moscow alone the sum of 2,821,000 rubles was paid out.

In 1914, in tsarist Russia, there were nurseries with accommodations for 550 children in the whole of the country. Today, in the Soviet Union, more than 500,000 children in the cities and more than 3,000,000 children in the rural districts are accommodated in nurseries. We have 90,000 beds in our maternity homes, as against 6,800 in tsarist Russia. Before the revolution there were only 9 consultation dispensaries; now we have 4,500. In the year 1937 alone they were visited by about 40,000,000 mothers.

In tsarist Russia there were kindergarten accommodations for 7,000 children; our kindergartens accommodate more than 3,000,000 children.

It must be pointed out, however, that the huge funds allotted by the Government are not always fully utilized. The fault lies both with the People's Commissariats and with the trade unions. While we have a large number of places for children in kindergartens, there are cases of kindergartens having vacancies.

When the kindergartens were handed over to the People's Commissariats, the latter should have appointed special people to take charge of them. However, not all the People's Commissariats have done so.

It is necessary to work out fixed standards of cost in the kindergartens, and do away with the present disparities.

It must be pointed out that the carrying out of the Budget with regard to revenues and expenditures requires serious work, as well as absolute observance of Budget discipline. In the item of expenditure on social and cultural services there is a sub-item: "other expenditures." I paid particular attention to this sub-item when we examined the Budget provisions for social and cultural services. It turned out that there is no control exercised with regard to this sub-item, and very frequently expenditures that are not called for are written into it. Thus, for instance, the People's Commissariat of Agriculture included the sum of 1,200,000 rubles for kindergartens under the sub-item of "other expenditures," although kindergartens are taken care of in a special item of the expenditure.

The principal measures in connection with physical culture have also been entered under the sub-item "other expenditures."

In drawing up the Budget for social and cultural services, the People's Commissariat of Finance ought to have a single method of calculation, and this requires centralized supervision of expenditures on social and cultural services. As it is, the work is divided up among the various sectors of the People's Commissariat of Finance.

In approving the Budget submitted by our Government, I wish to dwell upon one item of the Budget which, like the whole of the Budget, will unquestionably meet with the universal approval of our people—the provision for the expenditure of 27,000,000,000 rubles on strengthening the defensive power of our country.

Comrade Stalin has said that "the distinctive feature of our revolution is that it brought the people not only freedom, but also material benefits and the possibility of a prosperous and cultured life." The millions of the multi-national Soviet people have won these benefits of Socialism under the leadership of our great Party of Lenin and Stalin, in a ruthless struggle against all enemies of the people. The Trotskyite and Bukharinite agents of fascism—spies, wreckers, diversionists, murderers—had wormed their way into the pores of our apparatus, with the object of carrying on their dastardly, vile, treasonable work. With the aid of our intelligence service, headed by Comrade Yezhov, the Soviet people smashed the enemy gangs. But the capitalist encirclement is still there. Comrade Stalin teaches us to remember and never to forget this. Mankind is threatened with a new war which the fascist aggressors are instigating. The danger of a military attack of the fascist aggressors upon the Soviet Union has become more acute. This can be seen from the attempts of the Japanese military clique to thrust war upon us. Our valiant Red Army gave a crushing repulse to the arrogant Japanese military clique. The Land of Soviets is in a position to deal with any aggressor. Comrade Stalin has said: "We stand for peace and champion the cause of peace. But we are not afraid of threats and are prepared to answer the instigators of war blow for blow."

Our Soviet people, fighting for peace, have been strengthening and will go on strengthening the defensive power of the Socialist fatherland.

Our Soviet people have been strengthening and will go on strengthening their glorious, invincible Red Army. (*Loud applause.*)

The millions of our people know that they have what to defend, the means with which to defend it, and the people who will defend it. If it should become necessary, all the working people will rise to a man to defend their magnificent Socialist fatherland.

The Soviet people are confident of their victory, and woe betide those who attempt to lift a hand against the achievements of Socialism.

The people have demonstrated the mighty strength of their unity at the elections to the Supreme Soviets. They have demonstrated their love for and devotion to their great country, their love for and devotion to the Soviet Government, with Comrade Molotov at its head, their love for and devotion to our great Bolshevik Party and our leader and teacher, Comrade Stalin. (*Loud applause.*) Long live our great fatherland! Long live our invincible Party! Long live our leader and teacher, our own Comrade Stalin! (*Loud and prolonged applause.*)

The Chairman: Comrades, the time of today's sitting is up. The next sitting will be held tomorrow, August 14, at 11 o'clock in the morning. This closes the third sitting of the Soviet of the Union.

FOURTH SITTING

August 14, 1938

T. D. Lysenko, Vice-Chairman of the Soviet of the Union, takes his seat on the dais, and the members of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. and the leaders of the Party and the Government enter the boxes. They are greeted with loud and prolonged applause. All rise.

T. D. Lysenko (*in the chair*): I hereby open the sitting of the Soviet of the Union. We shall proceed with the debate on the report on the Unified State Budget for 1938. I call upon Deputy Verendyakin.

V. V. Verendyakin (*Lukoyanov Area, Gorky Region*): Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet. The unified state Budget of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics submitted by the Council of People's Commissars of the Union to the Second Session of the Supreme Soviet for ratification provides vivid corroboration of the fact that the fulfilment of the two Stalin Five-Year Plans has transformed our country into an advanced and mighty industrial power, technically and economically independent of capitalist countries.

Our country has a Socialist agricultural system, run on the largest scale in the world. The mechanization of agriculture and the success of the collective farm system has enabled us in 1937 to achieve an abundant grain harvest totalling 7,000,000,000 poods. The development of industry, agriculture, trade and transport, the steady rise in the standard of living of the working people, the prosperous, cultured, happy and joyous life of the peoples of our country are all evidence that the Socialist system has completely triumphed in all branches of the economic life of the Soviet Union.

Led by the Bolshevik Party and by Comrade Stalin, we have in the main built a Socialist society in our country and achieved the first stage of Communism. The crowning glory of the imposing edifice of Socialism is our Stalin Constitution. The tremendous progress of economic life in the Soviet Union and the moral and political unity of our people have helped immeasurably to enhance the prestige of the U.S.S.R. in the eyes of the working people of the whole world.

The development of the Socialist economic system and the brilliant

victory achieved by the Stalin Communist and non-Party bloc in the elections to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. and to the Supreme Soviets of the Union and Autonomous Republics are one more reminder to the capitalists and to the fascist aggressors that the Soviet Union is invincible. We firmly adhere to a policy of peace. We do not want war, but we are ready at a moment's notice to give a crushing blow in reply to any blow of our enemies. We shall thrash the enemy on his own territory, no matter where he comes from. Let the fascist aggressors, and especially the Japanese *samurai*, who have been beaten more than once by our glorious frontier guards, remember this.

The Budget which has been submitted to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. reflects every branch of our national economy.

I fully and completely endorse the proposal made by Comrade Korotchenko and other deputies who have spoken here to ratify the state Budget of the Soviet Union for 1938 which has been submitted to the Session of the Supreme Soviet. It is with a feeling of particular pleasure that we, the members of the Supreme Soviet, will vote for the endorsement of the expenditure on defence measures amounting to 27,000,000,000 rubles. Let the fascist aggressors know that if the need should arise, we shall increase several times over the appropriations for strengthening the defence of our splendid, happy and beloved fatherland! We shall grant any sum that may be required for the defence of our country.

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics possesses inexhaustible potentialities, rich resources for the enhancement of its power. In our Socialist state, the workers' and peasants' state, there is no such thing as the private ownership of means of production and natural resources, there is no such thing as exploiting classes. All the means of production and the wealth of the country are in the hands of the working people. In our country two great forces—the people and Communism—have united. This mighty force, the like of which is unknown to history, is guided by that great genius of the human race, Comrade Stalin. (*Loud applause.*)

The Great October Socialist Revolution emancipated the Mordovian people from oppression and slavery. The Mordovian people have become a free and equal member of the family of nations of the Soviet Union. The working people of the Mordovian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, led by the Party of Lenin and Stalin, with the aid of the great Russian people, and thanks to the interest displayed personally by Comrade Stalin, have acquired extensive opportunities for the development of their economic life and their culture, which is national in form and Socialist in content.

Thanks to the proper application of the national policy of Lenin and Stalin, the national economy and the Budget of the Mordovian A.S.S.R. are growing from year to year. During the past five years the Budget of the republic has increased more than four-fold. Whereas in 1933 it totalled 31,139,000 rubles, in 1938 it totals 131,701,000 rubles. This sum includes 100,708,000 rubles, or 77 per cent of the total Budget, for social and cultural measures. An expenditure of 77 per cent of the Bud-

get on social and cultural measures is something unheard-of and impossible in any capitalist country!

Before the revolution Mordovia was one of the most backward regions in the country. During the period of the two Stalin Five-Year Plans a new industry, equipped with the most up-to-date machinery, has been created in the Mordovian A.S.S.R. Dozens of industrial plants have been built: a cannery, a cottonine factory, a tanning extract plant and the Saransk electric power station. The largest hemp and jute works in the Soviet Union is being built in the Mordovian Republic. There are now 62 industrial enterprises under Union and republican control in the Mordovian A.S S.R.

The small number of plants that existed in Mordovia before the revolution were mainly engaged in the production of alcohol and timber. Today the industries of the Mordovian A.S.S.R. turn out a varied assortment of goods, including canned foods, cottonine, paper, makhorka, tanning extract, rope, household twine and binder twine. The total output is estimated at 66,000,000 rubles per annum.

With the growth of industry has grown the working class, especially among the native population.

Tremendous progress has also been made by our Socialist agriculture. The collective farm system has triumphed in the Mordovian A.S.S.R. once and for all. In the old days there were 250,000 individual peasant households in Mordovia. Today there are 1,500 collective farms in the republic and in addition 22 state farms. The collective farms and state farms cultivate 98.6 per cent of the total arable area. The fields of the Mordovian A.S.S.R. are being worked with the help of 2,600 tractors, 480 harvester combines, 600 motor trucks, and thousands of complex agricultural machines, such as threshers, grain cleaners, flax harvesters, flax and hemp cultivators and soil treatment machinery. The ranks of the native population have produced a large staff of agricultural specialists: tractor drivers, harvester-combine operators, motor drivers, mechanics, agronomists and engineers.

The harvests of the collective farms of the Mordovian A.S.S.R. are steadily growing, and the workers and the collective farmers of the Mordovian Republic are living a prosperous, cultured and happy life. Before the revolution there were hundreds of churches and 14 monasteries in Mordovia. Barely 10 per cent of the population were literate. There was no Mordovian alphabet. Today education is universal in the republic. There are 1,250 schools with 221,200 pupils. There are 15 special secondary schools, a pedagogical institute, a teachers' training college, an agricultural school and a scientific research institute.

Thirty-three newspapers, including 21 in the Mordovian language and one in the Tatar language, are published in the republic.

A Mordovian publishing house has been founded. Four magazines in the Mordovian language are issued. There was no theatre in Mordovia in pre-revolutionary times. Now there is a theatre and an opera house.

There was practically no medical service before the revolution. Now

there are 412 medical institutions in the Mordovian A.S.S.R., including 45 hospitals, 76 dispensaries, and 98 rural first aid and maternity centres.

Backward Mordovia no longer exists; there is now the advanced, cultured, prosperous and happy Mordovian A.S.S.R.! For all these tremendous achievements we have to thank the Party of Lenin and Stalin, our Government, and our great leader and teacher, Comrade Stalin, personally. (*Loud applause.*)

Considerable damage was done to the national economy of Mordovia by the enemies of the people—the Trotskyites, Bukharinites and bourgeois nationalists. These contemptible traitors to the country and spies of fascist intelligence services have been smashed by our glorious People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs, which is headed by the Stalin People's Commissar, Nikolai Ivanovich Yezhov.

The enemy nests have been destroyed, but that does not mean that everything that should be done has been done, and that we may rest on our laurels. The enemy has been smashed, but not exterminated. No complacency, no sense of false security must be tolerated in our ranks. We must enhance our vigilance, master Bolshevism and expose whatever enemies still remain, no matter what mask they may hide behind. The consequences of their wrecking work must be eliminated as early as possible.

The workers, peasants and Soviet intellectuals have all risen like a solid wall around the Party of Lenin and Stalin. The moral and political unity of the working people of the Mordovian A.S.S.R. is growing stronger and stronger every day. 98.3 per cent of those entitled to vote actually voted in the elections to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. and 99.62 per cent in the elections to the Supreme Soviet of the R.S.F.S.R. and to the Supreme Soviet of the Mordovian A.S.S.R. The working people of the Mordovian A.S.S.R. voted unanimously for the Communist and non-Party bloc. The premier deputy unanimously elected to the Supreme Soviet of the Mordovian A.S.S.R. was the deputy of all the people, our great Stalin (*loud applause*), as well as his glorious colleagues, Comrades Molotov, Kaganovich, Voroshilov, Yezhov, Kalinin, Andreyev, Zhdanov and Bulganin. (*Applause.*)

But side by side with our important achievements, we also still have a number of defects. We are fulfilling the financial plan badly. Work in connection with the Budget is not very well organized in our republic, and the plan of housing and municipal construction is being carried out unsatisfactorily, although building is proceeding far better than last year.

In view of the growth of the national economy and the increased demands of the working people of our republic, we request the Union Government in the operation of the Budget for 1938 and when it comes to examine the control figures of the national economy and the Budget for 1939, to bear in mind the following proposals we submit.

Firstly, the plan for industrial development in the Mordovian A.S.S.R. should include the construction of an automobile and tractor

repair works. This is necessitated by the fact that no such works exists either in the Mordovian A.S.S.R. or in nearby districts of other regions and republics. As a result our automobiles and tractors are suffering great damage and machines are prematurely going out of commission.

Secondly, the plan should include the construction of a cement works with a capacity of 10,000 tons per annum, two lime kilns, a brick kiln, a tile kiln and a clinker plant. The republic has the necessary raw material and fuel. These plants are required in order to improve the supply of building materials and to lower building costs.

And quite a lot of building is going on in our republic. We are to invest 9,000,000 rubles in the construction of houses, cultural institutions, and other amenities, 14,000,000 rubles in industrial development, and 4,000,000 rubles in agricultural development, or a total of 27,000,000 rubles. This does not include construction work by co-operative societies and collective farms.

We hope to receive larger funds for these purposes nextyear. At present we are more or less ensuring our own supplies of timber, brick, lime and stone, but we are experiencing great difficulty with regard to cement and iron. The unpunctual and insufficient delivery of these materials is preventing the prompt fulfilment of the construction program.

A decision must also be reached to develop the pottery industry in Mordovia.

Thirdly, we request that funds be assigned for our locally controlled industries. The enemies of the people left these industries unsupplied with the necessary working capital, and as a result the locally controlled industries are now experiencing acute financial difficulties.

Fourthly, appropriations must be made for the building of a dam in Saransk, the capital of the Mordovian A.S.S.R. The number of industrial enterprises is growing from day to day and we are experiencing difficulties with regard to water supply. If the factories and the city population are to be ensured a full supply of water, a dam will have to be built.

Fifthly, we request that funds be granted in 1939 for the building of power stations in Saransk and on the Rivers Alatyr and Moksha. The existing power station in Saransk cannot satisfy the growing demand for electricity; furthermore, it was built 60 km. away from the peat bogs, and this entails a great strain on railway transportation and increases the cost of electricity. The building of a power station on the River Alatyr was provided for in the First Five-Year Plan, but not only did the enemies of the people not build the station, but apparently destroyed all the documents relating to it.

Sixthly, we request that instructions be given to the People's Commissariat of Light Industry to assign funds in 1939 for the installation of macerating plant in the existing hemp factories of the republic. Owing to the lack of macerating plant we are losing a large quantity of valuable raw material.

Seventhly, housing and public utilities in the towns of the Mordovian A.S.S.R. are lagging behind the growth of the population and the growth in the number of industrial workers. The development of cultural institutions is not keeping pace with the growing demands of the working people. This makes it urgently necessary in 1939 to increase the grants to the Mordovian A.S.S.R. for housing and municipal construction, for cultural institutions and public services, schools, hospitals, rest homes and administrative buildings, and for municipal improvements in district centres. In addition, funds should be assigned for the founding of a medical institute.

In conclusion, I should like to say a few words about the work of the People's Commissariat of Agriculture of the U.S.S.R. The land departments receive huge funds from the state Budget, but their work is far from satisfactory. The People's Commissariat of Agriculture of the U.S.S.R. is primarily to blame for this.

In a number of regions the available machinery is not being put to its full use. The machines are not made to yield all they can.

There has never been a year when oil fuel has been delivered to the Mordovian A.S.S.R. in good time. In the first half of 1938 full deliveries to us were 6,000 tons short. Automobiles and tractors stand idle for a month and more. Before the beginning of each month we apply to the People's Commissariat of Agriculture of the U.S.S.R. for the delivery of fuel. They promise to do so, but every month the promises are broken.

Only yesterday we received a telegram from Saransk saying that fuel has not been delivered and that harvester combines are standing idle. This abominable state of affairs in the People's Commissariat of Agriculture must be put a stop to.

I expect that the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. and Comrade Molotov will direct their attention to the work of the People's Commissariat of Agriculture and will strengthen its staff, otherwise this Commissariat will keep on letting us down.

Comrades, a lot has been done, but a lot more remains to be done. The tasks that confront us are complex ones, but there are no fortresses which Bolsheviks cannot capture!

Let us rally more closely still around the Central Committee of our Party and the great leader and friend of the working people—Comrade Stalin!

Let our vigilance be greater, and our eye keener!

Let us keep our powder dry!

At the first call of Comrade Stalin we shall rise solidly in defence of our beloved country. Our gallant Red Army, headed by Comrade Voroshilov, Marshal of the Soviet Union, will destroy the enemy on his own territory.

Long live the great Bolshevik Party!

Long live Comrade Stalin! (*Loud and prolonged applause.*)

The Chairman: Deputy Nikitin.

A. N. Nikitin (*Borovichi Area, Leningrad Region*): Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet. I fully and completely endorse the

proposal of Deputy Korotchenko and others to adopt the unified state Budget of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The Budget submitted to the Session of the Supreme Soviet reflects the great successes achieved in all branches of Socialist construction by our country, led by the glorious Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) and the great leader of the peoples, Comrade Stalin. (*Applause.*)

The state Budget under examination by the Session of the Supreme Soviet will, as must be clear to every deputy, ensure the further progress of industry and agriculture, a further rise in the standard of living of the working people of our country, the progress of culture and art, and, what is most important, the strengthening of the defensive power of our fatherland. That is why the deputies are so unanimous in their approval of the Budget submitted by the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. for endorsement by the Session.

There is one side of the Budget to which attention should be drawn. I am referring to the appropriations for social and cultural measures. The Budget figures show what exceptional care is being displayed by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks), by the Soviet Government and by Comrade Stalin personally for the well-being of our people. The Budget for 1938 provides for an expenditure of 20,100,000,000 rubles on education, 8,076,000,000 rubles on public health and over 3,000,000,000 rubles on social maintenance.

The capitalist states, and especially the fascist states, trample on the interests and the vital needs of the people. The lion's share of their Budgets is spent on preparations for war, for military adventures, and the whole burden of the military expenditures is laid upon the shoulders of the working people. The Bolshevik Party and the Soviet Government assign enormous sums for the development of the economic and cultural life of all the republics, territories and regions of the Soviet Union.

Thanks to the constant aid of the Central Committee of our Party, the Soviet Government, and Comrade Stalin personally, the economic life, culture and art of Leningrad and of the Leningrad Region have made great progress during the past few years.

In 1937 alone the large-scale industry of Leningrad produced goods to a value of 9,091,000,000 rubles, which represents an increase of 200 per cent as compared with 1932. The industrial output of Leningrad and the Leningrad Region is now almost as large as that of the whole of Russia in tsarist times.

Big qualitative changes have taken place in industry: machinery has been renewed and the efficiency of the Leningrad industries has increased. The level of development of the industry of Leningrad and the Leningrad Region is such as to enable it to supply the most up-to-date machinery to our national economy and first-class armaments, in any required quantity, to our valorous Red Army and Red Navy.

With the direct assistance of the Central Committee of our Party and the Soviet Government, a tremendous amount has been done for the reconstruction of Leningrad.

Since the Soviet regime was established, houses with a total living space of 2,095,000 sq. m. have been built. This year 170 houses with a total living space of 435,000 sq. m. are in course of construction. During the period of the two Stalin Five-Year Plans, 2,440,000 sq. m. of roadway were paved, 15 houses of culture and 180 new schools built, and so on.

The result of all these measures is that the appearance of Leningrad has completely changed. The gulf which divided the centre of the city from the working-class areas in pre-revolutionary times has completely disappeared. In the working-class districts, where formerly filthy slums and unpaved streets prevailed, fine, bright houses, equipped with water supply and sewerage systems, have been erected and new and splendidly paved streets have been laid out.

Compared with 1933, the Budget of Leningrad has more than trebled. Whereas in 1933 the Budget of Leningrad totalled 357,000,000 rubles, in 1938 it totals 1,140,000,000 rubles.

It is incidentally worth recalling what sort of Budget was drawn up by the "City Fathers," the tsarist satraps. In 1913 the Budget of St. Petersburg amounted to only 47,000,000 rubles. As the late Sergei Mironovich Kirov aptly remarked, everything in Leningrad is new except for the old and glorious revolutionary Bolshevik traditions of the St. Petersburg workers.

Considerable achievements stand to the credit of the Leningrad Region. We know that agriculture in the former St. Petersburg, Pskov and Novgorod Provinces was extremely backward in technique. According to a census taken in 1910, there were within the territory of the present Leningrad Region 116,000 primitive ploughs and 250,000 wooden harrows. The Leningrad Region now possesses first-class agricultural machinery. There are 116 machine and tractor stations in the region, and the fields of the collective farms and state farms are cultivated by 6,337 tractors, 402 Northern harvester combines and 547 flax-pullers.

The Leningrad Region can now meet its own grain requirements, which it never could in the old days. Before the Great October Revolution wheat was grown in the territory of the present Leningrad Region on an area of only 2,900 hectares. In 1938 wheat has been sown in the Leningrad Region on an area of 153,600 hectares.

Comrade Zhdanov, the leader of the Leningrad Bolsheviks, stated at the Extraordinary Eighth All-Union Congress of Soviets that in 1936 the Leningrad Region alone supplied the state with more flax than was produced in the whole of fascist Germany.

Side by side with the economic progress of the region, rapid progress is being made in the fields of education and public health. The number of pupils and teachers has increased considerably. Before the Great October Revolution there were 203,000 pupils in the territory of the present Leningrad Region; in the school year 1937-38 there were already

550,000 pupils. Before the revolution there were 6,000 teachers in the region; now there are three times the number.

Compared with pre-revolutionary times, the number of hospital beds has increased three-fold.

The Budget of the Leningrad Region has grown considerably. This year it is over three times the Budget of 1933 and amounts to 528,000,000 rubles (not counting Leningrad city).

All these victories have been won by the working people of Leningrad and the Leningrad Region primarily because the Leningrad Bolsheviks, led by Comrade Zhdánov, with the aid of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs, headed by the Stalin People's Commissar, Nikolai Ivanovich Yezhov, have smashed the savage enemies of the people—the Trotskyite and Bukharinite spies, diversionists and wreckers, the agents of Japanese and German fascism.

The working people of the city and the region. led by the Bolshevik organization in Leningrad, are successfully eliminating the consequences of wrecking activities, strengthening the economic might of the city and the region, and turning them into fortresses unassailable by the enemies.

During the election campaign and at the time when the ire of the people was aroused by the provocative actions of the Japanese military, the working people of Leningrad and the Leningrad Region once more demonstrated their solidarity, their love and loyalty to the Party of Lenin and Stalin, and to the leader and teacher of the Soviet people, Comrade Stalin. (*Loud applause.*)

Comrades, the requirements of the Budget we are now discussing must be fulfilled at all costs. This will to a large extent depend on the People's Commissariats. In this connection I would like to make a few critical remarks about the activities of some of the People's Commissariats.

I shall begin with the People's Commissariat of Agricultural Stocks, which is still working badly. As you know, there is plenty of grain in our country. There is quite enough of it in Leningrad too. Nevertheless, the Leningrad Region is experiencing certain difficulties with regard to the supply of flour of 72 per cent milling. There are times when certain towns in the Leningrad Region are left entirely without supplies of high-grade flour.

The People's Commissariat of Agricultural Stocks does not as a rule co-ordinate its activities with other bodies. Frequently orders are issued us for the receipt of flour, but are not actually filled. For example, in July we received an order for the receipt of flour from the Ukraine, but at that very time the Chief Flour Department stopped the mills for repairs, and so we never got that flour.

It is high time the People's Commissar of Agricultural Stocks. Comrade Skrynnikov, did something to improve the supply of high-grade flour to Leningrad and the Leningrad Region, for the fulfilment of the provisions of our Budget to a large extent depends on this.

A few words about the People's Commissariat of Light Industry.

It must be frankly stated that the People's Commissariat of Light Industry is still working unsatisfactorily. The light industry factories are not fulfilling their production programs. The result is that month after month and quarter after quarter the trading organizations do not get the full supply of textiles assigned to them. It seems to me high time a stop was put to this disgraceful state of affairs.

I must also draw attention to the exceptionally poor work and the neglected condition of the light industry wholesale warehouses.

As a rule, not a single yard of textiles is delivered to the trading organizations at the beginning of the month. This goes on till about the 20th or the 25th of the month. Then the trading organizations swamp the market with the whole monthly supply of goods. The results are deplorable. The People's Commissariat of Light Industry must do something about these wholesale warehouses. In my opinion they ought to be abolished and direct contact established between the factories and the trading organizations.

Deputies spoke here sharply criticizing the People's Commissariat of Finance of the U.S.S.R. I fully agree with these criticisms. The Union and republican People's Commissariats of Finance are working unsatisfactorily. You are made to feel the exceptional routine and inflexibility of their staffs at every step. I do not know how matters stand in other regions, but the Leningrad Region never gets a single reply to the questions it submits to the People's Commissariat of Finance of the R.S.F.S.R.

I want to tell you how the People's Commissariat of Finance of the R.S.F.S.R. drew up the control figures for the Leningrad Region. There is a large locally controlled industry in our region. It possesses exceptional potentialities as regards both volume and assortment of output. On the instructions of the Regional Committee of the Party, we studied the possibility of increasing the output of consumers' goods. Our calculations showed that in the third quarter the locally controlled industries alone could turn out additional goods to a value of 7,500,000 rubles. But we are unable to carry out this additional plan for the production of consumers' goods solely for the reason that, when drawing up the control figures, the People's Commissariat of Finance of the republic wrongly fixed the taxes on our locally controlled industry.

The People's Commissariat of the R.S.F.S.R. planned the Budget taxation on our locally controlled industry in the amount of 85,000,000 rubles. We could not agree to this figure. The People's Commissariat of Finance of the R.S.F.S.R. now admits that this amount is wrong and exceeds feasible taxation by 37,000,000 rubles. For four months we have been pleading with the People's Commissariat of Finance of the R.S.F.S.R. to settle the amount of taxation. The sum it has fixed has given rise to a strained financial situation and is preventing the development of the locally controlled industries.

When drawing up the Budget control figures for the Leningrad Region, the People's Commissariat of Finance of the R.S.F.S.R fixed the plan of flax harvest purchases at 35,000 tons of fibre, and on this basis

estimated the amount of Budget taxation at 2,500,000 rubles. For three months we have been vainly pointing out to the People's Commissariat of Finance of the R.S.F.S.R. that the Government has endorsed a plan of 19,600 tons of flax fibre. But the People's Commissariat of Finance apparently is stubbornly sticking to its guns, and so the taxation it fixed in the amount of 2,500,000 rubles remains unchanged.

A few remarks about the finance agents. There is an army of 1,114 finance agents in the Leningrad Region. So far, they have been working badly. The People's Commissariat of Finance of the R.S.F.S.R. should consider the system of remuneration of finance workers. They should be paid according to the way they fulfil the plan of mobilization of resources.

The financial apparatus of our region is fulfilling the plan of mobilization of resources unsatisfactorily. We should make it our business to improve the mobilization of resources in the near future.

I must draw the attention of the People's Commissariat of Finance of the R.S.F.S.R. to the necessity of bearing in mind certain requirements of the Leningrad Region when it draws up the Budget and the national economic plan for 1939. Not all our requirements were taken into account in the current year. In the Leningrad Region there is only one motor repair factory. It repairs half the tractors in the region. This factory is in a dilapidated and neglected condition. The necessary funds should therefore be assigned in 1939 to enable this factory to repair all the tractors. In the Leningrad Region there is not even a workshop that can undertake repairs of Chelyabinsk tractors. This must also be borne in mind when the Budget for 1939 is drawn up.

The national economic plan for 1939 should make appropriations for the development of the locally controlled industries and the local fuel resources, and for increased housing construction, especially in the frontier towns of the Leningrad Region.

Comrades, the Second Session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. is being held at a time when the international situation is very tense. The Japanese military are striving by means of insolent acts of provocation to involve Japan in a war with the Soviet Union.

Comrade Stalin said at the Seventeenth Party Congress: "We stand for peace and champion the cause of peace. But we are not afraid of threats and are prepared to answer the instigators of war blow for blow." The peoples of the Soviet Union, led by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks), and by the organizer and inspirer of all our victories, Comrade Stalin, have created the most powerful army in the world. The Japanese *samurai* have learnt to their own cost the strength of our people and of our Red Army, the strength of its technique and training. Together with all the peoples of the Soviet Union, the working people of the city of Leningrad and of the Leningrad Region back the Soviet Government in its firm and determined position towards the Japanese military.

We have absolutely no guarantee that the provocation will not be repeated and that war will not be forced upon us. We must therefore

all remember what Comrade Stalin said in his reply to the propagandist Ivanov. Comrade Stalin wrote:

". . .Our Red Army, Red Navy, Red Air Force, and the Chemical and Air Defence Society must be increased and strengthened to the utmost.

"The whole of our people must be kept in a state of mobilization and preparedness in the face of the danger of a military attack, so that no 'accident' and no tricks on the part of our external enemies may take us by surprise...."

There cannot be the least doubt that the Session will not only unanimously approve the appropriations for the defence of our country, but will also declare that if the expenditures on the Red Army, Navy and Air Force have to be increased, our Soviet people will increase them.

The peoples of the great Soviet Union, united around the Communist Party and the leader of peoples, Comrade Stalin, look ahead firmly and confidently into the future. They have faith in the strength and might of our country, of our Party, of our Red Army. All the peoples of our great Soviet Union know that, led as we are by the brilliant strategist of the revolution, Comrade Stalin, victory will always be ours! (*Loud applause.*)

The Chairman: I call upon Deputy Volkov.

M. A. Volkov (*Balashov Area, Saratov Region*): Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet. The Unified State Budget of the Soviet Union for 1938 submitted by the Government of the U.S.S.R. to the Second Session of the Supreme Soviet for consideration and approval reflects the grandeur of our wonderful country and its tremendous achievements in the upbuilding of Socialism.

Our country has become a mighty industrial power, a country with an advanced machine technique and a Socialist agriculture run on the largest scale in the world. The great Soviet people are the first in the history of mankind who have in the main built a Socialist society, in which the exploitation of man by man is unknown. Indestructible is the moral and political unity of our Soviet people, indestructible is their solid support of our own, beloved Bolshevik Party, our Soviet Government, and our leader and teacher, Comrade Stalin. (*Loud applause.*)

Comrades, our great people have created a joyous, happy and cultured life on one-sixth of the surface of the globe. Every year sees the increase of the greatness and might of the Soviet Union, that impregnable fortress of Socialism and the home of the world Socialist revolution.

Our great successes and victories were not achieved easily. They were won by the working class and the labouring people of our Socialist country in a bitter struggle against all the enemies of the people.

Our people have achieved great victories because we were led by the great Lenin, because we were and are being led by our great leader, Comrade Stalin. (*Loud and prolonged cheers.*) We have achieved our great victories because our glorious Soviet intelligence service, headed

by Nikolai Ivanovich Yezhov, a People's Commissar of the Stalin mould, (*loud applause*), has destroyed the nests of those vipers, those vile Trotskyite, Bukharinite and bourgeois-nationalist fascist spies.

Comrades, the state Budget of the U.S.S.R. for 1938 imposes new and still greater tasks on all sectors of Socialist construction. The state Budget envisages a considerable increase in the funds assigned for the satisfaction of the growing demands of the working people of our country in respect to cultural and living conditions, and for the strengthening of the defensive power of our fatherland.

The state Budget for 1938 provides for a total revenue of 125,184,000,000 rubles. In what country, I ask, is such a tremendous increase in the state Budget possible? It is possible only in the country where the helm of state is in the hands of the workers, collective farmers and the working masses generally, headed by the great Party of Lenin and Stalin.

The Budgets of capitalist and fascist countries are mainly based on the robbery of the working class and the peasantry. Our state Budget is based on the growth of the Socialist national economy and fully corresponds with the interests of the nations of the U.S.S.R.

The Soviet Government is quite right in making considerable provisions in the state Budget for the further strengthening of the defensive power of our country. This, as other deputies have said here, fully corresponds with the instructions given by Comrade Stalin and the will and wishes of the Soviet people. Comrade Stalin said that "our Red Army, Red Navy, Red Air Force, and the Chemical and Air Defence Society must be increased and strengthened to the utmost. The whole of our people must be kept in a state of mobilization and preparedness in the face of the danger of a military attack, so that no 'accident' and no tricks on the part of our external enemies may take us by surprise. . . ."

This recommendation of our leader must be carried out in a Bolshevik way. The international situation is becoming tenser every day, and our people must always be on the alert. Let the fascist bandits know that they will never catch the Soviet Union unawares, that they will not succeed in destroying the home of the world Socialist revolution. The guarantee of this is the state of mobilization and preparedness of our great people. The guarantee is our heroic Red Army, led by its glorious commander, Comrade Voroshilov, First Marshal of the Soviet Union. (*Loud applause.*) The guarantee is the guidance given by the Leninist-Stalinist Central Committee of our Party, the guidance given by the Soviet Government and by the leader of peoples, Comrade Stalin. (*Loud applause.*)

There is no doubt that the Second Session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. will unanimously approve and ratify the proposal of the Soviet Government—for it is the proposal of the whole people—to increase the grants for the defence of our country, for the needs of our heroic Red Army and Navy.

The state Budget makes provision for the growing demands of the

republics, territories and regions, including the needs and demands of the Saratov Region.

The huge figures of the state Budget furnish additional testimony to the steady growth and increasing strength of the finances of our Socialist workers' and peasants' state.

I fully and completely support the proposal of the deputies to ratify the state Budget for 1938 with the amendments proposed by the Budget Commission of the Soviet of the Union. The unified state Budget will undoubtedly be a mighty instrument of successful Socialist development.

Comrades, the Socialist industry and the culture and well-being of the working people of the Saratov Region are steadily progressing and improving. In the past, that is, in pre-revolutionary times, agriculture in the Saratov Province was dominated by the big landlords and kulaks. Industry was very poorly developed in the territory that now forms the Saratov Region, and it was mainly a handicraft industry.

Thanks to the great assistance given by the Soviet Government, the Party, and by Comrade Stalin personally, the Saratov Region is becoming a centre of large-scale industry and now has a highly-developed Socialist agriculture equipped with up-to-date machinery. This is accompanied by the growing size and strength of the Socialist industry and the growing culture of the districts forming part of the Balashov Area, the electors of which have sent me to represent them in the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

During the period of the two Stalin Five-Year Plans some of the largest Union-controlled factories have been built or reconstructed; among them a harvester combine works, the Automobile and Tractor Parts Factory, the Volsk Cement Works, the Lenin Works, and a cracking plant. In the period of the Third Stalin Five-Year Plan some very large enterprises will be built in the Saratov Region, including a ball-bearing plant, a second automobile and tractor electrical equipment factory, a milling machine works and others.

It should be mentioned in this connection that the People's Commissariat of the Machine-Building Industry is directing the construction of these big works very unsatisfactorily indeed, and we, the deputies from the Saratov Region, call upon the People's Commissariat of the Machine-Building Industry to set about construction work in a business-like and Bolshevik way.

The growing industry of the region necessitates the provision of additional power resources. The existing resources are inadequate and are restricting the work of the factories. We therefore draw attention to the necessity of adding a third section to the Saratov Power Station.

Capital investments in the industry of our region have been fixed this year at over 130,000,000 rubles. The industry of the region has to produce goods to a total annual value of over 500,000,000 rubles, which represents an increase of 30.1 per cent as compared with 1937.

The Saratov Region, whose natural resources have not been fully studied by a long way, undoubtedly has a big future before it, espe-

cially in connection with the discovery of oil and extensive shale deposits.

The Saratov Region is one of the most important grain-growing areas in the U.S.S.R. and produces the finest kind of wheat.

Since the Great October Revolution we have formed 106 large state farms and 156 machine and tractor stations and have acquired a big fleet of motor vehicles. We have operating in the fields of the region 15,575 tractors, 5,000 harvester combines and a large number of other agricultural machines. It should, however, be mentioned that the organization of repair shops in the machine and tractor stations is still very unsatisfactory, with the result that splendid machines are frequently going out of commission.

The People's Commissariat of Agriculture should therefore pay serious attention to the organization and improvement of repair shops in all the machine and tractor stations.

In the Saratov Region, as in other regions and territories, we observe great cultural progress among the working people. Specialists in all branches of knowledge are being trained in large numbers. At the instance of the Party and the Soviet Government, Saratov has become not only an industrial centre but also one of the cultural centres of the U.S.S.R. I need only mention that since the establishment of the Soviet power eleven higher educational establishments, with a total of 13,000 students, have been founded in Saratov. For the sake of comparison let me remind you that in 1914 there were only 91 higher educational establishments in the whole of tsarist Russia.

Saratov has become a training centre for specialists in every important branch of economic and cultural life. We therefore bear a special responsibility in respect to fulfilling the behest of Comrade Stalin, the leader of peoples, with regard to the training of skilled cadres. But the Committee on Higher Education of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. and the People's Commissariats concerned must pay far more attention to the higher educational establishments located in our region.

The higher and intermediate special educational establishments in our region are this year turning out a whole army of trained people—over 7,000 in all. At the same time the number of elementary school and intermediate school pupils in our region has increased by 224,000 as compared with 1913.

Comrades, the successful building of Socialism is vividly reflected in the growth of the Budget of our region. I need only mention that the Budget of our region for 1938 amounts to 316,266,000 rubles, which represents an increase of 19.6 per cent as compared with 1937. The chief expenditures will go to financing industry, education and public health. This year we shall spend 124,979,000 rubles on education and 59,481,000 rubles on public health — extension of hospital and medical services, maternity homes and nurseries.

These figures testify to the profound solicitude displayed by the Party and the Soviet Government for the welfare of the working people.

The increase in the local Budget will considerably help to extend and strengthen the material and financial resources of our locally controlled industry and our agriculture, and to improve the services rendered to the population of town and country. The financial and material affairs of our village Soviets are also improving from year to year. The size of the village Budgets is steadily increasing. The average Budget of a village Soviet in our region amounts to 36,000 rubles. Is this not proof that the services rendered to the working population of the countryside are steadily improving?

Comrades, I want to say a few words about the village Budgets. Measures must be taken to obviate the constant revisions of village Budgets that are taking place this year.

Village Budgets are drawn up at the beginning of the Budget year often without any consideration for the prospective growth of the Budgets of the district and the region. In order to lend the village Budgets real stability it seems to me that the present practice of endorsing these Budgets prior to the beginning of the Budget year should be preserved, but this requires that by that time the control figures for the Budgets of the district and the region should have been endorsed.

Comrades, the working people of the Saratov Region fully realize that they have achieved all the successes and victories I have enumerated to the Session of the Supreme Soviet only because their struggle and activities are being directed by the great Party of Lenin and Stalin and by our veritable father, our great leader and teacher, Comrade Stalin. *(Loud applause.)*

Comrades, deputies of our great people, we are living and working in the wonderful Stalin epoch. Under the banner of the Stalin Constitution and the brilliant leadership of our leader and teacher, Comrade Stalin, the nations of the U.S.S.R. are moving firmly forward to the triumph of Communism all over the world.

Long live our great and beloved Bolshevik Party!

Long live our dear and beloved leader and teacher, Comrade Stalin! (*Loud and prolonged applause. All rise.*)

The Chairman: I call upon Comrade Kaftanov, Chairman of the Committee on Higher Education of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R.

S. V. Kaftanov: Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet. We have heard the report of Comrade Zverev, People's Commissar of Finance of the U.S.S.R., and the co-report of the Budget Commission of the Soviet of the Union on the unified state Budget of the Soviet Union for 1938. This Budget reflects like a mirror the truly gigantic achievements of our country on all the sectors of Socialist construction.

A Budget increase of 21.5 per cent as compared with 1937 is a vivid demonstration of the economic might of our country and of the correctness of the path which our great Soviet people are following under the direction of the Bolshevik Party and the wise leadership of the great strategist of revolution, Comrade Stalin.

The Budget for 1938 provides for the further development of indus-

try, especially heavy industry, and agriculture, and—what is particularly gratifying to the members of the Supreme Soviet and to the whole Soviet people—for considerable expenditures for the purpose of increasing the military might and defensive power of our country.

I want to dwell in my speech on one side of the Budget submitted by the Government, namely the funds provided for social and cultural services.

In capitalist countries, especially in the fascist countries, nearly the whole revenue of the Budget is spent on preparations for war and on the waging of wars already begun. As a result, expenditure on education in capitalist countries is declining sharply from year to year.

The systematic deterioration of the standard of living of the working people, the lowering of wages, the increase of unemployment in the towns and of poverty in the countryside are accompanied in the fascist countries—Germany, Italy and Japan—and throughout the capitalist world generally by a sharp decline in the number of students in all schools, including higher schools, and by a decrease of the expenditures on cultural services.

During the past few years a sharp decline in higher education is to be observed in nearly all the capitalist countries. The decrease in the number of students is particularly great in the fascist countries. Since the fascists have been in power in Germany the number of students of higher educational establishments has been reduced by half.

In spite of the fact that the number of higher educational establishments and the number of students have considerably declined in nearly all the capitalist countries in the past few years, there is wholesale unemployment among graduates from higher educational establishments. Even in countries like Great Britain and America forty or fifty per cent of the university graduates are unemployed.

The fascist barbarians are reducing the number of university students to extreme limits and they are introducing mediaeval customs in the universities and imposing on them pseudo-scientific, insensate racial "theories." In the countries attacked by the fascists—Spain and China—the invaders are ruthlessly destroying the ancient seats and monuments of culture. I would remind you of only two of such barbarous acts of vandalism, which took place fairly recently—the destruction of the Madrid University by the fascists and the destruction of one of the largest universities in the East—the University of Nankai—by the Japanese.

In response to the barbarous conduct of the fascists, the Chinese university students have formed a partisan detachment and have taken up arms in defence of the independence of their country and of the right to education.

It is becoming clearer and clearer to the advanced scientists of the world that fascism is completely barring the way to the development of science and progress.

A number of articles by British and American scientists have recently appeared criticizing modern capitalism. I will mention only one of them. Its author is not a Communist; but he makes a sober and honest estimate of the position of science and enlightenment in the capitalist countries.

I am referring to Professor Blackett, one of Britain's foremost scientists. In his article "The Frustration of Science" he says:

"Unless society can use science, it must turn anti-scientific, and that means giving up the hope of the progress that is possible. This is the way that capitalism is now taking, and it leads to Fascism. The other way is complete Socialist planning on a large scale; this would be a planning for the maximum possible output and not a planned restriction of output. I believe that there are only these two ways. . . . I believe that the only other way is complete Socialism. Socialism will want all the science it can get to produce the greatest possible wealth. Scientists have not perhaps very long to make up their minds on which side they stand."

Similar utterances have been made by important scientists like Bernal, Daniel Hall, Enid Charles and others.

It is only in our Soviet country that all the conditions and the fullest scope are provided for the development and progress of science and enlightenment. The Budget of the Socialist workers' and peasants' state is like a mirror reflecting the Stalin solicitude of the Soviet Government for cultural progress and for the improvement of the cultural services and amenities for the working people of our country.

The fact that during the two Stalin Five-Year Plans about 84,000,000,000 rubles have been spent out of the Budget of the U.S.S.R. on education and public health is a vivid corroboration of the great solicitude and concern shown for cultural development in our country. There is no other country in the world in which the state expends such vast sums out of its Budget on social and cultural development.

The Budget for 1938 submitted by the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. to the Session of the Supreme Soviet provides for expenditures on social and cultural services amounting to 31,400,000,000 rubles, which represents an increase of 23.3 per cent compared with last year.

A considerable part of these funds is assigned for higher educational purposes, the expenditures on which have been fixed at 2,195,000,000 rubles, not counting building construction. This sum includes 675,000,000 rubles for salaries of professors, lecturers and other personnel of higher educational establishments, 228,000,000 rubles for maintenance, and 801,000,000 rubles for stipends—which are granted to over 89 per cent of the students of higher educational establishments.

During the period 1934-38 expenditures on higher education in the Soviet Union have more than doubled, having increased from 986,000,000 rubles to 2,195,000,000 rubles.

No capitalist state in the world grants such huge sums for higher educational purposes. Our Socialist country is the only land where these expenditures are increasing from year to year. And the results are tangible.

In 1928 the question was raised of training proletarian cadres for our industry. On the initiative of Comrade Stalin and his colleagues, Comrades Molotov and Kaganovich, the Central Committee of our Party adopted a decision on the subject of developing higher education and of utilizing the specialists who graduate from higher educational establishments.

Thanks to the efforts of our Party and the Government, a wide network of higher educational establishments has been created in the Soviet Union.

In tsarist Russia there were only 91 higher educational establishments, chiefly attended by the sons of nobles, merchants and capitalists. As against this there are now in the Soviet Union over 700 higher educational establishments, attended by 550,000 students. In addition, a huge number of intermediate schools have been opened. There are about 871,000 persons studying in 3,496 training colleges and special schools. The number of students of higher educational establishments in our country is nearly one and a half times as large as in Germany, Italy, Great Britain, France and Japan put together.

According to the latest figures, there are 538,000 students of higher educational establishments in 23 of the capitalist countries of Europe, including Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy and Poland. In the Soviet Union, as I have already said, there are 550,000 students of higher educational establishments. In other words, there are more higher educational students in the Soviet Union than in all the capitalist countries of Europe put together.

It is particularly gratifying to note that higher educational establishments have sprung up in all the national republics of our country. In tsarist times there were higher educational establishments in the territory of only three of the present Union republics—the R.S.F.S.R., the Ukraine and Georgia. Before the revolution there were no higher educational establishments in the territory of eight of the present Union republics.

As a result of Stalin's concern for public education, we now have a large number of higher educational establishments in all the Soviet republics. In the R.S.F.S.R., instead of the 70 higher educational establishments that existed before the revolution, there are now 435 with a total of 356,500 students. In the Ukraine, instead of the 19 higher educational establishments that existed before the revolution, there are now 123. In Byelorussia there was not a single higher educational establishment before the revolution; now there are 23. In Georgia there was one higher educational establishment, now there are 19. In the other Union Republics, in which there was not a single higher educational establishment in tsarist times, there are now over a hundred altogether.

There you have the result of the solicitude and care displayed by our Party for the development of higher education, for the development of enlightenment and culture in our country.

About 40 per cent of the students in our higher educational establishments are women. In tsarist times women in Russia were not allowed access to higher educational establishments, just as they are not allowed access to them today in many capitalist countries.

The social composition of the students has radically changed. In the universities of tsarist Russia 7.3 per cent of the students were sons of hereditary nobles, 7.4 per cent the sons of ecclesiastics, about 31 per cent the sons of life nobles and government officials, 11.4 per cent the sons of honorary citizens and merchants, 24.4 per cent the sons of the middle and the lower middle class, 12.7 per cent the sons of kulaks, and only 4.5 per cent the sons of other ranks of society, including workers and peasants.

Today 100 per cent of the students of our higher educational establishments are the children of workers, collective farmers and working intellectuals.

In our country, the country where Socialism is victorious, every opportunity is afforded for the development of science and for the improvement of the material and cultural standard of scientific workers. The decision of the Government with regard to the salaries of professors and lecturers in higher educational establishments and the increase of students' stipends provides for an enlargement of the stipend fund and an increase in the salaries of the personnel of the higher educational establishments to a total sum this year of 400,000,000 rubles.

Comrade Sidorov spoke in his co-report of the diversity in the cost of training students in the higher educational establishments of the various People's Commissariats and departments. He mentioned as an example that the annual cost of education of a student in the academies of the People's Commissariats varies from 7,905 rubles to 14,379 rubles.

It must be admitted that certain of the component factors in the cost of maintaining students in higher educational establishments have not yet been definitely fixed and that they differ considerably in the various People's Commissariats and departments. However, a certain diversity in the cost of maintaining students in the various higher educational establishments is inevitable. For example, there can be no comparison between the cost of maintaining a student in the Industrial Academy and the cost of maintaining a student in other higher educational establishments. The difference alone in the average cost of a students' stipend in the Industrial Academy and in other higher educational establishments is about 6,000 rubles per annum.

The cost of maintaining a student, whether in the Academy or in other higher educational establishments, depends on the particular speciality and the number of students. In an establishment where the number of students is large the average cost of education is lower than in an establishment where there are only a few score students.

Similarly, the average expenditure per student in an establishment with only 300 or 500 students is considerably larger than in an establishment with several thousand students.

Nevertheless, it must be said that the applications of the People's Commissariats and departments for funds for the maintenance of students should be more thoroughly scrutinized.

Our Government generously finances higher education.

But there is one item of expenditure on higher education that is too low. I am referring to the grants for cultural amenities for students.

Last year from 25 to 50 rubles per student were granted for cultural amenities. This year the People's Commissariat of Finance has reduced the expenditure on this item to 15 rubles per student.

Nowadays it is chiefly young people leaving the ten-year schools who enter our higher educational establishments. We must devote greater energy, efforts and funds in order to give our young people better breeding. This is what we were told to do by Comrade Molotov, the head of our Soviet Government, at the First All-Union Conference of Higher Educational Workers.

The grants for the building of higher educational establishments are included in the general plans of the various People's Commissariats and departments, but hitherto the People's Commissariats have not devoted enough attention to this extremely important matter. A number of People's Commissariats, among them the People's Commissariat of Education of the R.S.F.S.R., the People's Commissariat of Agriculture of the U.S.S.R. and the People's Commissariat of Public Health of the U.S.S.R., year after year fail to make full use of the funds granted for the building of higher educational establishments. Only 10 or 15 per cent of the funds granted for this purpose are utilized by the People's Commissariats.

Financial discipline, which we demand of all our People's Commissariats, should be observed in this field as well.

We spend large sums on scientific research. In 1938 the grants to scientific research institutes are fixed in the amount of 1,016,000,000 rubles, which is nearly 20 per cent more than last year.

Our Soviet science rightly holds one of the foremost places in the world in respect to all branches of knowledge. Soviet airmen on Soviet aeroplanes have flown via the North Pole deep into the American continent. The collective farm fields are yielding harvests of a size unknown to the capitalist world. The Stakhanovites of our mills and factories are setting unsurpassed examples of productivity of labour. All this speaks eloquently of the high level of science and technology in our country. And this banner of genuine science of the people is held high aloft by our beloved leader and teacher, Comrade Stalin.

At the reception given to higher educational workers in the Kremlin, Comrade Stalin gave a clear and profound definition of the essence and tasks of Soviet science. He said:

"To the progress of science, the science which does not fence itself off from the people, that does not hold itself aloof from the people, but is prepared to serve the people, to transmit to the people all the achievements of science, and which serves the people not under compulsion, but voluntarily and willingly.

"To the progress of science, the science which will not have its old and recognized leaders smugly confining themselves within the shell of high priests of science, of monopolists of science, which understands the meaning, significance and omnipotence of an alliance between the old scientific workers and young scientific workers, which voluntarily and willingly throws open all the doors of science to the young forces of our country and affords them the opportunity of scaling the peaks of science, and which recognizes that the future belongs to the young scientists.

"To the progress of science, the science whose devotees, while understanding the power and significance of the established scientific traditions and ably utilizing them in the interests of science, are nevertheless not willing to be slaves to these traditions; the science which has the courage and determination to smash the old traditions, standards and views when they become antiquated and begin to act as a brake on progress, and which is able to create new traditions, new standards and new views."

What has the expiring capitalist world to put up against our Soviet science, which is flourishing under the wise direction of Comrade Stalin? Nothing but retrogression and the bondage and exploitation of the toiling millions. But we have still a lot to do in the way of carrying out the instructions of Comrade Stalin. The pseudo-science which still finds shelter in the quiet quarters of scientific institutes must be eradicated root and branch.

Thanks to the tremendous sums assigned by the Soviet Government for the development of higher education, there is every opportunity of placing it on a much better footing in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The guarantee of this is the constant and indefatigable concern for higher education displayed by our Party and the Soviet Government, and personally by the great leader of peoples, Comrade Stalin, and his close colleague, Comrade Molotov, the head of the Soviet Government.

The future path of development of higher education in the Soviet Union has been outlined in the historic decision of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) of June 23, 1936, in the instructions of Comrade Stalin and in the speech of Comrade Molotov at the First All-Union Conference of Higher Educational Workers.

Led by the Party of Lenin and Stalin, and under the wise guidance of our great leader and teacher, Comrade Stalin, higher education in the Soviet Union will move forward from victory to victory.

Let the fascist warmongers know that our frontiers are impregnable.

And if the fascist bandits should dare to raise their hands against the liberty and independence of our country, they will be made to feel the might of our invincible Red Army, the might and strength of the moral and political unity of the multi-national Soviet people, who have only one aim—to build a Communist society.

Long live the great and invincible banner of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin! (*Applause.*)

The Chairman: Comrades, I have received a motion to close the debate. I shall put it to the vote. Those in favour of closing the debate, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

The motion to close the debate on the report on the Unified State Budget is adopted unanimously.

I have received a motion to adjourn the sitting for 30 minutes. Is there any objection? No. The sitting is adjourned for 30 minutes.

(*Adjournment*)

The Chairman: Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet, the sitting of the Soviet of the Union is resumed. We shall now proceed to hear the replies to the debate.

I call upon Deputy Zverev, People's Commissar of Finance of the U.S.S.R.

A. G. Zverev: Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet, the draft of the Unified State Budget for 1938 has undergone thorough discussion in the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities.

In their speeches the deputies have expressed unanimous approval of the draft of the state Budget introduced by the Council of People's Commissars.

This unanimous approval shows that the Budget is consonant with the great tasks that confront our country with respect to economic and cultural development, the further improvement of the standard of living of the working people and the strengthening of the defensive power of our native land.

The Budget Commissions, and the Budget Commission of the Soviet of the Union in particular, have proposed a number of amendments to the revenue and the expenditure sides of the Unified State Budget. The Budget Commission of the Soviet of the Union moves to increase the revenue side of the Budget by over 1,500,000,000 rubles.

Of what is this sum composed? What sections and articles of the revenue side of the Budget is it proposed to increase?

The first is the turnover tax. The Budget Commission proposes that the receipts from the turnover tax be increased by 627,500,000 rubles. The Budget Commission also proposes that the receipts from the profits tax be increased by 193,610,000 rubles, and also the receipts from state loans acquired by the savings banks. The latter would make it possible to increase the revenue by 300,000,000 rubles.

The Budget Commission also proposes that the receipts from state insurance be increased by 21,500,000 rubles, from customs duties by 250,000,000 rubles, and from taxes and levies on the population by 30,000,000 rubles. The Budget Commission proposes that the Budget

receipts from social insurance funds for social and cultural services be increased by 75,000,000 rubles. And, finally, the Budget Commission proposes that other receipts be increased by 102,094,000 rubles.

The Budget Commission proposes to increase the expenditure side of the Unified State Budget for 1938 by over 1,500,000,000 rubles. In particular, it proposes that the grants to the People's Commissariat of Heavy Industry be increased by 79,000,000 rubles; to the People's Commissariat of Light Industry by 962,000 rubles; to agriculture by 13,385,000 rubles; to the People's Commissariat of Agricultural Stocks by 16,000,000 rubles. The Budget Commission proposes that certain of the expenditures proposed in the draft be reduced: in particular, People's Commissariat of the Food Industry by 15,000,000 rubles; Chief Forestry Administration by 2,000,000 rubles; Chief Hydrometeorological Office by 6,835,000 rubles; social and cultural measures—in particular, education—by 19,010,000 rubles, and administrative expenses by 13,800,000 rubles.

The Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. has instructed me to inform the Session of the Supreme Soviet that it recognizes the expediency of the recommendation of the Budget Commission of the Soviet of the Union to increase the turnover tax by 627,500,000 rubles, in particular, on the People's Commissariat of the Food Industry by 559,000,000 rubles; on the People's Commissariat of the Timber Industry by 2,500,000 rubles; on the People's Commissariat of Local Industry by 75,000,000 rubles, and on the producing co-operatives by 5,000,000 rubles. At the same time, the turnover tax on the People's Commissariat of Light Industry should be reduced by 14,000,000 rubles. The Council of People's Commissars also recognizes the expediency of adding 132,610,000 rubles to the revenue side of the Budget under the item profits tax on industry. The profits tax on the People's Commissariat of the Food Industry should be increased by 114,500,000 rubles, and the profits tax on the People's Commissariat of the Timber Industry should be reduced by 3,390,000 rubles. The profits tax on State Insurance should be increased by 21,500,000 rubles.

The rising standard of living of the working population has created a solid basis for the development of the savings banks business and for attracting even larger deposits to the savings banks. The experience of the first half-year has shown that still a lot remains to be done in this respect, but certain results can nevertheless be registered. This makes it possible to increase revenue by attracting additional savings bank deposits from the population to an amount of 300,000,000 rubles.

Furthermore, the Council of People's Commissars has no objection to increasing the transfers to the Budget from social insurance balances by 75,000,000 rubles, and from customs receipts by 250,000,000 rubles. With regard to a number of the additional items of revenue mentioned, decisions have already been taken in the first half of the year, after the Budget had already been submitted by the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R., to ensure that the receipts from them shall be forthcoming.

In addition to the amendments to the draft Unified State Budget, Deputy Sidorov, Chairman of the Budget Commission, and other members of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. have made a number of remarks in criticism of the work of various People's Commissariats. Members of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. have pointed out that the People's Commissariat of Agricultural Stocks, the People's Commissariat of Agriculture, the People's Commissariat of the Machine-Building Industry and the People's Commissariat of Trade are not fulfilling a number of their financial obligations in connection with the state Budget and their production plans.

The Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. has instructed me to inform the Session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. that it has taken note of all these criticisms and that additional measures will be adopted for the improvement of the work of the People's Commissariats.

Members of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. and the Chairman of the Budget Commission, Comrade Sidorov, have criticized the work of the People's Commissariat of Finance of the U.S.S.R. The criticism is absolutely justified and I agree with it.

There are undoubtedly a number of defects in the work of the People's Commissariat of Finance of the U.S.S.R. Many matters connected with the execution of decisions of the Government are not handled as thoroughly as they should be.

The People's Commissariat of Finance of the U.S.S.R. must in its practical activities see that it performs the tasks laid upon it by the Soviet Government in a thorough and substantial way, and not superficially and formally.

Deputies have in their speeches at the Session drawn attention to the multiplicity of turnover tax rates. It has been claimed that there are some two and a half thousand rates. It is true that this matter still requires regulating.

I must inform you that the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. has occupied itself, and is occupying itself now, with the regulation of the turnover tax. I should mention in particular that the taxation rates with regard to industry have been revised. The number of rates applicable to the People's Commissariat of the Food Industry has been reduced from 608 to 167. The turnover tax is a big item of revenue in our Budget, and all work connected with the tax must therefore be properly regulated.

Members of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. have expressed the opinion that the People's Commissariat of Finance is not well enough informed of the financial affairs of various republics and has therefore committed a number of errors in drawing up the Budget.

I must inform the Session that the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. found that the draft Budget submitted to it had not been properly prepared. The Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. drew the attention of the People's Commissariat of Finance to the fact that it does not make a thorough enough study of the claims of the republics.

It should, however, be mentioned that the People's Commissariat of Finance of the U.S.S.R. is not the only one to blame for all the incorrect estimates and calculations of the various forms of expenditure of the Union republics. The Union republics sometimes put in claims that are not quite justified. For example, the Budget claims put in by the Union republics totalled 45,136,000,000 rubles, but when the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. took the Budget under examination, it found that the demands of the republics exceeded their actual requirements by over 20 per cent.

Another thing that complicated the work of the People's Commissariat of Finance of the U.S.S.R. in drawing up the Budget was that the People's Commissariats of the U.S.S.R. submitted extremely unsatisfactory Budget material. For instance, in the course of two and a half months the People's Commissariat of Timber Industry submitted its claims in six different variants. One was for 1,685,000,000 rubles, a second for 1,732,000,000 rubles,a third for 1,701,000,000 rubles, a fourth for 1,672,000,000 rubles, and so on, but the Council of People's Commissars adopted the claim in the amount of 1,067,000,000 rubles. The claim of the People's Commissariat of Light Industry contained a demand for working capital amounting to 808,000,000 rubles, but the sum actually adopted by the Council of People's Commissars was 369,000,000 rubles. The People's Commissariat of Finance has a lot to do to improve its financial and especially its Budget work.

Deputy Kurbanov stated that the work of audit and control is still badly organized in the People's Commissariat of Finance. I agree with this justified criticism of the work of the auditing bodies both in the centre and in the localities. The Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. has conferred considerable powers on the Audit and Control Department, but it has also laid a great responsibility upon it. Nevertheless, our audit and control work is still very poor.

It is true that the audits made of some of the republics, the Uzbek S.S.R. and the Azerbaidjan S.S.R. in particular, were carried out not at all badly.

The audits made by the Audit and Control Department have disclosed quite a number of infringements of financial and Budget discipline.

With regard to Uzbekistan and other republics, a number of definite decisions and proposals have been adopted designed to correct the infringements that have been revealed.

Nevertheless, the work of the Audit and Control Department of the People's Commissariat of Finance of the U.S.S.R. cannot yet be regarded as satisfactory.

The facts mentioned by members of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. show that financial and Budget discipline is still violated in many cases. I am confident that after this Second Session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S S.R., the staff of the Audit and Control Department and the heads of our finance bodies will do their best to improve the work of audit and control.

The finance bodies must give their particular attention to the prompt

collection of taxes and levies. The finance bodies of a number of regions and republics have not made proper provision for the prompt collection of taxes and levies. Comrade Popov in his speech told us in great detail about the way the Budget was handled in tsarist Russia. But he did not say a word about the way the work is organized in the People's Commissariat of Finance of the R.S.F.S.R., of which he has charge. Comrade Popov did not tell us what he intends to do about collecting the arrears of rural taxes, yet in the R.S.F.S.R. the arrears of rural taxes on July 1 amounted to quite a considerable sum. The arrears for 1937 on the agricultural tax alone amount to 43,600,000 rubles, on levies for cultural purposes to 93,400,000 rubles, and on local voluntary taxation to 61,200,000 rubles. The arrears in the R.S.F.S.R. therefore amount to about 200,000,000 rubles. Comrade Popov should have told the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. what measures the People's Commissariat of Finance of the R.S.F.S.R. is taking to collect the arrears of taxes and levies on the population.

Attention should also be drawn to the poor way in which the local Soviets are drawing on the funds granted for housing and municipal development.

The reason for this is that the local Soviets had not made proper preparations for construction work, and that the drawing up of plans and estimates had been inordinately delayed.

Many of the construction jobs are not supplied with the full amount of labour power they require. For example, there are only 2,500 workers employed on construction work in the city of Moghilev, when 6,000 are actually required.

It should also be stated that the Central Municipal Bank and the Municipal Banks in the localities are not exercising proper control over the fulfilment of the programs of municipal, housing and public service development. If they show any interest at all, it is only in the amount of money utilized. As to exercising constant control to prevent excess in building costs, and to ensure that the work is done precisely to the amounts assigned for the purpose—that they do not do. In this respect the work of the Municipal Banks is extremely unsatisfactory.

The Budget Commission of the Soviet of the Union quite rightly recommends a reduction of administrative expenses in the case of the Central Administration of National Economic Accounting by 3,000,000 rubles, in the case of the People's Commissariat of Agricultural Stocks by 4,000,000 rubles, and in the case of the Political Administration of the People's Commissariat of State Farms by 3,900,000 rubles.

Similarly, the Budget Commission of the Soviet of the Union quite rightly points to the necessity of reducing the expenditures on the staff of the Soviet Control Commission by 2,500,000 rubles.

The Budget Commission, thoroughly scrutinizing every item of expenditure, discovered a wrong entry of 6,800,000 rubles for administration expenses in the case of the Chief Hydrometeorological Office. The People's Commissariat of Finance was to blame for this entry, and the Budget Commission put us right.

Another defect is the considerable delays in Budget accountancy. The annual reports on the results of the state and the local Budgets are drawn up with excessive delay. The quarterly reports on the results of the local Budgets should be submitted to the People's Commissariats of Finance of the Union republics 40 days after the expiry of the quarter, but in practice the period is 80 or 100 days.

This indicates that bookkeeping and accountancy in the Budget organizations is in a state of chaos. And gross violations of Budget discipline and the dissipation of government funds are bound to occur here and there as a result. Very vigorous measures must be taken to put an end to this disorderly state of bookkeeping and accountancy.

I want to dwell briefly on the speech of Comrade Nikitin. He said that the institution of revenue agents is, as it were, neglected and overlooked, and that the revenue agents are not given any material stimulus to work well.

The institution of revenue agents was introduced by the Council of People's Commissars with the object of improving the work of revenue collection in the rural areas, for the system of visiting collectors that existed previously did not in any way ensure the collection of revenue.

I think that there are no grounds whatever just now for proposing that the revenue agents should be put on some progressive system of remuneration. It should be borne in mind that these agents are better off than the chairmen of village Soviets. And if the work of the revenue agents is still unsatisfactory in some places—as it actually is—it is solely because of the fact that the regional organizations, the regional finance departments, the regional executive committees, show no interest in these workers. Yet we have taken on a whole army of new financial workers—over 50,000 people! They needed a lot of attention. But they never got it. A real interest must be shown in these revenue agents. And it would be a very good thing if the executive committees took this function upon themselves.

Comrade Nikitin further said that the People's Commissariat of Finance wrongly estimated the revenue from the profits of locally controlled industry. He argued that it was a mistake to provide in the Budget for a revenue of 85,000,000 rubles from locally controlled industry; that as a matter of fact locally controlled industry should get back 37,000,000 rubles from the Budget.

I cannot agree with Comrade Nikitin. Our estimates are based on the plans for the output of goods and for the lowering of the cost of production endorsed for industry. It is quite obvious that if the plan of output and the plan for the lowering of costs of production are not carried out, there will be no revenue for the Budget from industry. It is up to the regional executive committees to ensure the fulfilment of the production plans by locally controlled industry, to ensure the fulfilment of the plans for the lowering of costs of production, thereby increasing the payments of profits tax into the Budget by locally controlled industry.

Comrades, I consider that the amendments to the Budget proposed by the Budget Commission and accepted by the Council of People's Commissars are one more proof that our national economy possesses immense reserves, the utilization of which will enable us to still further strengthen the financial might of the Soviet Union.

I consider that ours is a Budget worthy of the Socialist country.

We must muster all our energies and all our strength of will to achieve the fulfilment of the revenue side of this Budget. We must see to it that all the revenues provided for are actually collected. And then we shall be able to finance the huge program of work which has been approved by the Government for 1938 without difficulty and delay. *(Applause.)*

The Chairman: Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet, according to standing orders, the time allotted to the sitting has expired. I have received a motion to extend the day's sitting so as to hear the speech in reply to the debate of the Chairman of the Budget Commission and to adopt the Budget today.

Are there any objections to this motion? None. Then let us proceed.

I call upon Deputy Sidorov, Chairman of the Budget Commission of the Soviet of the Union.

I. I. Sidorov: Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet. Inasmuch as all the deputies who spoke in the debate on the Budget expressed their agreement with the findings of the Budget Commission, and inasmuch as Comrade Zverev, People's Commissar of Finance of the U.S.S.R., in announcing the opinion of the Government, did not object to the majority of the amendments proposed and the criticisms made, the Budget Commission considers that its recommendation to increase the revenue side of the Budget by 1,553,775,000 rubles as against the draft submitted was fully and entirely justified.

The debate on the Unified State Budget was maintained on a high political level. Every deputy spoke in a statesman-like way. The Unified State Budget of the U.S.S.R. is a splendid Budget. It must be carried out as regards both revenue and expenditure in a Bolshevik way. A determined fight must be waged against violations of Budget discipline, and we must demand that all People's Commissariats, departments, organizations, and all citizens of our country fultil their duties to the state Budget.

And we, too, the members of the Supreme Soviet, must work hard to ensure that the provisions of the state Budget are carried out.

Comrades, the debate on the Unified State Budget has shown that all the items of revenue and expenditure meet with the unanimous approval of the deputies who have spoken and of the whole Soviet of the Union.

Great enthusiasm and satisfaction are occasioned by the appropriation of 27,000,000,000 rubles for defence purposes, for the purpose of strengthening the military might of our Socialist country. This testifies to the ardent love of the working people for their native land, it testifies to the unanimous desire to strengthen the might of our Red Army, Navy and Air Force still further, it testifies to the moral and political unity

of our people, and to the fact that the Soviet people in their millions are prepared to thoroughly smash any enemy on his own territory. (*Prolonged applause.*)

The fascists of Germany and Italy and the Japanese imperialists are trying to provoke us to war. The fascist agents within our country—the Trotskyites, Bukharinites and bourgeois nationalists—have been smashed. The Soviet people are united more solidly than ever around the Bolshevik Party, around our leader and teacher, our great Stalin. (*Loud applause.*)

But, comrades, the fight is not over, it is still going on. We must therefore show even greater determination in rooting out and destroying the enemies of our people, no matter what mask they may hide behind. We declare to the fascists and the Japanese imperialists, and let them bear it well in mind, that we fully and entirely approve of the firm policy and practical acts of our Soviet Government, and that if we are subjected to military attack, our valorous Workers' and Peasants' Red Army will destroy the enemy on his own territory. Let the fascists know that war on us will end in the destruction of fascism. Communism will triumph all over the world! (*Loud applause.*)

Comrades, where, in what other country, does a Budget submitted by the government meet with such unanimous approval? There is no such country, nor can there be, under capitalist rule. It is possible only in our country, the country where Socialism is victorious, and where the Budget is like a mirror reflecting the vital interests of our population.

I call upon you to vote for and adopt such a Budget unanimously. *(Prolonged applause.)*

The work of the Session testifies to the unity of the Soviet people, to their love and devotion to the Soviet Government and its leader, Vyacheslav Mikhailovich Molotov *(loud and prolonged applause. All rise. Cries: "Long live Comrade Molotov!" "Hurrah for Comrade Molotov!")*, their love and devotion to our Bolshevik Party and its Leninist-Stalinist Central Committee, their love and devotion to the leader and teacher of all working people, the man who is leading us from victory to victory, our dear and great Stalin! *(Loud applause and cheers. All rise. Cries: "Hurrah for Comrade Stalin!" "Hurrah for our leader and great teacher, Comrade Stalin!" "Long live our great Stalin!" Cheers.)*

The Chairman: We shall now proceed to vote on the Unified State Budget of the U.S.S.R. for 1938. Deputy Sidorov has a motion to make.

I. I. Sidorov: Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet. I move that the vote on the Unified State Budget be taken section by section, and if there are amendments within any of the sections, then item by item. The examination of the revenue side of the Budget section by section will enable us to examine and vote on all forms of revenue. The examination of the expenditure side section by section will also ensure a detailed examination of the expenditures on each branch of national economy. This procedure of voting will ensure the fullest and most comprehensive examination and adoption of the State Budget.

The Chairman: Does anybody wish to speak on Deputy Sidorov's motion?

Voices: No.

The Chairman: Are there any other motions? No. Then I shall put Deputy Sidorov's motion to the vote. Those in favour of the motion, please raise their hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No. Comrade Sidorov's motion is adopted unanimously.

I call upon Deputy Zverev, People's Commissar of Finance of the U.S.S.R., to read the sections item by item.

A. G. Zverev: The first section of the Unified State Budget of the U.S.S.R. is the turnover tax. In respect to this item of revenue the draft of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. runs as follows:

Turnover tax: enterprises of the People's Commissariat of Heavy Industry—8,391,000,000 rubles; People's Commissariat of the Machine-Building Industry and People's Commissariat of the Defence Industry—1,121,000,000 rubles; People's Commissariat of the Food Industry (not including the Chief Liqueur and Spirits Department) 22,688,000,000 rubles; People's Commissariat of Light Industry—10,591,000,000 rubles; People's Commissariats of Local Industry—700,000,000 rubles; state trade—3,014,000,000 rubles; People's Commissariat of Agricultural Stocks—26,572,000,000 rubles; producing co-operatives—762,000,000 rubles; consumers' co-operatives—636,000,000 rubles; other enterprises—8,863,000,000 rubles. Sum-total—83,338,000,000 rubles.

The Budget Commission has introduced certain amendments and additions, as I have already said. The Council of People's Commissars recognizes their expediency and adopts them. The amendments are as follows: to increase the turnover tax on the industries of the People's Commissariat of the Food Industry by 559,000,000 rubles, People's Commissariat of the Timber Industry by 2,500,000 rubles, People's Commissariat of Local Industry by 75,000,000 rubles, and on the producing co-operatives by 5,000,000 rubles. The turnover tax is increased by a total of 627,500,000 rubles. The sum-total submitted for adoption is 83,965,500,000 rubles.

The Chairman: Comrades, shall we vote on the amendments and articles item by item or as a whole?

Voices: As a whole.

The Chairman: Are there any objections to voting the sum-total of the turnover tax as a whole? No. I put it to the vote. All those in favour of adopting the sum-total of the turnover tax in the amount of 83,965,500,000 rubles, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

The turnover tax is unanimously adopted in the amount of 83,965,500,000 rubles.

Zverev: In the draft Budget submitted, the profits tax amounts to 9,586,278,000 rubles. This sum is divided among the departments as follows: enterprises of the People's Commissariat of Heavy Industry—905,400,000 rubles; People's Commissariat of the Defence Industry—

39,000,000 rubles; People's Commissariat of the Machine-Building Industry—1,340,000,000 rubles; People's Commissariat of the Food Industry—3,284,572,000 rubles; People's Commissariat of Light Industry—1,400,963,000 rubles; People's Commissariat of the Timber Industry—275,444,000 rubles; People's Commissariat of Local Industry—161,995,000 rubles; Committee on Cinematography of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R.—3,840 000 rubles; People's Commissariat of Agriculture—59,281,000 rubles; People's Commissariat of State Farms—40,652,000 rubles; railways and enterprises of the People's Commissariat of Railways—677,610,000 rubles; enterprises of the People's Commissariat of Communications—49,500,000 rubles; People's Commissariat of Trade—340,090,000 rubles; People's Commissariat of Agricultural Stocks—272,100,000 rubles; People's Commissariat of Foreign Trade—23,150,000 rubles; State Bank—243,500,000 rubles; state insurance bodies—250,000,000 rubles; other enterprises—219,181,000 rubles.

The Budget Commission proposes the following amendments: to increase the profits tax on the enterprises of the People's Commissariat of the Food Industry by 114,500,000 rubles and on the state insurance bodies by 21,500,000 rubles, and to diminish the profits tax on the People's Commissariat of the Timber Industry by 3,390,000 rubles. In all, the amendment would increase revenue by 132,610,000 rubles. Thus the sum-total submitted is 9,718,888,000 rubles.

The Chairman: I shall take a vote on the profits tax in a sum-total of 9,718,888,000 rubles. Those in favour of adopting this sum, please raise their hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: Income tax and other taxes on enterprises and organizations: income tax on collective farms—760,000,000 rubles; tax on non-commodity transactions—424,000,000 rubles; other taxes—90,436,000 rubles. A total of 1,274,436,000 rubles for this item of Budget revenue.

The Chairman: I shall take a vote on a sum-total of income tax and other taxes on enterprises and organizations in the amount of 1,274,436,000 rubles. Those in favour of adopting this sum, please raise their hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: I now pass to the fourth section—taxes and levies on the population (apart from income tax on the population—which goes into the local Budgets—in the amount of 1,870,000,000 rubles). Submitted for adoption: agricultural tax on collective farmers and individual peasant households—770,000,000 rubles; housing, cultural and public services development levy in the towns—1,800,000,000 rubles; housing, cultural and public services development levy in rural areas—570,000,000 rubles. Total—3,140,000,000 rubles. The Budget Commission proposes an amendment, namely, to increase the tax on the population by 30,000,000 rubles. Thus the sum-total submitted for adoption is 3,170,000,000 rubles.

The Chairman: I shall take a vote on the sum-total of taxes and

levies on the population, amounting to 3,170,000,000 rubles. Those in favour of the adoption of this sum, please raise their hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: Revenues from state loans.

State loans issued for public subscription: Loan for Strengthening the Defences of the U.S.S.R.—1,890,000,000 rubles; Third Five-Year Plan Loan (First Year Issue)—3,480,000,000 rubles; State Internal Lottery Loan, 1938—300,000,000 rubles; State Loan for Savings Banks Subscription—1,300,000,000 rubles; State Loan Issue for Subscription by State Insurance Bodies—540,000,000 rubles; State Loan Issue for Subscription by Co-operative Organizations—220,000,000 rubles.

The draft provides for total revenue from loans in the amount of 7,730,000,000 rubles.

In view of the great opportunities that exist for attracting savings bank deposits from the population, the Budget Commission proposes to increase the revenue from savings banks under this item by 300,000,000 rubles. It is also proposed to increase the item of revenue from loans subscribed to by the state insurance bodies by 21,500,000 rubles. This would increase the total revenue from loans to 8,051,500,000 rubles.

The Chairman: I shall take a vote on total revenues from state loans in the amount of 8,051,500,000 rubles. Those in favour of the adoption of this sum, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Please proceed.

Zverev: Receipts of machine and tractor stations—2,435,500,000 rubles.

The Chairman: I shall take a vote on the motion to adopt receipts of machine and tractor stations in the amount of 2,435,500,000 rubles. Those in favour of adopting this sum, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: Receipts from state social insurance funds, earmarked for social and cultural services—800,000,000 rubles. The Budget Commission proposes an amendment to this, namely, to increase this source of revenue by 75,000,000 rubles. This increases the sum-total to 875,000,000 rubles.

The Chairman: I shall take a vote on total receipts from state social insurance funds earmarked for social and cultural services in the amount of 875,000,000 rubles. Those in favour of adopting this sum, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: Customs revenues. The draft provides for 2,100,000,000 rubles. The Budget Commission proposes that this amount be increased by 250,000,000 rubles. Total revenue under this head is therefore submitted in the amount of 2,350,000,000 rubles.

The Chairman: I shall take a vote on total customs revenues in the

amount of 2,350,000,000 rubles. Those in favour of adopting this sum, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: Other revenues. They are indicated in the draft in the amount of 1,039,202,000 rubles. This sum is made up of the following items: mint—25,000,000 rubles; repayment of loans—182,300,000 rubles; passport fees, sale of house registers, address bureau services—89,800,000 rubles; automobile inspection fees—63,400,000 rubles; testing and stamping of weights and measures—18,000,000 rubles; consular charges for registration of foreign passports, incoming and outgoing visas, etc.—27,000,000 rubles; receipts from the All-Union Radio Committee—23,400,000 rubles; deductions from state insurance payments—22,000,000 rubles; other receipts—588,302,000 rubles.

An amendment is proposed, namely, to increase other revenues by 122,094,000 rubles. The item other revenues is therefore submitted in the amount of 1,161,296,000 rubles.

The Chairman: I shall take a vote on total other revenues in the amount of 1,161,296,000 rubles. Those in favour of adopting this sum, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: Unutilized balance of grants made for capital development purposes in 1937—359,510,000 rubles. The Budget Commission proposes, on the basis of more precise bookkeeping data, that this item of revenue be reduced by 3,300,000 rubles. The item unutilized balances is therefore submitted in the amount of 356,210,000 rubles.

The Chairman: I shall take a vote on a total balance of 356,210,000 rubles. Those in favour of adopting this sum, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: Balance of Budget funds on account with the State Bank on January 1, 1938—2,390,224,000 rubles. There is an amendment. On the basis of more precise bookkeeping data, the Budget Commission proposes that this amount be reduced by 25,229,000 rubles. Total bank balances are therefore submitted in the amount of 2,364,995,000 rubles.

The Chairman: I shall take a vote on total bank balances in the amount of 2,364,995,000 rubles. Those in favour of adopting this sum, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: Balance of Budget funds received but not utilized by institutions and organizations in 1937—120,000,000 rubles.

The Chairman: I shall take a vote on balances of Budget funds in the amount of 120,000,000 rubles. Those in favour of adopting this sum, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: Balance of non-Budget funds in the hands of institutions and organizations financed from the State Budget, as on January 1, 1938—800,000,000 rubles.

The Chairman: I shall take a vote on non-Budget funds in the amount of 800,000,000 rubles. Those in favour of adopting this sum, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: Balance of Budget funds resulting from re-valuation of seasonal stocks of raw materials and goods—1,688,000,000 rubles.

The Chairman: I shall take a vote on balances of Budget funds from re-valuation of seasonal stocks of raw materials and goods in the amount of 1,688,000,000 rubles. Those in favour of adopting this sum, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

I shall now take a vote on the grand total of revenues of the Unified State Budget for 1938.

Zverev: The grand total of revenues is 126,737,993,000 rubles.

The Chairman: Those in favour of the adoption of this sum, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

We shall now pass to the adoption of the expenditure side of the Unified State Budget for 1938.

Zverev: Expenditure on industry is provided for in the draft of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. in the amount of 19,821,011,000 rubles. This sum includes 6,959,480,000 rubles for the People's Commissariat of Heavy Industry, 7,415,040,000 rubles for the People's Commissariat of the Defence Industry, 1,127,140,000 rubles for the People's Commissariat of the Machine-Building Industry, 1,503,649,000 rubles for the People's Commissariat of the Food Industry, 1,281,497,000 rubles for the People's Commissariat of Light Industry, 1,104,556,000 rubles for the People's Commissariat of the Timber Industry, 294,879,000 rubles for the People's Commissariats of Local Industry, and 134,770,000 rubles for the Committee on Cinematography of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R.

The Budget Commission proposes that the expenditure on the People's Commissariat of Heavy Industry be increased by 79,000,000 rubles and on the People's Commissariat of Light Industry by 962,000 rubles, and that expenditures on financing the industries of the People's Commissariat of the Food Industry be reduced by 15,000,000 rubles. This will increase the expenditure under this section by 64,962,000 rubles. The sum-total of financing of industry amounts to 19,885,973,000 rubles.

The Chairman: I shall take a vote on a sum-total of expenditure on industry amounting to 19,885,973,000 rubles. Those in favour of the adoption of this sum, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: Expenditure on agriculture was provided for in the following amounts: People's Commissariat of Agriculture—9,095,728,000 rubles, including 7,650,700,000 rubles for machine and tractor stations; People's Commissariat of State Farms—1,900,849,000 rubles. Sum-total under this section—10,996,577,000 rubles.

It has been proposed to increase these expenditures by 13,385,000 rubles. The sum-total of expenditure on agriculture will thus amount to 11,009,962,000 rubles.

The Chairman: I shall take a vote on a sum-total of expenditures on agriculture amounting to 11,009,962,000 rubles. Those in favour of the adoption of this sum please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: Financing of transport and communications is provided for in the amount of 6,762,610,000 rubles. This sum is divided as follows: People's Commissariat of Railways—3,633,190,000 rubles; People's Commissariat of Communications—378,260,000 rubles; People's Commissariat of Water Transport—925,780,000 rubles; Chief Administration of the Northern Sea Route of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R.—454,930,000 rubles; Chief Road Administration of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs—980,500,000 rubles; Chief Civil Aviation Administration of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R.—389,950,000 rubles. There are no amendments.

The Chairman: I shall take a vote on expenditures on transport and communications amounting to 6,762,610,000 rubles. Those in favour of the adoption of this sum, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: Various construction works promoted by the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs—1,884,280,000 rubles.

The Chairman: I shall take a vote on expenditure on various construction works promoted by the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs in the amount of 1,884,280,000 rubles. Those in favour of the adoption of this sum, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: Expenditure on the People's Commissariat of Trade—181,120,000 rubles.

The Chairman: I shall take a vote on expenditure on the People's Commissariat of Trade in the amount of 181,120,000 rubles. Those in favour of the adoption of this sum, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: People's Commissariat of Agricultural Stocks—2,624,070,000 rubles. An amendment has been proposed, namely, to increase these expenditures by 16,000,000 rubles. The sum submitted for vote is 2,640,070,000 rubles.

The Chairman: I shall take a vote on expenditure on the People's Commissariat of Agricultural Stocks in the amount of 2,640,070,000 rubles. Those in favour of the adoption of this amount, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: People's Commissariat of Foreign Trade—13,970,000 rubles.

The Chairman: I shall take a vote on expenditure on the People's Commissariat of Foreign Trade in the amount of 13,970,000 rubles. Those in favour of the adoption of this sum, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: Moscow Metropolitan Railway—263,450,000 rubles.

The Chairman: I shall take a vote on expenditure on the Moscow Metropolitan Railway in the amount of 263,450,000 rubles. Those in favour of the adoption of this sum, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: Administration of Reserves of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R.—1,100,000,000 rubles.

The Chairman: I shall take a vote on expenditure on the Administration of Reserves of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. in the amount of 1,100,000,000 rubles. Those in favour of the adoption of this sum, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: Chief Forestry Administration of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R.—284,250,000 rubles. There is an amendment. The Budget Commission proposes that the financing of this administration be reduced by 2,000,000 rubles. The sum submitted for adoption is therefore 282,250,000 rubles.

The Chairman: I shall take a vote on expenditure on the Chief Forestry Administration in the amount of 282,250,000 rubles. Those in favour of the adoption of this sum, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: Chief Hydrometeorological Office of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R.—183,180,000 rubles. An amendment has been proposed to reduce this amount by 6,835,000 rubles. The amount submitted for adoption is therefore 176,345,000 rubles.

The Chairman: I shall take a vote on expenditure on the Chief Hydrometeorological Office in the amount of 176,345,000 rubles. Those in favour of the adoption of this sum, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: Other expenditures on the national economy—3,097,627,000 rubles.

The Chairman: I shall take a vote on other expenditures on the national economy in the amount of 3,097,627,000 rubles. Those in favour of the adoption of this sum please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

I shall now take a vote on the sum-total of expenditures on the national economy, amounting to 47,297,657,000 rubles. Those in favour of the adoption of this sum, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: Expenditures on social and cultural services. A sum of 12,148,185,000 rubles is submitted. This includes education—8,483,559,000 rubles from the Union and republican Budgets out of a total expenditure in the Unified State Budget of 20,137,000,000 rubles; public health—2,301,993,000 rubles from the Union and republican Budgets out of a total expenditure of 8,076,400,000 rubles in the Unified State Budget; physical culture—40,448,000 rubles from the Union and republican Budgets out of a total expenditure of 77,000.000 rubles in the Unified State Budget; social maintenance—1,322,185,000 rubles, including grants to mothers of large families in the amount of 900,000,000 rubles.

The Chairman: I shall take a vote on the sum-total of expenditures on social and cultural services, amounting to 12,129,425,000 rubles. Those in favour of the adoption of this sum, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: Expenditures on the People's Commissariat of Defence and the People's Commissariat of the Navy—27,044,020,000 rubles.

The Chairman: I shall take a vote on expenditures on the People's Commissariats of Defence and the Navy in the amount of 27,044,020,000 rubles. Those in favour of the adoption of this sum, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously. *(Applause.)*

Zverev: Expenditures on the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs—4,320,000,000 rubles.

The Chairman: I shall take a vote on expenditures on the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs in the amount of 4,320,000,000 rubles. Those in favour of the adoption of this sum, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: Expenditures on the People's Commissariat of Justice of the U.S.S.R. and on the Procuratorship—532,693,000 rubles.

The Chairman: I shall take a vote on expenditures on the People's Commissariat of Justice of the U.S.S.R. and the Procuratorship in the amount of 532,693,000 rubles. Those in favour of the adoption of this sum, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: Expenditures for the maintenance of the organs of state administration of the U.S.S.R. and the Union republics are estimated in the amount of 2,197,102,000 rubles. It has been proposed to reduce this sum by 13,800,000 rubles. The amount submitted for adoption is 2,183,302,000 rubles.

The Chairman: I shall take a vote on expenditure for the maintenance of the organs of state administration of the U.S.S.R. and the Union republics in the amount of 2,183,302,000 rubles. Those in favour of the adoption of this sum, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: Service of state loans—2,072,000,000 rubles.

The Chairman: I shall take a vote on expenditures on the service of state loans in the amount of 2,072,000,000 rubles. Those in favour of the adoption of this sum, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: Settlements with the long-term investment banks. This item is estimated at 334,130,000 rubles. An amendment has been proposed to reduce this sum by 20,000,000 rubles. The appropriation is therefore submitted in the amount of 314,130,000 rubles.

The Chairman: I shall take a vote on settlements with the banks in the amount of 314,130,000 rubles. Those in favour of the adoption of this sum, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: Reserve funds of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. and the Councils of People's Commissars of the Union republics—1,210,000,000 rubles. The Budget Commission proposes that the appropriations to this fund be increased by 1,515,500,000 rubles.

The Chairman: I shall take a vote on a total reserve fund of 2,725,500,000 rubles. Those in favour of the adoption of this sum, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: Other expenditures are estimated in the amount of 275,272,000 rubles.

The Chairman: I shall take a vote on other expenditures in the amount of 275,272,000 rubles. Those in favour of the adoption of this sum, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

I shall take a vote on total expenditures on the local Budgets of the autonomous republics and the local Soviets in the amount of 26,343,994,000 rubles. Those in favour of the adoption of this sum, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: This sum includes 11,655,064,000 rubles on education and 5,774,451,000 rubles on public health.

The Chairman: I shall take a vote on the sum-total of expenditure of the Unified State Budget of the U.S.S.R. in the amount of 125,237,993,000 rubles. Those in favour of the adoption of this sum, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

I shall take a vote on a surplus of revenue over expenditure in the amount of 1,500,000,000 rubles. Those in favour of the adoption of this sum, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

I shall take a vote on a grand total of expenditure in the amount of 126,737,993,000 rubles. Those in favour of the adoption of this sum, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

This ends the voting on the Unified State Budget of the U.S.S.R. section by section.

We shall now proceed to vote on the adoption of the Budget as a whole. Those in favour of adopting the revenue and expenditure sides of the Budget of the U.S.S.R. for 1938 as a whole, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

We shall now proceed to adopt the Union Budget. We shall vote on the revenues.

K. I. Nikolayeva: I wish to make a motion.

The Chairman: Deputy Nikolayeva.

K. I. Nikolayeva (*Kashin Area, Kalinin Region*): Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet. On behalf of a group of deputies active in the trade unions, I want to make the following motion.

As you know, the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. has ratified the Budget of state social insurance for 1938 in the amount of 6,775,000,000 rubles revenue and 5,900,000,000 rubles expenditure. It should be borne in mind that of these funds 875,000,000 rubles have already been included in the revenue of the Unified State Budget of the U.S.S.R. in accordance with the decision just adopted by this Session.

We consider that the social insurance contributions of business bodies and institutions should be reflected in the Unified State Budget of the U.S.S.R. State social insurance is one of the biggest achievements of the Great Socialist Revolution, and its funds are used to satisfy vital needs of the workers and employees. Our social insurance is a real embodiment of the right inscribed in the Stalin Constitution to rest, to material security in case of loss of working capacity, and the protection of the health of mother and child.

For this reason we propose that the 6,775,000,000 rubles should be included in the revenues of the Unified State Budget of the U.S.S.R.

We also consider it necessary to include the expenditures on social insurance in the amount 5,900,000,000 rubles in the expenditures of the Unified State Budget of the U.S.S.R. *(Applause.)*

The Chairman: Does any deputy wish to speak on Comrade Nikolayeva's motion?

Comrade Zverev.

Zverev: I consider that Deputy Nikolayeva's motion should be adopted. The state social insurance Budget should unquestionably form part of the Unified State Budget, inasmuch as the funds envisaged in the former are state funds and are used for the same purposes as those of the State Budget, namely, to improve the material and cultural conditions of the working population. *(Applause.)*

The Chairman: Are there any other motions, comrades?

Voices: No.

The Chairman: Then I shall put Comrade Nikolayeva's motion to the vote. Those in favour of Comrade Nikolayeva's motion, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No. Deputy Nikolayeva's motion is adopted.

We shall now continue the voting on the Union Budget. We shall first take the revenue. I call upon Comrade Zverev.

Zverev: Turnover tax was indicated in the Union Budget at 64,405,208,000 rubles. Owing to the amendments adopted in the case of the Unified State Budget, it is proposed to change the plan of receipts from the turnover tax in the Union Budget, namely, to increase it by 627,500,000 rubles and to reduce it by 4,379,000 rubles.

The turnover tax is therefore submitted for adoption in a sum-total of 65,028,329,000 rubles.

The Chairman: I shall take a vote on total turnover tax in the amount of 65,028,329,000 rubles. Those in favour of the adoption of this sum, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: The profits tax in the Union Budget for 1938 amounts to 7,344,650,000 rubles. This includes: enterprises of the People's Commissariat of Heavy Industry—905,400,000 rubles; People's Commissariat of the Defence Industry—39,000,000 rubles; People's Commissariat of the Machine-Building Industry—1,340,000,000 rubles; People's Commissariat of the Food Industry—2,216,700,000 rubles; People's Commissariat of Light Industry—642,520,000 rubles; People's Commissariat of the Timber Industry—202,990,000 rubles; Committee on Cinematography of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R.—3,840,000 rubles; People's Commissariat of Agriculture—38,460,000 rubles; People's Commissariat of State Grain and Livestock Farms—17,700,000 rubles; railways and enterprises of the People's Commissariat of Railways—677,610,000 rubles; enterprises of the People's Commissariat of Communications—49.500,000 rubles; People's Commissariat of Trade—326,020,000 rubles; People's Commissariat of Agricultural Stocks—272,100,000 rubles; People's Commissariat of Foreign Trade—23,150,000 rubles; State Bank—243,500,000 rubles; state insurance bodies—250,000,000 rubles; other enterprises—96,160,000 rubles.

Amendments were proposed which would increase profits tax by 136,000,000 rubles. Consequently, receipts from the profits tax on the industrial and other business People's Commissariats and organizations have to be adopted in the amount of 7,480,650,000 rubles.

The Chairman: I shall take a vote on a sum-total of profits tax in the amount of 7,480,650,000 rubles. Those in favour of the adoption of this sum, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously

Zverev: Income tax on enterprises and organizations. The part of the income tax on collective farms which goes to the Union Budget amounts to 145,450,000 rubles. Other taxation—75,000,000 rubles. The total taxation on enterprises and organizations is 220,450,000 rubles.

The Chairman: I shall take a vote on income tax on enterprises and organizations in the amount of 220,450,000 rubles. Those in favour of the adoption of this sum, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: Taxes and levies on the population. Agricultural tax on collective farmers and individual peasants—169,000,000 rubles, and levies for cultural and public service development in the towns—876,000,000 rubles. An amendment was introduced to increase this sum by 14,550,000 rubles. The sum submitted for adoption is therefore 1,059,550,000 rubles.

The Chairman: I shall take a vote on a sum-total of taxes and levies on the population amounting to 1,059,550,000 rubles. Those in favour of the adoption of this sum, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: Revenues from state loans: Loan for Strengthening the Defences of the U.S.S.R.—1,369,500,000 rubles; Third Five-Year Plan Loan (First Year Issue)—2,439,100,000 rubles; State Lottery Loan, 1938—300,000,000 rubles; State Loan Issued for Savings Banks Subscription—1,300,000,000 rubles; Loan Issue for Subscription by State Insurance Bodies—540,000,000 rubles; Loan Issue for Subscription by Co-operative Organizations—220,000,000 rubles.

In the draft the sum-total was 6,168,600,000 rubles. It is due to be amended in accordance with the proposal of the Budget Commission and increased by 321,500,000 rubles. Revenues from loans should therefore amount to 6,490,100,000 rubles.

The Chairman: I shall take a vote on total revenues from state loans in the amount of 6,490,100,000 rubles. Those in favour of the adoption of this sum, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: Receipts from state social insurance funds earmarked for social and cultural services—800,000,000 rubles. The Budget Commission proposed that this sum be increased by 75,000,000 rubles. The figure submitted for adoption is therefore 875,000,000 rubles.

The Chairman: I shall take a vote on a sum-total of receipts from state social insurance funds in the amount of 875,000,000 rubles. Those in favour of the adoption of this sum, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: Receipts of machine and tractor stations—2,435,500,000 rubles.

The Chairman: I shall take a vote on receipts of machine and tractor stations in the amount of 2,435,500,000 rubles. Those in favour of the adoption of this sum, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: Customs revenues were submitted in the amount of 2,100,000,000 rubles. The Budget Commission has proposed to increase the receipts under this item by 250,000,000 rubles. The sum-total will therefore be 2,350,000,000 rubles.

The Chairman: I shall take a vote on a total of customs revenues amounting to 2,350,000,000 rubles. Those in favour of the adoption of this sum, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: Other revenues: mint—25,000,000 rubles; repayment of loans—182,300,000 rubles; passport fees and receipts from the sale of house registers and from address bureau services—89,800,000 rubles; automobile inspection fees—63,400,000 rubles; testing and stamping of weights and measures—18,000,000 rubles; consular charges for foreign passport registration and for incoming and outgoing visas—27,000,000 rubles; receipts from the All-Union Radio Committee—23,400,000 rubles; other receipts—519,390,000 rubles; total for the section—948,290,000 rubles. The Budget Commission has proposed that this item of revenue be increased by 122,094,000 rubles. The sum submitted for adoption is therefore 1,070,384,000 rubles.

The Chairman: I shall take a vote on a sum-total of other revennes amounting to 1,070,384,000 rubles. Those in favour of the adoption of this sum, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: Balance of grants for capital development unutilized in 1937—176,000,000 rubles.

The Chairman: I shall take a vote on a balance of grants for capital development in the amount of 176,000,000 rubles. Those in favour

of the adoption of this sum, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: Balance of Budget funds on account with the State Bank on January 1, 1938—2,185,000,000 rubles.

The Chairman: I shall take a vote on a balance of Budget funds on account with the State Bank on January 1, 1938, in the amount of 2,185,000,000 rubles. Those in favour of the adoption of this sum, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: Balance of Budget funds received by institutions and organizations in 1937 but not utilized—120,000,000 rubles.

The Chairman: I shall take a vote on a total sum of Budget funds unutilized by institutions and organizations in 1937 in the amount of 120,000,000 rubles. Those in favour of the adoption of this sum, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: The balance of non-Budget funds in the hands of institutions and organizations financed from the state Budget amounted on January 1, 1938, to 800,000,000 rubles.

The Chairman: I shall take a vote on a balance of non-Budget funds in the amount of 800,000,000 rubles. Those in favour of the adoption of this sum, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: The balance of Budget funds resulting from the re-valuation of seasonal stocks of raw materials and goods amounts to 1,688,000,000 rubles.

The Chairman: I shall take a vote on a balance of Budget funds resulting from the re-valuation of seasonal stocks of raw materials and goods in the amount of 1,688,000,000 rubles. Those in favour of the adoption of this sum, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

I shall take a vote on the grand total of revenues of the Union Budget in the amount of 91,978,963,000 rubles. Those in favour of the adoption of this sum, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

We shall now proceed to vote on the expenditure side of the Union Budget of the U.S.S.R. for 1938.

Zverev: The expenditures of the Union Budget for 1938 on the national economy are as follows: industry—19,094,080,000 rubles; People's Commissariat of Heavy Industry—6,959,480,000 rubles; People's Commissariat of the Machine-Building Industry—1,127,140,000 rubles; People's Commissariat of the Food Industry—1,263,480,000 ru-

bles; People's Commissariat of Light Industry—1,183,500,000 rubles; People's Commissariat of the Timber Industry—1,067,680,000 rubles; Committee on Cinematography of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R.—77,760,000 rubles.

The Chairman: I shall take a vote on a sum-total of expenditures on industry amounting, together with the additions proposed by the Budget Commission, to 19,158,080,000 rubles. Those in favour of the adoption of this sum, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: The Budget provides for expenditures on the People's Commissariat of Agriculture in the amount of 8,669,110,000 rubles, which includes 7,650,700,000 rubles for machine and tractor stations. Expenditures on the People's Commissariat of Grain and Livestock Farms are provided in the Budget in the amount of 812,730,000 rubles.

An amendment has been made to the section "Agriculture," namely, to increase the appropriations by 10,000,000 rubles.

The Chairman: I shall take a vote on a sum-total of expenditures on agriculture in the amount of 9,491,840,000 rubles. Those in favour of the adoption of this sum, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: Transport and communications. This item is taken in its entirety from the Unified Budget. I therefore move the adoption of the entire section, which provides for appropriations of 6,762,610,000 rubles.

The Chairman: I shall take a vote on a sum-total of expenditures on transport and communications in the amount of 6,762,610,000 rubles. Those in favour of the adoption of this sum, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: Appropriations amounting to 1,884,280,000 rubles are provided for various construction works promoted by the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs.

The Chairman: I shall take a vote on expenditure on construction works promoted by the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs in the amount of 1,884,280,000 rubles. Those in favour of the adoption of this sum, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: The expenditures of the People's Commissariat of Trade are estimated at 117,960,000 rubles.

The Chairman: I shall take a vote on expenditures on the People's Commissariat of Trade in the amount of 117,960,000 rubles. Those in favour of the adoption of this sum, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: The expenditures of the People's Commissariat of Agricultural Stocks are estimated at 2,624,070.000 rubles, amended by an increase of 16,000,000 rubles. Total—2,640,070,000 rubles.

The Chairman: I shall take a vote on a sum-total of expenditures on the People's Commissariat of Agricultural Stocks amounting to 2,640,070,000 rubles. Those in favour of the adoption of this sum, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: The expenditures of the People's Commissariat of Foreign Trade are estimated at 13,970,000 rubles.

The Chairman: Those in favour of the adoption of this sum, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: The appropriations for construction work on the Moscow Metropolitan Railway were fixed at 263,450,000 rubles in the Unified State Budget.

The Chairman: With your permission I shall not put the appropriation of 263,450,000 rubles for construction work on the Metropolitan railway to the vote, since it has already been voted.

Zverev: I move that no vote be taken on the appropriation for the Committee of Reserves, as the sum indicated has already been adopted.

The Chairman: The appropriation for the Administration of State Reserves of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. in the amount of 1,100,000,000 rubles has also been voted and adopted.

Zverev: The appropriations for the Chief Forestry Administration of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. and for the Chief Hydrometeorological Office of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R., and the item "Other Expenditures on the National Economy" were voted when the Unified Budget was adopted. It seems to me superfluous to take a second vote on them.

The Chairman: I shall take a vote on a sum-total of expenditures on social and cultural services in the amount of 7,268,239,000 rubles. Those in favour of the adoption of this sum, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: The last section—appropriations to the People's Commissariat of Defence and the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs—was voted in connection with the Unified State Budget, and it is therefore moved that this section be not voted.

The grand total of expenditure in the Union Budget therefore amounts to 91,978,963,000 rubles.

The Chairman: Deputy Mikoyan will make a motion.

A. I. Mikoyan: Comrades, we have just adopted a motion introduced by Comrade Nikolayeva on behalf of a group of deputies active in the trade unions to embody the state insurance Budget in the Uni-

fied State Budget. In consequence, the revenue and expenditure sides of the Unified State Budget and the Union Budget have to be increased by 5,900,000,000 rubles, with the result that the total of the Unified State Budget will be increased, so that instead of 126,737,993,000 rubles we get a revenue side of 132,637,993,000 rubles, and an expenditure side of 131,137,993,000 rubles. Correspondingly, the revenue side of the Union Budget will total 97,878,9 3,000 rubles and the expenditure side 96,378,963,000 rubles.

In view of this decision, the appropriate items of revenue and expenditure in the Unified State Budget and in the Union Budget have to be amended. Accordingly, Article 7, which reads as follows: "Receipts from state social insurance funds, earmarked for social and cultural services—875,000,000 rubles," should be amended to read: "Receipts from state social insurance—6,775,000,000 rubles."

I move that Section B on the expenditure side of the Unified State Budget, which is entitled "Social and Cultural Services" and which includes education, art, public health, physical culture and social maintenance, be divided up into three independent sections:

First section—"Education and Art";

Second section—"Public Health and Physical Culture";

Third section—"State Social Insurance and Social Maintenance."

My reason for proposing the abolition of Section B is that it is wrong to combine expenditure on education, public health and social maintenance under one general section entitled "Social and Cultural Measures." If, however, there are three separate sections, it will at once be apparent what purposes the state funds are being assigned for, how much for education, how much for public health, how much for social insurance and how much for social maintenance. The section "State Social Insurance and Social Maintenance" will then read as follows:

State Social Insurance	5,900,000,000 rubles
State Social Maintenance	1,046,700,000 "
Total State Social Insurance and Social Maintenance	6,946,700,000 "

Those are my amendments. (*Applause.*)

The Chairman: Comrades, does anybody wish to speak on Deputy Mikoyan's motion?

Voices: Adopt.

The Chairman: Those in favour of Deputy Mikoyan's motion, please raise their hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Deputy Mikoyan's motion is adopted unanimously.

The grand total of the expenditure side of the Budget will be increased accordingly.

We have concluded the voting on the Union Budget section by section. I shall now take the vote of the Soviet of the Union on the Union Budget for 1938 as a whole. Those in favour of the adoption of the Union Budget as a whole, please raise their hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Comrades, we shall now proceed to the adoption of the Unified State Budget of the U.S.S.R. Act. I call upon Comrade Zverev to read the Unified State Budget of the U.S.S.R. (1938) Act article by article.

A. G. Zverev: "Unified State Budget of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (1938) Act.

"The Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics resolves:

"1. To adopt the Unified State Budget of the U.S.S.R. for 1938 submitted by the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. with the amendments adopted on the reports of the Budget Commissions of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities, to wit: total revenues 132,637,993,000 rubles and total expenditures—131,137,993,000 rubles, revenues exceeding expenditures by 1,500,000,000 rubles."

The Chairman: Those in favour of Article 1 of the Unified State Budget of the U.S.S.R. (1938) Act with the changes and amendments proposed by Deputies Nikolayeva and Mikoyan, please raise their hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: Article 2. "In accordance with Article 1 of the present Act to adopt the revenues and expenditures of the Union Budget in the sum of 97,878,963,000 rubles for revenues and 96,378,963,000 rubles for expenditures, revenues exceeding expenditures by 1,500,000,000 rubles."

The Chairman: Does anybody wish to speak?

Voices: No.

The Chairman: Those in favour of the adoption of Article 2 of the Act, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: Article 3. "To approve the state Budgets of the Union Republics for 1938 in the following sums:

	Revenues (in thous. rubles)	Expenditures (in thous. rubles)
Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic	21,406,731	21,406,731
Of which: Republican Budget	15,480,076	3,844,894
Local Budgets	5,926,655	17,561,837
Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic	5,977,218	5,977,218
Of which: Republican Budget	4,462,583	1,451,792
Local Budgets	1,514,635	4,525,426
Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic	1,167,210	1,167,210
Of which: Republican Budget	1,022,220	460,827
Local Budgets	144,990	706,383

	Revenues (in thous. rubles)	Expenditures (in thous. rubles)
Azerbaidjan Soviet Socialist Republic.	915,723	915,723
Of which: Republican Budget . . .	762,496	356,207
Local Budgets	153,227	559,516
Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic. . . .	1,068,637	1,068,637
Of which: Republican Budget . . .	914,568	466,711
Local Budgets	154,069	601,926
Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic . . .	388,427	388,427
Of which: Republican Budget . . .	348,216	182,861
Local Budgets	40,211	205,566
Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic. . . .	441,284	441,284
Of which: Republican Budget . . .	383,906	206,427
Local Budgets	57,378	234,857
Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic.	1,314,693	1,314,693
Of which: Republican Budget . . .	1,100,402	613,765
Local Budgets	214,291	700,928
Tadjik Soviet Socialist Republic.	448,928	448,928
Of which: Republican Budget . . .	407,148	211,286
Local Budgets	41,780	237,642
Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic. . . .	1,282,602	1,282,602
Of which: Republican Budget . . .	1,157,903	466,469
Local Budgets	124,699	816,133
Kirghiz Soviet Socialist Republic. . . .	347,577	347,577
Of which: Republican Budget . . .	312,844	153,797
Local Budgets	34,733	193,780
Total for State Budgets of Union Republics	34,759,030	34,759,030
Of which: Republican Budgets . . .	26,352,362	8,415,036
Local Budgets	8,406,668	26,343,994

The Chairman: Those in favour of the adoption of Article 3 of the Unified State Budget of the U.S.S.R. (1938) Act, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: Article 4. "To approve allocations from the republican Budgets to the Budgets of the Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republics and local Soviets in the following sums:

	(in thous. rubles)
Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic. . .	11,635,182
Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic	3,010,791
Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic	561,393
Azerbaidjan Soviet Socialist Republic	406,289
Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic	447,857
Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic	165,355
Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic	177,479

(in thous. rubles)

Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic	486,637
Tadjik Soviet Socialist Republic	195,862
Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic	691,434
Kirghiz Soviet Socialist Republic	159,047
Total. . .	17,937,326

The Chairman: Those in favour of the adoption of Article 4 of the Act, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: Article 5. "To fix the following percentages for the 1938 allocations from all-Union state taxes to the republican and local Budgets.

"a) For the R.S.F.S.R., the Ukrainian S.S.R., the Byelorussian S.S.R., the Azerbaidjan S.S.R., the Georgian S.S.R., the Armenian S.S.R., and the Uzbek S.S.R.—50 per cent of the levies for housing, cultural and public service development in the towns; and for the remaining Union republics—100 per cent.

"b) For all Union republics—100 per cent of the levies for housing, cultural and public service development in rural areas.

"c) For the R.S.F.S.R., the Ukrainian S.S.R. and the Byelorussian S.S.R.—75 per cent of the receipts from the collective farm income tax and from the agricultural tax on collective farmers and individual peasants; and for the remaining republics—100 per cent."

The Chairman: Those in favour of the adoption of Article 5 of the Act, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: Article 6. "In accordance with the sums approved by the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. for allocation from the turnover tax to the Union Republics, to instruct the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. to fix the percentages to be allocated from this tax to each Union Republic."

The Chairman: Those in favour of the adoption of Article 6 of the Act as read, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: In Article 7 of the draft which has been distributed to the deputies a change has been made. I shall read it in its final form: "To note the unsatisfactory organization of the collection by the People's Commissariat of Finance of the U.S.S.R. and its local organs in 1937 of the legally established rural taxes and levies. To make it the duty of the People's Commissariat of Finance of the U.S.S.R. and the local Soviet organs to adopt measures to improve the work of the finance bodies."

The Chairman: Those in favour of the adoption of Article 7 of the

Act as read with the amendment, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: Article 8. "To direct the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. to introduce for the approval of the next Session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. a draft Unified State Budget of the U.S.S.R. that will provide for the establishment of more stable sources of revenue for the republican and local Budgets."

The Chairman: Those in favour of the adoption of Article 8 of the Act, please raise their hands. Please lower them. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: Article 9. "To instruct the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. to submit the draft of the Unified State Budget of the U.S.S.R. for 1939 to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. not later than December 15, 1938."

The Chairman: Those in favour of the adoption of Article 9 of the Act, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: Article 10. "To accept the report on the State Budget of the U.S.S.R. for 1936 showing results as follows: revenues—83,760,252,898 rubles, and expenditures—81,827,108,678 rubles, revenues exceeding expenditures by 1,933,144,220 rubles."

The Chairman: Those in favour of the adoption of Article 10 of the Act, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

I shall take a vote on the Unified State Budget of the U.S.S.R. (1938) Act as a whole.

Those in favour of the adoption of the Act as a whole, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

The Unified State Budget of the U.S.S.R. (1938) Act is adopted unanimously.

This exhausts the first item on the agenda. I call upon Deputy Zalikin to make a motion with regard to the procedure of discussion of the second item on the agenda: "Regulations Governing the Judicial System of the U.S.S.R., the Union Republics and the Autonomous Republics."

A. T. Zalikin (*Sterlitamak Area, Bashkir A.S.S.R.*): Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet. I move that the report on the Regulations Governing the Judicial System of the U.S.S.R., and of the Union and Autonomous Republics be heard at a joint sitting of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities. I propose that the joint sitting be held on August 15 at 11 a.m.

The Chairman: Does anybody wish to speak on this motion? Are there any other motions? No.

I shall take a vote on Comrade Zalikin's motion. Those in favour of the motion, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No.

Accordingly, a joint sitting of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities will be held tomorrow at 11 a.m., and a sitting of the Soviet of the Union tomorrow at 2 p.m.

This closes the day's proceedings.

FIFTH SITTING

August 15, 1938

T. D. Lysenko, Vice-Chairman of the Soviet of the Union, takes his seat on the dais, and the members of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. and the leaders of the Party and the Government enter the boxes. They are greeted with loud and prolonged applause. All rise.

T. D. Lysenko (*in the chair*): I hereby open the sitting of the Soviet of the Union. The point on the agenda is the co-report of the Legislative Bills Commission of the Soviet of the Union on the draft of the Regulations Governing the Judicial System of the U.S.S.R., and of the Union and Autonomous Republics. I call upon Deputy Shagimardanov for the co-report.

F. V. Shagimardanov (*Duvan Area, Bashkir A.S.S.R.*): Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet.

The glorious life of our vast and happy fatherland is wholly built on a foundation of granite, on a basis that cannot be shaken, on the basis of the great Stalin Constitution.

Our Constitution is the Magna Charta of victorious Socialism.

Our Constitution reflects as in a mirror a victory of world-wide historic significance, the victory of the working people of the U.S.S.R., the transformation of a backward, agrarian country, such as the U.S.S.R. was, into a country of advanced Socialist industry, a country of large-scale Socialist agriculture, a country of a high Socialist culture, a country that is mighty and invincible, marching courageously and victoriously along its historic path.

The great Constitution of the U.S.S.R. is the outcome of the glorious and stubborn twenty years' struggle waged by our country for Socialism, is the offspring of a creator and thinker of genius, our own great Stalin. *(Applause.)*

The Stalin Constitution, the Constitution of victorious Socialism, gave form and legislative enactment to the great gains achieved by the dictatorship of the working class that has built Socialist society in our country.

From the very first days of its existence the Soviet state system was

an immeasurably more democratic system than any found anywhere else in the world, and in the era of the Stalin Constitution our Soviet system has attained the heights of fully developed Socialist democracy.

The turn in the political life of the country which received expression in that great historic document, the Stalin Constitution, and was marked by the introduction of universal, direct and equal suffrage by secret ballot, could not but be reflected in the organization of the work of the courts, one of the most important weapons of the dictatorship of the working class.

The Stalin Constitution has taken a huge step forward in perfecting state forms, in raising the whole system of government by the Socialist state to the plane required to be able to cope with the great tasks confronting the country.

This process of perfecting the state machinery comprises also Socialist justice, which occupies a place of the utmost importance and responsibility in the system of state administration.

The Stalin Constitution has enormously enhanced the role and importance of the courts in the Socialist state by devoting a special chapter of the Constitution (Chapter IX) to the courts and the procuratorship.

The principles of judicature and court work formulated in Chapter IX of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. completely solve the problem of the further democratization of the judicial system in accordance with the general turn in the political life of the country, and serve as a firm basis for the perfection of the Socialist judicial system.

The draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System of the U.S.S.R., and of the Union and Autonomous Republics introduced by the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. are in full conformity with the teachings of Lenin and Stalin concerning the courts. They accord with the special historical features of the great Stalin era and respond to the demands of the Stalin Constitution.

After bringing about the victory of the Socialist revolution and taking power into its own hands, the heroic working class could not allow the old bourgeois lawcourts to remain, seeing that they guarded the pillars of capitalism and were a tool in the hands of the exploiting classes. Having gained its victory, the proletariat promptly sent the bourgeois lawcourts to the scrap-heap.

Speaking at the Third All-Russian Congress of Soviets about the stand to be taken by the Socialist revolution on the bourgeois courts, Lenin said:

"The Soviet Government acted as it was commanded to act by all the proletarian revolutions—it immediately threw the old court on the scrap-heap. Let them cry that we are not reforming the old court but immediately threw the old court on the scrap-heap. By that we paved the way for a real people's court. . . ."

In 1918 Lenin dealt exhaustively with the subject of the tasks of the people's courts.

He wrote:

"The new courts were required primarily for the struggle against the exploiters, who are endeavouring to restore their rule, or to preserve their

privileges, or to smuggle in, or secure by deceit, some part or other of these privileges. But, in addition to this, another and still more important task is incumbent upon the courts if they are really organized on the principle of Soviet institutions. It is the task of ensuring the strictest observance of discipline and self-discipline by the working people.... Without compulsion such a task is absolutely impossible of performance. We need a state, we need compulsion. The organ of the proletarian state exercising such compulsion should be the Soviet court." (Vol. XXII, Russ. ed., p. 424).

That means that the courts must be organized in such a way as not only to punish offenders but also by all their activities to educate the citizenry in the spirit of the new, Socialist conception of the law, in the spirit of respect for the law, of honesty toward public duty, in the spirit of labour discipline.

Lenin gave special attention to having each and every working man and woman participate in the administration of justice. At the Seventh Congress of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) he said:

"We must administer justice ourselves. Every single citizen must take part in the courts and in the administration of the country. And for us it is important to draw every single working man and woman into the work of administering the state. That is a task of gigantic difficulty. But Socialism cannot be inaugurated by a minority—by the Party. It can be inaugurated by tens of millions, when they have learnt to do everything themselves." (Vol. XXII, Russ. ed., p. 354.)

And these directions of Lenin's have been carried out in the Soviet judicial system.

Ever since, by the decree of November 24, 1917, the new, Soviet courts were set up—courts of a new type, truly people's courts, courts genuinely independent, genuinely elective—these our Soviet courts have, during the twenty years of their activity, been steadily proceeding along the path indicated by Lenin and Stalin. The Soviet courts have relentlessly crushed the enemies of the people, the Trotskyite-Bukharinite bandits, the despicable hirelings of fascist intelligence services, who tried to hinder our successful Socialist development and turn the country back along the road of restoration of capitalism.

At the same time, our Soviet courts by all their activities have contributed to the eradication of the survivals of capitalism among the working people and to the rearing of staunch citizens of Socialist society.

Thus the whole judicial system of the Soviet Union from the very outset has been immeasurably more democratic than that of the most democratic of bourgeois states. The Stalin Constitution has given to Soviet democracy its fullest and most consistent expression. It follows that this new, higher phase of Socialist democracy must also find its expression in the judicial system, a direct indication of which is to be found in Chapter IX of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R.

This has been accomplished by the draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System of the U.S.S.R., and of the Union and Autonomous Republics introduced by the Soviet of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. for approval by the Session.

I consider it necessary to dwell on the most important questions of principle relating to the judicial system and especially on the essential changes introduced by the draft Regulations into the judicial system now in force.

People's Judges have been elected under the existing law by the municipal Soviets and the district executive committees. The election of judges by the people through their representative organs exists only in our country, in the Soviet state.

The draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System strengthen still further the democratic principles underlying the election of judges.

The people's courts, which stand closest of all to the population, are elected under the draft exactly as prescribed by Article 109 of the Constitution, *i.e.*, on the basis of universal, direct and equal suffrage and secret ballot.

In the U.S.S.R. the courts, being uniform for all citizens of the land, ensure real equality before the law, irrespective of nationality or race, of social or property status or official position. The uniformity of the Soviet courts is expressed by the fact that all courts, without any exception, are governed by the uniform civil, criminal, and procedural legislation of the U.S.S.R., which is binding upon all courts. Finally, the uniformity of the courts is expressed also in the fact that supervision over the work of all the courts is exercised by a single supreme organ—the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R.

The Stalin Constitution has raised to a tremendous height the role of judge as the chosen of the people to administer justice. The principle of the independence of the judiciary inherent in the Soviet judicial system has been further extended and entrenched by the direct and categorical statement in Article 112 of the Constitution that "judges are independent and subject only to the law."

The draft lays down the strict rule that judges may be removed from their office and people's assessors relieved of their duties solely by the recall of their electors or by virtue of a sentence of court against them.

With a view to ensuring proper guarantees against the unwarranted institution of criminal proceedings against judges, the draft permits the institution of criminal proceedings against judges, and their consequent removal from office and arraignment, only by decision of the Procurator of the republic with the sanction of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the republic; in respect to members of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. and of the special courts of the U.S.S.R., such measures may be taken only by decision of the Procurator of the U.S.S.R., with the sanction of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

The principles of the national policy of Lenin and Stalin are consistently reflected in the draft. They are expressed in the fact that under Article 110 of the Constitution judicial proceedings are conducted in the language of the given Union republic, autonomous republic or autonomous region; that persons not knowing this language are ensured every

opportunity of fully acquainting themselves with the material pertaining to the case through an interpreter and likewise the right to speak in court in their own language. These principles are further reflected in the provision that in all the autonomous republics, Supreme Courts of those republics have been set up, and in all the autonomous regions and areas—regional and area courts, elected by the Soviets of Toilers' Deputies.

Under the existing law many judicial organs, principally the territorial and regional courts, had numerous administrative functions imposed on them in addition to their judicial work proper. The territorial and regional courts had to attend to financing the people's courts, getting them premises, selecting forces, etc. As a result, their presidents, overburdened by a multiplicity of administrative functions, were diverted from their direct judicial work.

The draft contemplates relieving the courts of all administrative functions whatsoever, and therefore, in defining the tasks of court presidents, it distinctly states that their primary task consists in presiding at the sittings of the court.

The relieving of our courts of administrative functions will undoubtedly be of great importance in further enhancing their efficiency.

The draft consistently carries through the principle that people's assessors participate in all courts, including the special courts, *i.e.*, in the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R., in the military tribunals and line courts, excepting cases specially provided for by the law.

Of extreme importance for raising the efficiency of the courts is the reduction in the number of successive courts of appeal as proposed by the draft.

In the existing judicial system there were numerous courts to which cases might be appealed in succession. There have been instances when one and the same case was considered by as many as nine different courts. This is explained by the circumstance that all courts, from the territorial and regional courts up, had Presidiums and Plenary Sittings which were authorized to review in a supervisory capacity the orders of the collegiums of the respective courts.

The result of this was that many cases were reviewed five, six or more times, the sentences or judgments in such cases losing all character of finality.

Here is an instance in point. A case came up before the people's court of the Chagoda district of the Leningrad region, in which several citizens were charged with an offence punishable under Article 109 of the Criminal Code of the R.S.F.S.R. (a crime committed in the exercise of official duties), while one citizen was charged with an offence punishable under Article 107 of the Criminal Code of the R.S.F.S.R. (profiteering).

The people's court on April 20, 1936, sentenced some of the accused to imprisonment for a term of five years, one to imprisonment for two years and the rest to correctional labour.

On May 15, 1936, the Court Collegium on Criminal Cases of the Regional Court endorsed the sentence of the people's court.

The record of the case was then demanded and a protest filed by the President of the Regional Court. On June 10, 1936, the Presidium of the Regional Court reversed the sentence of the people's court and the orders of the Appellate Collegium on Criminal Cases of the Regional Court in respect of one of the accused, and sent the case back to the people's court for retrial.

Some time later the record of the case was demanded by the Vice-President of the Court Collegium on Criminal Cases of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. and once more a protest was filed against the sentence. On October 4, 1936, this protest was dismissed by the Presidium of the Regional Court.

Thereafter the President of the Court Collegium on Criminal Cases of the Supreme Court of the R.S.F.S.R. once again filed a protest against the sentence. On October 31, 1936, this protest was dismissed by the Court Collegium on Criminal Cases of the Supreme Court of the R.S.F.S.R.

The record of the case was then demanded and a protest filed by the President of the Court Collegium on Criminal Cases of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R., and on April 15, 1937, the Supervisory Court Collegium of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. modified the sentence, designating the offence of the accused as punishable under Article 164, Part 2 of the Criminal Code of the R.S.F.S.R. and fixing the penalty at imprisonment for a term of two years.

After that the record of the case was demanded by the Procurator's Office of the U.S.S.R. The Vice-Procurator of the U.S.S.R. filed a protest against the sentence in respect of one of the accused, and on October 20, 1937, the Supervisory Court Collegium of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. modified the sentence, designating the offence of that accused as punishable under Article 162, clause "d" of the Criminal Code of the R.S.F.S.R., and fixing the penalty at imprisonment for a term of three years.

The record was returned to the Regional Court, and in December 1937 sent to the President of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. with the notation that the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R., in determining the penalty in accordance with Article 162, clause "d" of the Criminal Code of the R.S.F.S.R., had gone beyond the purview of that article.

By a decision of January 20, 1938, the Presidium of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. modified the sentence, fixing the penalty at imprisonment for a term of two years.

In this manner the case was considered by nine judicial tribunals. The new draft radically changes the present state of things. The Presidiums of all courts are abolished. Only the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. retains its Plenary Sitting, which is indispensable for the performance of the tasks imposed on the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. by Article 104 of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R., *i. e.*, the exercise of supervision over the judicial activities of all the judicial organs of the U.S.S.R. and of

the Union republics. Under the draft, the normal number of courts through which a case may pass is fixed at two.

The right of filing further protests, so-called supervisory protests, is vested under the draft exclusively in the Presidents of Supreme Courts of the Union republics and in the Procurators of the said republics, as well as in the President of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. and the Procurator of the U.S.S.R.

In conformity with the Constitution of the U.S.S.R., the draft ensures the realization of such democratic principles as public trial, the right of the accused to counsel for defence, and the right to appeal sentences and judgments.

The draft introduces important changes into the manner of appealing sentences and judgments.

Under the existing law when a higher court hears appeals from or protests against sentences or judgments of a lower court, it may consider only material that has been produced before the lower court.

In practice, however, some changes have already been made in this method of procedure.

The draft takes into account the results of actual experience and stresses the point that in hearing appeals and protests the higher court should examine the lawfulness and merits of the sentence or judgment passed by the lower court not only on the basis of data already on record but also on the basis of such new material as the parties may submit.

This measure will undoubtedly raise the efficiency of our courts.

All these characteristically democratic features, inherent in the Soviet courts from the first day of their existence, have been given greater emphasis by the Stalin Constitution.

In capitalist countries, the courts are a weapon in the hands of the ruling classes wherewith to exploit and oppress the toilers.

Real democracy of whatever description is entirely out of the question in the bourgeois courts or in the whole system of bourgeois state administration.

Amazing in their simplicity and force are the words of Frederick Engels characterizing the judicial customs, the "judicial order" of the England of his time; a state of things, by the way, which continues to exist up to the present, and not only in England, but throughout the capitalist world.

Engels wrote:

"The ill-treatment of the poor and the favouritism shown to the rich is such a general phenomenon in all lawcourts and is practised so openly, so contemptuously, is described in the newspapers so shamelessly, that one can rarely read a paper without a feeling of revulsion. The rich man is always met with the most exquisite politeness and, however brutal his offence may have been, 'the judges always profoundly regret' that they see themselves constrained to sentence him to a fine, usually quite a trifling one."

And further:

"The administration of the law is in this respect more inhuman by far

than the law itself; 'law grinds the poor, and rich men rule the law' and 'there is one law for the poor, and another for the rich'—are perfectly true sayings that have long ago become proverbial. And how can it be otherwise? The justices of the peace and the jurymen are themselves rich men, recruited from the middle class, and therefore partial to those of their kind, and born enemies of the poor."

If it is impossible to speak of real democracy in the workings of the lawcourts in bourgeois-democratic countries, in fascist countries courts of justice have practically been done away with altogether and brazen lawlessness and unbridled terror hold sway.

Under the law of April 24, 1934, a court was set up in Germany which they had the effrontery to call a "people's" court so as to mislead the masses. This "people's" court is composed of two members of the imperial court and three so-called lay judges, appointed directly by Hitler. Both the law judges and the lay judges are appointed from among particularly trusted "Aryan" devotees of fascism. The sentences of this court are not subject to review of any kind. Counsel for defence is allowed or not, at the discretion of the judge.

The Minister of Justice is authorized to exercise arbitrary judgment in dealing with any case in "court," and to commit the most flagrant violations of the legally established trial procedure.

Very much similar are the principles underlying the Extraordinary Tribunal for the Defence of the State, functioning in Italy. This "court" is composed of army generals and fascist militia members personally picked by Mussolini. It is perfectly clear that in the activities of these organs of fascist repression, the only thing reminiscent of a lawcourt is its name. The so-called court has been converted into a department of the police torture chambers, and justice into merciless vengeance wreaked on everyone who champions the real interests of the people and struggles against execrated fascism.

In the trial of Edgar André, leader of the Red Front Fighters in Hamburg, the accused refused to call many witnesses for the defence, saying: "I might call many more witnesses, but I am not going to do so, as I know that witnesses testifying in my favour are arrested after examination."

Even in bourgeois-democratic countries like England, France and the U.S.A., the courts are built on foundations that, far from being democratic, are bureaucratic in the truest sense of the word.

We find in the constitutions of some of the bourgeois countries declarations to the effect that their courts are independent, their hearings public, etc., while in some countries the judiciary is even stated to be elective.

But what really counts is not declarations but the actual state of affairs. And the actual state of affairs is that in the capitalist countries there neither is nor can there be true democracy, that every bourgeois court is subservient to the will of the capitalists and landlords.

The judges in capitalist countries, recruited from the ranks of the exploiting classes, are the servants of capital; they act in the interests of the capitalist order, aiming at ensuring the predatory interests of the capitalists and landlords.

The lawcourts in tsarist Russia, like the present-day bourgeois courts, mirrored all the features peculiar to the class domination of the exploiters. They were a weapon for the oppression and exploitation of the toilers.

The trial of cases which most closely concerned the peasantry, that is, the principal section of the toiling population of tsarist Russia, was placed in the charge of the so-called Chiefs of the Zemstvos, who were appointed by the Minister of the Interior. The tsarist government was unwilling to entrust even its own Ministry of Justice with the appointment of officials authorized to hear disputes between the peasants and the landlords.

The law of 1889 pertaining to the Chiefs of the Zemstvos stated in so many words that they were to be appointed preferably from the nobility, the landed proprietors of the district in question. This not only resulted in the selection of the Zemstvo authorities along class lines, but also safeguarded the interests of the local landlords.

In tsarist Russia there existed special estate courts. For the peasants there were the so-called township courts, wholly subordinate to the Chiefs of the Zemstvos. Up to the Revolution of 1905 these courts had the right of inflicting corporal punishment by flogging with birch rods.

For the convenience of merchants and manufacturers, on the other hand, merchant courts were set up, in which, contrary to the general principle of judges being appointed, the judges were allowed to be elected by the merchants and manufacturers themselves, and a simplified court procedure was established.

In bourgeois countries they talk of an open court. Here is an example of an "open" court after the bourgeois manner.

A bourgeois newspaper correspondent who was present at the trial of Comrade Racosi (in Hungary) has the following to say about this trial:

"At the first sitting of the court there was a small audience, only about fifteen people. We remarked on this aloud, and as in Budapest generally, and in the Palace of Justice particularly, not a single word passes unnoticed, on the next day the seats for the audience were literally packed to overflowing. The public, however, looked rather queer. They were mostly men. They were jotting down notes on their pads, and kept coughing and yawning. At the next sitting of the court all our doubts were dispelled. The composition of that numerous audience now became clear. Long before the end of the sitting a police officer in civilian clothes appeared before the seats of the audience. He made a sign with his hand, whereupon no fewer than a third of the 'public' rose, as if by command. Half an hour later the same policeman again came up to the seats reserved for the public, and again made a sign with his hand. Then the second third of the 'public' rose and went out. After the lapse of another few minutes, a repetition of the same little scene disposed of the rest. On the next day you might have read in the Hungarian papers that the sitting had been an exceedingly long and tedious one, that the numerous audience had gradually dwindled away and that by the end of the sitting not more than two or three members of it were left."

In the light of these facts depicting the exploiting nature of the bourgeois court, so profoundly hostile to the working people, the democratic principles of the Soviet Socialist court, recorded in the Stalin Constitution as one of the gains achieved under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party and the leader of peoples, Comrade Stalin, are fully revealed. (*Applause.*)

The entire draft is in complete harmony with the Stalin Constitution; it fully reflects the principles of Socialist democracy underlying our state system.

The Legislative Bills Commission of the Soviet of the Union accordingly deems it necessary to recommend that the Supreme Soviet adopt these Regulations.

At the same time the Legislative Bills Commission of the Soviet of the Union proposes to introduce some amendments to the draft, copies of which amendments have been distributed to all the members of the Chamber. I shall dwell on these amendments in the order in which they apply to the articles of the draft.

1. In Article 2, clause "a," instead of the words: "the social and state system of the U.S.S.R." we propose to say: "the organization of society and of the state of the U.S.S R."

Article 2 defines the tasks of justice in the U.S.S.R., and clause "a" stresses above all the need to protect from any and every encroachment the fundamental achievements of Socialism, recorded in chapters I and II of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. These chapters of the Constitution deal with the organization of society and of the state of the U.S.S.R. It is therefore not advisable to introduce into the Regulations Governing the Judicial System the new concepts of "social and state system."

In clause "c," instead of the words: "the rights and interests of state institutions," and so forth, it would be better to say: "the rights and legally protected interests of state institutions," and so on, according to the text of the Bill, inasmuch as justice does not defend all interests of organizations and institutions, but only those which coincide with the general interests of the state. It is, moreover, necessary to make the clause more specific, as above stated, because in clause "b" of this same Article 2, which deals with the defence of the interests of citizens, it is stated that justice protects the interests of citizens guaranteed by the Constitution of the U.S.S.R., and the Constitutions of the Union and autonomous republics.

In the concluding part of Article 2, instead of the words: "undeviating observance of Soviet laws by all institutions, official persons and citizens of the U.S.S.R.," write: "undeviating observance of Soviet laws by all institutions, enterprises, collective farms, co-operative and other public organizations, official persons and citizens of the U.S.S.R.," since this formulation expresses more exactly and fully the idea contained in the concluding part of Article 2.

2. It is advisable to interchange the order of Articles 3 and 4. Article 4 of the draft describes the nature and distinctive features of the Soviet courts, which are insolubly bound up with the tasks of Socialist justice as expounded in Article 2 of the draft.

3. In the second paragraph of Article 4 (Article 3, according to the new numeration), instead of the words: "in the spirit of Socialist law," say: "in the spirit of strict and undeviating observance of Soviet law." Such a formulation is more in conformity with Article 130 of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R.

4. Clause "a" of Article 5 should be worded as follows: "Uniform courts equal for all citizens, irrespective of their social or property status, official position, nationality or race."

The Commission holds that the need to include in clause "a" of Article 5 a reference to the equality of citizens before the courts irrespective of their nationality or race follows directly from Article 123 of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R., since equality before the courts is one of the most important elements of the equality of rights of citizens with which that article of the Constitution deals.

5. At the end of Article 14, instead of the words: "by three permanent judges," say: "by three members of the court," because a reference to permanent judges may create the wrong impression that there is some permanent composition of the courts.

Analogous alterations should be made in other articles of the draft (34, 55).

6. The Commission proposes to alter the wording of the second paragraph of Article 15.

The draft reads: "When hearing appeals and protests, the higher court reviews the legality and the merits of the sentence pronounced or the judgment rendered by the lower court by examining the material contained in the record of the case and that submitted by the parties."

The Commission deems the following wording more advisable: "When hearing appeals and protests, the higher court reviews the correctness of the sentence pronounced or the judgment rendered by the lower court by examining not only the data, contained in the record of the case but also the material submitted by the parties."

Our amendment removes the possibility of placing the legality of the sentence in opposition to the merits, and vice versa.

The wording proposed by the Commission brings out more sharply the alteration introduced by this article of the draft into the existing judicial practice, because the new factor in dealing with appeals and protests consists in permitting supplementary material to be submitted by the parties.

7. The Commission deems it necessary to put Article 20 in the place of Article 18, changing the numeration of Articles 18 and 19 of the draft accordingly. Inasmuch as Article 17 states that judges may be removed from their office by virtue of a sentence of court against

them, it is advisable to specify immediately thereafter the manner in which they are to be arraigned.

8. In order to enhance the authority of judges, the right of instituting criminal proceedings against members of a court, from people's judges to members of the Supreme Courts of the Union and autonomous republics, is vested solely in the Procurator of the Union republic with the sanction of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union republic. The Commission proposes to word the second paragraph of Article 20 (Article 18, according to the new numeration) as follows: "In respect to people's judges, members of territorial, regional or area courts and of courts of autonomous regions, and members of the Supreme Courts of Union or autonomous republics—by decision of the Procurator of the Union republic with the sanction of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union Republic."

9. At the beginning of clause "a" of Article 21, which defines the limits of the jurisdiction of the people's court, a new paragraph, in content as follows, should be introduced:

"a) criminal cases:

concerning violations of the electoral and other rights of citizens guaranteed by the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. or the Constitutions of the Union and autonomous republics"; because in defining the tasks of the people's court it is necessary to mention its tasks with regard to safeguarding the rights of citizens, so as to conform with what has been set forth in Article 2, clause "b," of the draft Regulations.

In the fourth paragraph of Article 21, clause "a," the words "violations of the election law" should be struck out; likewise the words "violation of lawful orders of organs of the government" should be struck out at the end of the fourth paragraph of clause "a," because the wording is too general to indicate any specific offence.

10. The Commission proposes to alter the wording of Article 23 of the draft Regulations. The Bill of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. reads: "People's judges and people's assessors are elected according to election areas which correspond to the district over which each people's court has jurisdiction."

The inadequacy of this wording consists in the fact that it contains no direct reference to the population.

Yet the electoral area for the election of people's judges will not be a territorial unit, but a fixed number of the population. The Commission therefore proposes the following wording of Article 23: "People's judges and people's assessors are elected by the citizens of the districts according to election areas; the election area for the election of people's judges and people's assessors comprises the total population residing on the territory under the jurisdiction of the particular people's court."

11. In a number of the articles of the draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System (Articles 19, 20, 26 and others), wherever a regulation applies to both the Union republic and the autonomous republic,

the wording "of the Union (autonomous) republic," "of the Union (autonomous) republics" is used.

The Commission deems it more advisable to separate what pertains to the Union republics from what pertains to the autonomous republics and proposes to have the above-mentioned articles amended accordingly.

In the material distributed to the deputies there are a number of other amendments, but they either affect only the wording, or are sufficiently clear in themselves not to require any special statement of reasons to support them. I shall not dwell on these amendments.

The task of the People's Commissariat of Justice of the U.S.S.R. will now consist in instituting, with the direct participation of the people, a systematic verification of the execution of the Act concerning the Judicial System as soon as it has been adopted by the Supreme Soviet.

A great many new people have lately been coming into the judicial organs. This requires Bolshevik treatment of these people on the part of the People's Commissariat of Justice.

It is the task of the People's Commissariat of Justice to organize the Bolshevik education of the judicial forces.

The Legislative Bills Commission of the Soviet of the Union expresses its firm conviction that the adoption of the draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System will contribute to a further increase in the efficiency of the courts and to a still more successful performance of the great, responsible and honourable tasks facing the Soviet courts.

The Soviet courts are strong by reason of their insoluble bonds with the masses of the people and build all their work on the foundations of the great and incontrovertible teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. Therein lies the guarantee of further success in all their work.

We express our assurance that all the judicial workers and the People's Commissariat of Justice will do their work as is required by the Stalin Consititution, as is required by our wise father, our great Stalin. (*Loud applause.*)

The Chairman: We shall now pass on to the debate on the draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System of the U.S.S.R., and of the Union and Autonomous Republics. I call on Comrade Golyakov, member of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R.

I. T. Golyakov: Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet. The Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. has introduced a draft of Regulations Governing the Judicial System of the U.S.S.R., and of the Union and Autonomous Republics for the approval of the Second Session of the Supreme Soviet.

The report of Comrade Rychkov, People's Commissar of Justice, fully demonstrated the need for a new judicial system Act.

The great changes that have taken place during the years of Socialist construction in the economic, social and political life of the U.S.S.R. have found striking expression in the Stalin Constitution. The premises

from which the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. proceeds are the fact that the capitalist system has been liquidated, the fact that the Socialist system has been victorious throughout the U.S.S.R. It rests for its support on the pillars of Socialism, it lends the strength of legislative enactment to these pillars of Socialism.

The Constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics firmly anchors the imprescriptible rights of citizens of the U.S.S.R. to work, to rest, to education, to material maintenance on loss of ability to work, etc. At the same time the Stalin Constitution makes it the duty of Soviet citizens to observe the laws, maintain labour discipline, honestly perform public duties and respect the rules of Socialist human intercourse.

While declaring Socialist property the sacred and inviolable basis of the Soviet order, the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. at the same time guarantees to all citizens the right to personal property in their incomes from work and in their savings, in their dwelling houses and auxiliary household economy, etc.; it also permits small private economy of individual peasants and handicraftsmen based on their personal labour and precluding the exploitation of the labour of others.

The great changes that have occurred in our country and are recorded in the Constitution of victorious Socialism place new tasks before the Soviet courts as one of the most important organs of the dictatorship of the working class. These new tasks of the courts have found expression in the draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System of the U.S.S.R., and of the Union and Autonomous Republics which have been submitted to the Second Session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. for discussion and approval.

"It is the task of justice in the U.S.S.R.," reads Article 2 of the Regulations Governing the Judicial System of the U.S.S.R., and of the Union and Autonomous Republics, "to protect from any and every encroachment:

"a) the social and state system of the U.S.S.R., the Socialist system of economy and Socialist property established by the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. and the Constitutions of the Union and the autonomous republics."

We know how odious the Soviet system is to the enemies of Socialism, we know how the enemies of the people hate Socialist property, the unshakable and sacred foundation of Socialist society.

The court trials of the past few years have proved that the vile traitors to the fatherland—the Trotskyite-Bukharinite agents of fascist intelligence services—stop at nothing in the struggle against Socialism.

The Soviet courts have punished the enemies of the people without mercy, and in future too they will show no mercy to anyone who dares to raise his hand against the liberty and independence of the Socialist state of workers and peasants.

It is the task of justice in the U.S.S.R. to protect "the political, labour, dwelling and other personal and property rights and interests of citizens of the U.S.S.R. guaranteed by the Constitution of the U.S.S.R., or the Constitutions of the Union and autonomous republics," to

quote Article 2 of the draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System.

In capitalist countries political rights are indeed but a mockery of the labouring classes. There, for the unemployed, the right to work is a right to die of starvation. Mass unemployment deprives the working people of the roof over their heads and their last crust of bread. In capitalist countries neither the law nor the courts nor society defends him who has nothing but his labour power to call his own.

Our Soviet courts protect from any and every encroachment the right of the working people to a happy, joyous, well-to do life. Our Soviet courts have always been the most democratic courts in the whole world. Our courts are genuine people's courts, standing guard over the dictatorship of the working class, standing guard over the interests of the people.

The draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System of the U.S.S.R., and of the Union and Autonomous Republics, which were drawn up on the basis of the Stalin Constitution, render our courts still more democratic, still more firmly bound up with the working masses.

"In accordance with Articles 105, 106, 107, 108 and 109 of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R., courts in the U.S.S.R. are elective, being formed in the manner established by the present Regulations," reads the text of Article 10 of the Bill; and in accordance with Article 103 of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R., "in all courts cases are tried with the participation of people's assessors, except in cases specially provided for by law."

"Any citizen who enjoys electoral rights may be elected judge or people's assessor," reads Article 11 of the Bill.

The principle that judges and people's assessors be elected and that the latter participate in the work of the courts on an equal footing with the judges is derived from the general fundamental principles of Socialist democracy that permeate our entire Socialist system of law.

In bourgeois countries judges are as a rule appointed from among the possessing classes. Even the bourgeois jurists do not deny the class nature of the bourgeois courts; the so-called principle of the independence of the judiciary is actually a mere fiction. How can one speak of the independence of the bourgeois courts when the judges are selected from among the rich, the born enemies of the poor? When tried by such a court big thieves will always come out unscathed. "If you steal a loaf of bread you are put in jail; but if you steal a railroad, you are made a senator," goes an American saying.

Anatole France glaringly depicts the partiality of the bourgeois courts in a story relating the judicial farce practised on a poor old man who was sentenced to imprisonment on police information. "When a person appears as a witness armed with a sword, take heed of the sword and never mind the person. A man deserves only disdain, he may be mistaken. But a sword is worthy of every esteem, it is always in the right." Such was the line of thought pursued by the judge in the story after he had pronounced the unjust sentence.

The fact that bourgeois courts often have juries does not change the situation, for, as Engels says, the juries themselves are composed of rich

men, themselves are drawn exclusively from the wealthy sections of the population. Jury trials introduced into tsarist Russia after the abolition of serfdom retained, to quote Lenin, their exploiting nature inasmuch as they protected the interests of the money-bags.

However, even these courts were not entrusted by the tsarist government with the trial of cases involving political offences or offences committed by officials. Such cases were heard by a judicial chamber in which so-called social estate representatives took part. Concerning these estate representatives Lenin said that they were mute supernumeraries, playing the pitiful role of perfunctory witnesses at inquests and putting their signatures to whatever the official concerned might please to set down.

The police, of course, played a foremost part in the direct frame-up of charges against workers. "For putting on trial they picked those whom they suspected of being political enemies," wrote Lenin in his article "Penitentiary Rules and a Penitentiary Sentence." "Police detectives presented lists. And the policemen, it goes without saying, 'certified' that these persons were in the crowd and threw stones and were prominent among the rest.... The accusation was *framed up*: the police ordered the judges to hear only one side of the case."

Our Soviet courts have nothing in common with the bourgeois courts. Our courts are a weapon in the struggle against the exploiters, against all enemies of Socialism. Our courts educate the working masses to adopt a Socialist attitude towards work and public property, towards the rules of Socialist human intercourse and towards their civic duties.

The importance attached by Lenin to the Soviet courts is common knowledge.

"Only such courts, and only if participated in by the widest masses of the working people and the exploited population," he said, "will be able, in democratic forms conforming to the principles of Soviet power, to prevent the wishes for discipline and self-discipline from remaining mere pious wishes. Only such courts will be able to bring about revolutionary power in our country." The Soviet courts have honourably discharged the task of protecting the interests of the Soviet state.

While mercilessly crushing the enemies of Socialism, traitors to the fatherland, spies, diversionists and thieves of Socialist property, the Socialist courts at the same time re-educate those who because of the vestiges they retain of capitalist mentality violate law and order as established in our country.

"Judges are independent and subject only to the law," states Article 112 of the Stalin Constitution. And our Socialist law is a reflection of the will of the entire Soviet people.

Consequently our Soviet courts, elected by the people, subject only to the people, standing guard over the laws of the Socialist state of workers and peasants, are a powerful weapon in the struggle for the consolidation of the Socialist order, for the defence of our frontiers, for a further blossoming of our cultured, joyful and prosperous life.

The draft of the new Regulations Governing the Judicial System supplies all that is necessary to effect the radical rearrangement in the

work of the Soviet courts demanded by the great Stalin Constitution. The Stalin Constitution has raised the authority of the Soviet courts to a new and higher plane. This obligates the courts to raise their efficiency to the plane required to be able to cope with the tasks placed before them by the Constitution.

The courts cannot boast of efficiency. The percentage of judgments and sentences of people's courts that have been reversed is very high. Red tape is still to be met with in the courts. The courts not infrequently violate the law. Citizens do not always meet with prompt defence of their labour, property or dwelling rights.

In the epoch of the great Stalin Constitution such shortcomings in court work are intolerable. These defects were due to a considerable extent to the fact that under the now operative Regulations Governing the Judicial System, the territorial and regional courts and the Supreme Courts of autonomous and Union republics possessed administrative functions that were not properly theirs. The presidents of these courts as a rule devoted most of their attention to administrative matters, to the detriment of their judicial work. Errors made by the courts were corrected by the so-called presidiums and plenary sittings, to which the presidents sent the protests they had filed against the sentences and judgments of their own courts.

There came to be established a multiplicity of successive appellate tribunals authorized to review judicial sentences and judgments. In consequence of this it was no rare thing to see a correct sentence of a people's court repeatedly "modified" and changed for the worse, while the sentence itself was not carried out, and the labour of the court became less effective. Even the courts themselves relied on these successive tribunals and therefore did not make a real effort to improve their work. And yet speed and efficiency are highly important factors in court work.

In a speech delivered on the tenth anniversary of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R., Mikhail Ivanovich Kalinin said: "A judge must not only be able to examine any specific case correctly from the political angle in the circumstances in which the case occurred, correctly assay and learn to know the people concerned in the case, bring to light all the springs that were active in the particular case, its class background and nature, but must in addition be able to do this *so convincingly, so demonstratively* that not only he himself and the people's assessors but all present at the trial may have a clear conception of the case and understand the correctness of the decision made by the court."

This is the kind of court work we need in order that the court may meet the requirements of the Stalin Constitution, so that it may be said, as we read in Article 4 of the Regulations Governing the Judicial System, that: "By all their activities the courts educate the citizens of the U.S.S.R. in the spirit of devotion to the country and the cause of Socialism, in the spirit of Socialist law, of care for Socialist property, of labour discipline, honesty toward state and public duty and respect for the rules of Socialist human intercourse."

"We little bear in mind," said Comrade Kalinin, "that *the court exerts vast influence both on those who are being brought to account and on those otherwise present.* A judge who conducts cases well, skilfully, along Party lines, will always be assured of a good audience. People will come to listen to him and to learn from him."

Permit me to dwell briefly on the work of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. in connection with the tasks imposed upon it by the Stalin Constitution and the draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System now before you.

The Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. was founded in 1924 as an organ attached to the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R. for the purpose of consolidating revolutionary law on the territory of the Soviet Union. This was stated in Article 43 of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. adopted by the Second Congress of Soviets. The Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. was given jurisdiction to exercise general supervision over the enforcement of the law, supervision over the courts and judicial functions.

The general supervisory powers with which the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. was invested included the task of expounding and interpreting all-Union legislative enactments to the Supreme Courts of the Union republics and also of submitting to the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee of the Union its conclusions on the compatibility of certain legislative acts of the Union republics with the Constitution of the U.S.S.R.

In the field of judicial supervision, the Supreme Court of the Union had the right to file a protest with the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee of the Union against sentences and judgments of the Supreme Courts of the Union republics.

In the field of direct judicial functions the Supreme Court of the Union was authorized to hear judicial matters of especially great state importance. Thus, in 1925 the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. heard the well-known case of the German fascists Kindermann, Dittmar and Wolst; in 1928 the Shakhty case relating to wrecking activities in the Donetz Basin, and the Lena Goldfields case. The Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. likewise tried the Industrial Party case and the so-called Menshevik Union Bureau case. Everyone knows of the trials conducted by the Supreme Court during the last few years concerning the vile crimes committed by the Trotskyite-Bukharinite bandits and assassins, the hirelings of fascist intelligence services.

With the organization of the Procuratorship of the U.S.S.R. the function of general supervision over the law was transferred in toto to the latter, and the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. is becoming more and more the organ exercising supreme supervisory powers over the courts.

After the railroad line and water-transport line courts were established, railroad and water-transport collegiums were set up in the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. to exercise supervision over the activities of these courts.

The plenary sitting of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. has been given the right of directly reversing decisions of the Supreme Courts of the Union republics.

Before the all-Union People's Commissariat of Justice was organized, the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. directed the judicial practice of all courts of the U.S.S.R. and of the Union republics in a general way, giving them guiding instructions on questions of judicial practice; it likewise instituted a broad investigation into the judicial activities of the Union republics.

With all these positive aspects of the past activity of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R., the latter had a number of shortcomings. Thus, the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R., divorced as it is from the courts in the various localities, does not display sufficient energy and promptness in discovering and correcting errors and misconstructions in practical work. It is ill-acquainted with the state of the work of the courts in the various republics.

Plenary sittings of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. have been held extremely rarely and have been composed of the presidents of the Supreme Courts of the republics, who were poorly acquainted with the work of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. itself.

The draft of the Regulations Governing the Judicial System provides a new definition of the tasks of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R.

In accordance with Article 104 of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R., the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. is the highest judicial organ. The Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. is charged with the function of supervising the judicial activities of all judicial organs of the U.S.S.R. and of the Union republics.

The judicial supervision exercised by the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. over the activities of all courts is of great political significance. It is a necessary measure which guarantees citizens and state enterprises coming in contact with the courts either as accused, plaintiffs or defendants against infractions of the law, which are far from eliminated in court work.

The Bill on the judicial system lessens the number of successive appellate tribunals empowered to review cases already adjudicated. The number of persons who may in their supervisory capacity demand the records of cases already examined in court has been considerably diminished.

The diminution in the number of these successive appellate jurisdictions brings the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. nearer to the direct activities of the courts and enables it to correct judicial errors sooner. All this will undoubtedly raise the effect a sentence or judgment of the court should have.

The presidents of the regional courts and the Supreme Courts of the autonomous republics, relieved as they are now of the administrative functions that should never have been given them, will henceforth take a direct part in the sittings of the courts and direct their work. This will result in a sharp improvement in the quality of the work of the judicial organs, particularly of the people's courts, which hear a great part of the civil and criminal cases.

In concentrating its attention on its own principal tasks—the

hearing of particularly important court cases and the exercise of supervision over the judicial activities of all courts—the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. will play a great part in the struggle for the consolidation of Socialist jurisprudence.

According to the draft of the Regulations Governing the Judicial System, the Plenary Sitting of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R., consisting of all the members of the Supreme Court, has been invested with special functions. The Plenary Sitting will not only hear certain court cases, but will give the courts guiding instructions on judicial practice. These instructions, in addition to their importance as such, will prevent errors and misconstructions in the practical work of the courts.

Comrades, our Socialist fatherland is surrounded by enemies who dream of destroying the Socialist state of workers and peasants, of enslaving the great Soviet people.

From this hostile environment there are being sent to our territory spies, wreckers, diversionists and assassins.

This is the reason, Comrade Stalin points out, why it is necessary that our people be kept in a state of mobilized preparedness.

In the struggle for the inviolability of the frontiers of our country, for further successes in our Socialist construction, for the further development of the happy and prosperous life of the working people, Soviet court workers must occupy first-line positions.

The enemies who wormed their way into the organs of justice endeavoured to undermine and weaken the work of the courts, those militant organs of the dictatorship of the working class. They tried to distort the Socialist character of our law, of our Soviet law. The enemy has been exposed and destroyed.

The draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System are certain to make the Soviet courts a still more powerful implement of the Socialist state of workers and peasants wherewith to safeguard the unshakable pillars of Socialism, to safeguard the rights and lawful interests of the citizens of our great Socialist fatherland from the encroachments of any enemy, from the encroachments of the fascist hirelings. The Soviet courts will discharge these tasks with honour.

Our guarantee of this is the Soviet Government, the most stable in the world, headed by Comrade Stalin's closest associate, Vyacheslav Mikhailovich Molotov.

Our guarantee of this is our invincible Party of Lenin and Stalin, the Party of the Bolsheviks, which leads our great people from victory to victory. Our guarantee of this is he who leads us to the new victories of Communism, our great Stalin. (*Loud and prolonged applause.*)

The Chairman: I call upon Deputy Andreyeva.

Z. A. Andreyeva (*Cheboksary Area, Chuvash A.S.S.R.*): Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet. The draft of the Regulations Governing the Judicial System of the U.S.S.R., and of the Union and Autonomous Republics submitted to us was elaborated on the basis of the Stalin Constitution, the only really democratic constitution in the world.

The draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System are a reflection of the great solicitude accorded to the individual.

The new Regulations raise the Soviet courts to a height unequalled before. They exact increased efficiency in court work and an improvement in the activities of all judicial organs.

Our Soviet justice metes out dire punishment for every encroachment upon our sacred Socialist property. The Stalin Constitution in Article 131 requires us to safeguard and fortify public, Socialist property as the sacred and inviolable foundation of the Soviet system, as the source of the wealth and might of the country, as the source of the prosperous and cultured life of all the toilers.

The new Regulations are an order to mobilize for a decisive, an effective struggle against thieves of Socialist property.

The draft strikingly demonstrates the special features of our Soviet courts, their role in the correction and reform of criminals.

Comrade Lenin attached particular importance to the courts as an organ for inculcating the new, Socialist discipline and self-discipline of the working people, as an organ in the functioning of which the broadest masses of the labouring population participate. This we have also been taught by the creator of the Socialist Constitution, Comrade Stalin.

The Soviet courts do not hesitate to apply the severest punishment to traitors to the fatherland. "Treason to the country—violation of the oath, desertion to the enemy, impairing the military power of the state, espionage—is punishable with all the severity of the law as the worst of crimes." Thus reads Article 133 of the Stalin Constitution.

No mercy has been or will be shown to the venal fascist degenerates, the Trotskyite-Bukharinite spies, wreckers and diversionists. No mercy has been or will be shown to them by the Soviet courts!

The accomplishment of the tasks set before the Soviet courts is ensured by the democratic nature of our courts, which is unequalled throughout the world, by the fact that our judges are elective. The judge is an honoured man in our country. The judge must be an authoritative person, learned in the law and versed in politics, enjoying the confidence and respect of the people. He must be a champion of Soviet law.

We demand of the courts accurate, honest, conscientious work and unbounded devotion to the cause of Socialism.

Exemplary Bolshevik order must be established in the organs of justice and of the Procuratorship.

Lenin said: "The least illegality, the least violation of Soviet order is a *loophole* which the enemies of the toilers will immediately take advantage of. . . ."

And infractions of the law by the organs of the courts and the Procuratorship themselves have particularly bad after-effects

Comrades, the Bill quite rightly provides for the abolition of a great number of successive appellate tribunals, the existence of which used to deprive judicial sentences of their finality. The presidiums and plenary sittings of the territorial and regional courts, as well as of

the Supreme Courts of the Union and autonomous republics, are also being abolished.

Sentences which have become legally effective can be reviewed only by the Supreme Court of the Union republic or the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. upon the protest of the President of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R., the President of the Supreme Court of the Union republic, the Procurator of the U.S.S.R. or the Procurator of the Union republic.

I will cite a few facts in support of the abolition of the great number of successive appellate tribunals.

The case of the Citizens Zheglov, who reside in the city of Cheboksary, concerning a partition of property has been dragging on ever since 1933. It has been heard seven times before judicial tribunals: before the appellate collegium, the presidium, the plenary sitting of the Supreme Court of the Chuvash Republic and before the Supreme Court of the R.S.F.S.R. It has also come before the Procuratorship. The endless peregrinations of the case from one judicial tribunal to another are responsible for the fact that it has not yet been decided.

I will cite still another instance of red tape in the courts. In 1936 Citizeness A. brought a suit for alimony. The case was heard twice before a people's court, four times in the Supreme Court of the Chuvash Republic, once in the Supreme Court of the R.S.F.S.R., and is still undecided.

Such red tape is impermissible, it greatly diminishes the prestige of the courts.

I should like to dwell on the question of forces. Much work must still be done to strengthen the forces of court and Procuratorship workers.

The enemies of the people brought no little harm in this field too. They vitiated the court and Procuratorship apparatus by the introduction of class alien and politically dubious persons, who brought discredit upon the Soviet courts. A certain collective-farm woman criticized the chairman of a collective farm for allowing the collective-farm grain to rot. People's judge Anisimova found her guilty of slander and sentenced her for it. Yet the fact that the grain was spoiled was proved to have been true.

In our part of the country, in various districts of the Chuvash Republic, judges have changed from five to seven times during the last two years. It is useless to speak of court efficiency under such circumstances. Many judges have never once given an account of their work, nor have they made trips to the localities to investigate cases on the spot.

The new Regulations Governing the Judicial System thoroughly do away with such irresponsibility.

The People's Commissariat of Justice and the Procuratorship of the R.S.F.S.R. are inclined to shirk the review of appeals: ninety-two appeals from judgments of people's courts received in July and August in their supervisory capacity over the Chuvash Republic have been returned by them for re-examination.

All these defects ought to be eliminated by the Bill on the new Regulations Governing the Judicial System.

I entertain no doubt but that the Session will unanimously approve and adopt the Bill submitted, inasmuch as it has been elaborated on the basis of our Socialist Constitution, the author of which is our beloved leader, Comrade Stalin. (*Loud applause.*)

The Chairman: Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet, the time for today's sitting has expired. The next sitting will be held tomorrow morning at 11 o'clock.

This closes the sitting.

SIXTH SITTING

August 16, 1938

T. D. Lysenko, Vice-Chairman of the Soviet of the Union, takes his seat on the dais, and the members of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. and the leaders of the Party and the Government enter the boxes. They are greeted with loud and prolonged applause. All rise.

T. D. Lysenko (*in the chair*): I hereby open the sitting of the Soviet of the Union. We shall continue the debate on the draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System of the U.S.S.R., and of the Union and Autonomous Republics.

I call upon Deputy Leonova.

O. F. Leonova (*Sverdlov Area, City of Moscow*): Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet. I support the motion to adopt the Regulations Governing the Judicial System introduced by the Government of the U.S.S.R. The question of the judicial system is one of those that have a most intimate connection with the life, labour and conditions of the working people. It is therefore quite natural that one of the first pieces of legislation to be considered by us should be the draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System of the U.S.S.R.

Our Soviet courts are designed to protect the great gains of the October Socialist Revolution and to mete out severe punishment to violators of Soviet laws. The Stalin Constitution assigns the Soviet courts an important place in our Socialist state.

Comrades, we must always remember that our country is surrounded by a capitalist world. The capitalist countries hostile to us recruit their agents from among the remnants of the Trotskyite and Zinovievite, the Bukharinite and Rykovite gang of traitors that are lurking in concealment, and from among the surviving fragments of the abolished exploiting classes. The enemies of the people balk at nothing in their endeavours to restore capitalism.

Our country must always keep its weapons in readiness to combat its enemies and to destroy them. Our Soviet courts are a powerful weapon in the struggle against the enemies of the people. That is why I am

profoundly gratified by that part of the draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System of the U.S.S.R., and of the Union and Autonomous Republics which states that "it is the task of justice in the U.S.S.R. to protect from any and every encroachment:

"a) the social and state system of the U.S.S.R., the Socialist system of economy and Socialist property established by the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. and the Constitutions of the Union and the autonomous republics."

The Soviet courts, through "the hearing of criminal cases at the sittings of the courts and the application of the punitive measures established by law to traitors to the country, wreckers, plunderers of Socialist property and other enemies of the people, as well as to robbers, thieves, rowdies and other criminals," will unswervingly carry out the tasks imposed upon them by the working people of our country.

The Soviet courts will relentlessly punish fascist agents, the scum of the Trotskyite and Bukharinite gang.

The Soviet courts enjoy the support of the whole people. That watchful sentinel of our Socialist fatherland, our glorious People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs, headed by the favourite of the people, Comrade Yezhov, has exposed the vile machinations of the enemies. So let the fascist assassins and their masters in the imperialist, fascist countries know that the hand of Soviet justice will not flinch and will destroy all the vile traitors. The millions of the Soviet people have always been and always will be in unanimity with their courts.

Comrades, I, as a teacher, have the opportunity of daily observing the fierce hatred which our children bear towards the enemies of Socialism. Our Soviet youngsters cherish an unbounded love for their happy country, for the Bolshevik Party, for their father and teacher, Comrade Stalin.

Let the enemies bear in mind that the Soviet youngsters, the Soviet youth are growing up to be a vast army of people supremely devoted to the cause of Socialist construction. No capitalist country can feel certain that it enjoys the support of the majority of the youth that come from the ranks of the people. But the youth of our country, like our whole people, are supremely devoted to their fatherland, to their Party and to their leader and teacher, Comrade Stalin. (*Loud and prolonged applause.*)

In combating all enemies of our country, the Soviet courts help to inculcate civic valour, love of the fatherland, a conscientious attitude toward labour, and respect for Socialist property and for the rules of Socialist human intercourse. The Soviet courts help to inculcate sentiments of friendship among the peoples inhabiting the U.S.S.R.

Ours are the only courts in the world which are genuinely people's courts, which are genuinely democratic courts. And that is quite natural, for only the people of the Soviet Union, emancipated from the age-old fetters of exploitation and ignorance, are exercising genuine democracy.

The English lawyer Pritt has several times stated in print that the Soviet courts are carrying the most advanced ideas into practice

and that they enjoy immense prestige among the peoples of the Soviet Union.

It is with a feeling of pride that I want to stress the fact that only in our country have judicial principles been established which are wholly designed to protect the interests of the working people. Our courts function in the interests of the people, in the interests of the Socialist country.

Different are the aims and objects of the courts of bourgeois countries. In the capitalist countries the courts are an instrument for the oppression of the toiling masses; they protect capitalist property. The courts in capitalist countries deal ruthlessly with the revolutionary movement; they cast the finest spokesmen of the proletariat into jail. The bourgeois courts encourage national enmity.

Permit me to cite a few examples from the history of tsarist Russia. These examples bring out the essential nature of the bourgeois courts. There is hardly an honest, advanced, and notable figure in Russian history who did not in one way or another suffer from arbitrary acts of the tsarist judiciary. Pushkin, our great national poet, was sent into exile; the Decembrists were executed; Herzen was exiled and persecuted, Chernyshevsky, the revolutionary democrat, was monstrously persecuted, Gorky, the proletarian writer, was arrested and imprisoned several times. Proletarian revolutionaries were most savagely persecuted by the tsarist courts.

Let me remind you of the trial framed against the Bolshevik members of the State Duma by the tsarist autocracy. At this mockery of a trial the Bolsheviks were accused of high treason at a time when real traitors to the country were ensconced in the court of the tsar and were selling Russia piecemeal.

And who were the judges in tsarist Russia? Let me remind you of the passages in Leo Tolstoy's *Resurrection* in which a tsarist court is described.

Who were the jurors who convicted Maslova? Here they are: Nikiforov, a Civil Councillor, Ivan Ivanov, a retired colonel, Pyotr Baklashov, a merchant of the second rank, Prince Dmitry Nekhludov, lieutenant of the guards, Captain Yuri Danchenko, Grigory Kuleshov, a merchant, and so on.

Tolstoy, who, as we know, was always strict and just in the presentation of the factual side, describes a conversation between the jurors. The lawyer who had succeeded in winning a decision from the court depriving an innocent and defenceless woman of all her property was in their opinion a genius. Tolstoy describes the prosecutor as an ambitious man who was out to make a career, and therefore considered it necessary to strive to secure a conviction in every case, irrespective of whether the accused was innocent or guilty.

This disgusting farce known as a trial in tsarist Russia was sanctified by the church: a priest attended every trial to administer the oath to the jurors.

The judges and jurors who tried people of the lower orders lived

on their backs. The interests of the people were something alien to the tsarist judges.

The falsity, deceit and hypocrisy of the tsarist courts has been described with great literary force by Leo Tolstoy and other Russian writers. Nekrassov, the poet of the sorrows of the people, wrote of the unfranchised status of the Russian people in these words:

"O, tell me the part of the country—
Such a spot is to me unbeknown—
Where the sower who saves you from hunger,
Where the Russian mujik does not moan.
For he moans in the field and on highway
And he moans in the jail as he pines,
Hear his moaning in every poor byway,
On the chain gang and down in the mines!
And he moans in his hut, which we pity,
Which has saddened the light of the sun;
Hear his moan in each mean little city,
And the court, when his life is undone."

In Nekrassov's poems we find remarkably expressive references to the arbitrariness of the Russian courts:

"They beat you with sticks and with canes and
with whips
In future they'll beat you with rods of iron."

Thus wrote a great poet, a spokesman of the thoughts of the people. And the people themselves, knowing the arbitrariness and ruthlessness of the tsarist courts from their own experience, expressed their opinion of them in the proverb: "Don't start a fight with a strong man, don't go to law with a rich man."

The capitalist courts today, especially in the fascist countries, are arbitrary, ruthless and arrogant to an extreme. They frankly display their bestial features, casting aside even the formal procedure which they once used as a mask. Recall the insolent attempt of the German fascists to convict Comrade Dimitrov of burning down the Reichstag. As we know, the German fascists have arrested Thaelmann, the leader of the Communist Party and the working class of Germany, and are holding him in jail without charge and without trial. And remember the trial of Sacco and Vanzetti, the trial of the nine Negroes, and the lynch law which puts a man to death just because his skin happens to be black!

In all capitalist countries the courts turn the whole edge of the bourgeois laws solely against the working people and protect the interests of the capitalists.

In our country any person who commits a crime against the people and the country will be punished, no matter what his status may be.

Bourgeois jurists try to conceal the arbitrary character of the capi-

talist courts by talk about their publicity and fairness, but we know what this publicity and fairness is worth.

V. I. Lenin said in 1901 in reference to the bourgeois courts: "The petty thieves are sentenced to penal servitude, but the big thieves, all those magnates, ministers, bank directors, railway promoters, engineers, contractors, etc., who embezzle tens and hundreds of thousands of rubles of state property, pay the penalty in the rarest and worst instance by exile to some remote province where they can live royally on the money they have plundered. . . ."

The big robbers and real criminals—the ministers, bankers and contractors—went unpunished in tsarist Russia. And they go unpunished now in the capitalist countries.

In the hands of the exploiters the courts are a part of their state machine; they are a means for crushing and oppressing the working people.

We in our country have carried out Lenin's idea of smashing the whole bourgeois state machine and creating a new apparatus of state power. We have created a new and genuinely democratic state, which has no equal in the world. The people's courts in our country administer real justice and express the will of the people. Our Soviet courts operate for the people and with the people.

The great Soviet people are supremely devoted to our mighty Bolshevik Party and to our great leader, Comrade Stalin. (*Applause.*) And let the world see and know how strong is our unity, how great our cause, how ardent our love for our fatherland, and how united our people around the Communist Party and around the great genius of the human race, our wise Stalin! (*Loud and prolonged applause.*)

The Chairman: I call upon Deputy Vyshinsky. (*Applause.*)

A. Y. Vyshinsky (*Volsk Area, Saratov Region*): Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet. The Government of the Union has submitted to the Second Session of the Supreme Soviet a draft of Regulations Governing the Judicial System of the U.S.S.R., and of the Union and Autonomous Republics—the draft which was introduced here by Comrade Rychkov, People's Commissar of Justice, and which has already been thoroughly discussed at this Session in the speeches of a number of members of the Supreme Soviet.

This draft law is of tremendous state importance because it defines the fundamental principles of organization of our whole Soviet judicial system, and because in this draft law are defined the principal tasks, the principal forms and conditions of the activities of the Soviet courts, as courts of the great Stalin era, the era of Socialism victorious.

The Regulations Governing the Judicial System of the U.S.S.R., and of the Union and Autonomous Republics are one of the most important laws of the Soviet state, which is vitally interested in the successful development of the activities of its courts—courts that are designed to guard the Soviet state and the interests of the Soviet state, that are designed to protect the interests and rights of the

Soviet people, to protect the political, labour, dwelling, property, family, inheritance and other personal rights of the Soviet citizens, to protect the rights and interests of Soviet state institutions, enterprises, collective farms and other public organizations.

In every state the courts are of tremendous importance as an effective weapon for the defence of the dominating class in the given state. The courts are a powerful instrument for strengthening the political relations and the state and social system that prevail in the given country; they are a mighty implement for strengthening those social relations which reflect the interests of the dominating class in the given society.

That is why every state pays exceptional attention to the organization of the work of its courts.

The history of the courts is intimately connected with the history of the development of class society, the development of class contradictions, the struggle of the classes, which in their courts always find a reliable weapon for the defence of their interests against the interests of other classes.

Hélie, the French savant and historian of jurisprudence, has given in his history of criminal procedure a thoroughly materialistic explanation of this connection. Describing the courts of the feudal era, Hélie says:

"The seigneurs had their judges just as they had their soldiers; they held court just as they set out to battle. Their weapons and their courts served for the maintenance of their rights: with their weapons they protected themselves from their equals; with their courts they protected themselves from their inferiors."

In these words the French savant clearly brings out the exploiting character of feudal justice. They make it quite clear what the feudal court, that reliable instrument for the exploitation and oppression of the feudal labouring masses, represented from this aspect.

"The right to hold court," Hélie further writes, "is only a branch of property ownership. It is an attribute and prerogative, or rather one of the duties connected with ownership of land .... Where property ceased to exist, so did the right to hold court."

Feudal justice was succeeded by bourgeois justice, which proclaimed new principles of jurisprudence: public trial, the right to contest, equality of the parties, and the right of the accused to counsel for defence. But in practice the bourgeoisie made these principles the privilege of the rich. It placed the courts and the law at the service of its own class and political interests.

Law in capitalist society, as in all exploiting societies, is designed to ensure the durability of private ownership of the means of production; it is designed to ensure the durability of the rule of the exploiting classes, in whose hands law has from ancient times, from the very inception of class society, been a weapon of oppression and enslavement.

The exploiters have always used the laws and the courts for the

sole purpose of oppressing the labouring masses and of fortifying their class rule. Exploiters succeeded exploiters—the slave-owners were succeeded by the feudal lords, the feudal lords by the capitalists—but in their hands, whether they were slave-owners, feudal lords or capitalists, the law has always served one "sacred" purpose, namely, to hold the working people in suppression and to strengthen the rule of the enslavers.

"Under slavery," said Comrade Stalin at the First All-Union Congress of Collective Farm Shock Workers, "the 'law' permitted the slave-owner to kill his slaves. Under the feudal system the 'law' permitted the feudal lord 'only' to sell his serfs.... Under the capitalist system the 'law' makes it permissible 'only' to condemn the working people to unemployment and pauperdom, to ruin and death by starvation." In these words Comrade Stalin has brilliantly exposed the whole philosophy of bourgeois law and bourgeois legislation, which constitute a keen weapon of a handful of oppressors against the millions of oppressed, against the millions of the working people. Bourgeois law is born in a welter of blood, the blood of the working people. The bourgeois courts, by the bloody hand of their executioners, enforce obedience to these laws. In bourgeois society the courts and the law are a terrible means of oppressing and enslaving the people, a means which operates pitilessly and ruthlessly as the blind and dumb instrument of the will of its masters.

Taking as an illustration the history of England, the classical country of capitalism, Marx described the process of birth and development of bourgeois laws, which are instruments of the most open and undisguised robbery, swindling, and theft of the people's land. In Marx's *Capital*, Vol. I, you will find the following remarkable passage dealing with this subject:

"The advance made by the 18th century shows itself in this, that the law itself becomes now the instrument of the theft of the people's land, although the large farmers make use of their little independent methods as well. The parliamentary form of the robbery is that of Acts for enclosures of Commons, in other words, decrees by which the landlords grant themselves the people's land as private property, decrees of expropriation of the people."

This is the foundation on which the whole judicial system of capitalist countries is built. The features and character of this foundation explain the features and character of bourgeois court structure and of the whole bourgeois judicial system.

Justice in capitalist countries is a mockery and caricature of real justice. In a remarkable article written as far back as 1901 in the old *Iskra*, Lenin said:

"... A court of officials sitting with mute representatives of the estates, behind closed doors, amid the dumb silence of the press; the witnesses are fake ones: factory superintendents, factory watchmen, policemen who beat the people, and soldiers who fired on the workers. What a despicable farce!"

Such was a "trial," such was "justice" in tsarist Russia.

The courts of old tsarist Russia, like the present-day capitalist courts, reflected all the features of the class domination of the exploiters. This is the function of the courts even in the most advanced and democratic capitalist countries, where the real exploiting character of the bourgeois courts is concealed by high-sounding and hypocritical talk about equality and justice. The democratic principles of court procedure—public trial, equality of the parties, the right to contest, and trial by jury—only serve to conceal the class function of the court as an organ defending capital from the working people. The independence and democracy of the bourgeois courts, as Comrade Molotov quite rightly said at the Seventh All-Union Congress of Soviets when speaking of bourgeois justice, are only a mask to conceal the fangs of the bourgeois dictatorship.

Even in countries with parliamentary rule, countries that boast of their culture and democracy, year after year we find repeated disgraceful judicial farces which cost not only the freedom but also the lives of thousands of people, thousands of innocent men and women, like the Scottsboro prisoners, Sacco and Vanzetti, and many other victims of the capitalist system. What, then, shall we say of fascist "justice," which replaces law by arbitrariness, judges by hangmen, and openly proclaims lynch law as the cheapest and most convenient form of "trial"? In fascist countries—Japan, Germany, Italy, Poland and others—the principal feature of the capitalist court is particularly prominent: it is a coarse and fearsome power, a terrible meat-grinder, a terrible millstone that crushes to powder, destroys without trace, men and women who are numbered and entered in the court calendars, unhappy victims of the so-called "justice" of capitalist society.

One involuntarily recalls what Frederick Engels said about the German courts at the end of the 'eighties.

"The German judge," wrote Engels to Bebel in 1886, "and especially the Saxon judge, is apparently still not content with his own vileness.... All officialdom in Germany is eaten with corruption, but a special kind of corruption flourishes in the small states. There the officials, who are wholly or for the most part hereditary, are so few in number, and moreover so jealous of their caste privileges, that in the courts, the police service, the administration and the army, you will find nothing but brothers and nephews, who cling to each other and support each other. In this way all the standards of justice generally recognized in the big countries are nullified and the most incredible things become credible."

Engels wrote this in 1886. But the vileness of the bourgeois judges of the past century pales before the vileness and bestiality of present-day fascist justice, which prefers to do without courts altogether, and which in the real and genuine meaning of the term has abolished public trial, the right to contest, law, judicial control, and so on and so forth.

A spirit of formalism prevails in the bourgeois courts which permeates all, or at least the most important, methods of judicial procedure. Rules of procedure are intended to regulate the actions of the court with the object of establishing the truth, but in the bourgeois courts they are actually fetters which hamper the elucidation of the truth, while on the other hand ensuring decisions of the court that are favourable and convenient to the ruling and exploiting classes.

The jury court was to a certain extent an exception to this rule, but in the last few decades even this court has been sharing the fate of bourgeois justice in general.

Jury courts, which at one time were hailed by the liberal bourgeoisie as the last word in culture and democracy, are more and more frequently yielding place to all kinds of extraordinary tribunals and extraordinary courts. In the fascist countries they have simply been abolished. In Italy jury courts were abolished way back in 1930. They have also been abolished in Poland, Austria and a number of other countries.

Even in England, the classical country of trial by jury, a law was passed on December 22, 1925, restricting the jurisdiction of the jury courts, which had already lost a great part of their former grandeur.

A number of countries are introducing courts-martial and extraordinary courts, and the guarantee of the right of trial for accused persons is being abolished. England has abolished the Grand Jury, which used to be one of the most important legal guarantees in the commission of accused persons for trial.

In France and Belgium judges have been given the right to attend the deliberations of the jury, which establishes the control of the crown judges over juries.

The so-called democratic principles of bourgeois jurisprudence are being nullified and abolished. Up to a decade or so ago the bourgeoisie zealously fostered in the minds of the people the illusion that their courts were independent and unprejudiced, that they were popular courts, even courts of the people, where truth and justice prevailed.

Today the bourgeoisie are resorting less and less to the aid of these democratic illusions; they prefer to act with less delicacy but with greater effectiveness.

This is one more corroboration of the words of Comrade Stalin, when he said:

"... The ruling classes of capitalist countries are zealously abolishing or nullifying the last remnants of parliamentarism and bourgeois democracy, which may be utilized by the working class in its struggle against the oppressors; they are driving the Communist Party underground and resorting to open terrorist methods of maintaining their dictatorship."

The bourgeois courts, and especially fascist courts, are obedient implements in the use of these methods.

The Great October Socialist Revolution encountered in Russia in 1917 a typical bourgeois and landlord judicial system in the shape of a multiplicity of so-called judicial institutions and various kinds of courts, from the magistrate courts to the Government Senate. This system included magistrate courts, circuit courts, benches, jury courts, military courts,

courts-martial, commercial courts, and even ecclesiastical courts, known as consistorial courts, and so on and so forth. But however variegated these courts may have been, they were based upon one common principle, namely, the protection of the bourgeois and landlord system, the protection of the "sacred" private property of the landlords, the capitalists, the kulaks and the merchants of all ranks. This was the main function, the main task of the tsarist courts, a function and task that, for the rest, was carefully concealed by false and liberal phrases in the judicial statutes of 1864, which hypocritically referred to the courts as "just, swift-acting and merciful." Before the revolution the Russian courts vividly reflected all the features of the social and political system of tsarist Russia, of which Comrade Stalin has said:

". . . Tsarist Russia was the home of oppression of every kind—capitalist, colonial and militarist—oppression in its most inhuman and barbarous form."

The courts of tsarist Russia were obedient agents of this oppression.

The Great October Socialist Revolution shattered the tsarist courts to their foundation, abolished the whole bourgeois and landlord judicial system and reduced it to ashes. The new Soviet people's court was an embodiment of the new Soviet revolutionary power. The history of the Soviet court is closely bound up with the history of the emancipatory struggle of the working people of the U.S.S.R. against the numerous enemies of Socialism, against the Trotskyite and Bukharinite traitors, against the Socialist-Revolutionaries, Mensheviks, bourgeois nationalists and Whiteguard terrorists, against the plunderers of Socialist property, against wreckers and other enemies of the people. Many a perfidious crime of the vile hirelings of foreign intelligence services has been exposed by the Soviet courts, which show no mercy to the enemies of the working class, to the enemies of Socialism, to the enemies of all honest and advanced humanity.

It was the task of the Soviet courts from the very beginning to crush and demolish the enemies of Socialism, and to fortify the new Soviet Socialist discipline as defined by Lenin. The Soviet courts have been performing this function with great vigour and success throughout the course of their twenty years of existence.

The fundamental principles of the Soviet judicial system are: election, participation of the working people themselves, of the whole population to a man, in the administration of justice, public trial, the right to counsel for defence, the right to submit evidence in court, and strict observance of the Soviet laws, which are designed to uphold truth and justice.

In the note he wrote to Kursky in 1921 on the procrastination in the Graftio case, Lenin demanded:

"1) that the matter be taken to court;

"2) that the guilty persons be pilloried in the press and severely punished."

Lenin attributed great importance to public pillorying in the press in the struggle against red tape and bureaucracy.

Lenin wrote in 1921:

"We must not fear the courts (our courts are proletarian courts) and publicity, but must drag red tape into the public courts. Only in this way can we thoroughly cure this disease."

In one of his letters, Lenin wrote as follows:

"There can be no doubt that there are persons guilty of red tape here, and for the sake of principle such cases must not be left to the bureaucratic institutions, but must be brought into the public courts, not so much for the sake of administering severe punishment (a reprimand may be enough) as for the sake of publicity and in order to remove the universal conviction that guilty persons go unpunished."

These words defined one of the most important tasks of the Soviet courts, namely, to inculcate in the population, in our society, the conviction, as Lenin said, the universal conviction that crime will always be exposed and the guilty persons always punished. This is a tremendous task, and the performance of this task will serve as one of the most effective means of combating crime.

All this speaks very clearly for the fact that intimidation alone is not enough to overcome the difficulties and obstacles encountered in the struggle for Socialism, obstacles created by the class resistance of the exploiters and their agents, by the lack of discipline and the moral instability of certain backward elements among the working people.

These difficulties cannot be removed by intimidation alone. Here a tremendously important part is played by the social atmosphere, or what Comrade Stalin calls the "moral atmosphere."

This was very clearly stressed by Comrade Stalin in 1926 in the report he made to the *active* of the Leningrad organization of the C.P.S.U. (B.) on the economic condition of the Soviet Union.

Outlining the tasks which confronted the country in regard to the industrialization of our national economy, and pointing out that our industry had to be advanced and its output increased, that new cadres of builders of industry had to be formed, that proper Socialist accumulations had to be made, that accumulations had to be used rationally for the needs of industry, that a strict regime of economy had to be introduced, and that the state apparatus had to be improved and made to work cheaply and honestly, Comrade Stalin went on to say that it had to be "cleansed of the muck and filth that have become attached to it in the period of our development, and a systematic struggle waged against pilferers and dissipators of state property. . . ."

Comrade Stalin spoke of the necessity of enlisting the millions of non-Party workers in this struggle:

"Every worker, every honest peasant, should help the Party and the Government to carry out the regime of economy, to wage a fight against the pilfering and dissipation of state reserves, to drive out the thieves and swindlers, no matter what guise they may assume, and to make our state apparatus sound and cheap."

Here Comrade Stalin not only very distinctly and exhaustively explains the importance of methods of social education in combating

certain categories of criminals, but also indicates the nature of the tasks confronting our courts.

Comrade Stalin particularly stressed how important it was for the masses of the people to take an active part in this matter. Speaking of pilferers of public property, he added:

"You cannot get rid of all of them with the help of the G.P.U. Another method is required here, a more effective and thoroughgoing one. This method consists in creating around the pilferers an atmosphere of general moral boycott and detestation by the surrounding public. It consists in starting such a campaign and creating such a moral atmosphere among the workers and peasants as would preclude the possibility of theft, and would render the lives and existence of thieves and pilferers of public property impossible. . . ."

Such are the great principles of Lenin and Stalin that underlie the organization of the Soviet courts and all their activities, the principles that inspire our laws on the courts, our criminal laws and our judicial procedure.

These principles also underlie the new Regulations Governing the Judicial System of the U.S.S.R., and of the Union and Autonomous Republics, which rest on the great Stalin Constitution, inspired by our great teacher and leader, our great Stalin! *(Applause.)*

The draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System of the U.S.S.R., and of the Union and Autonomous Republics are a remarkable legislative document. They are a tremendous forward step in Soviet Socialist democracy, a tremendous forward step even in comparison with such outstanding legislative acts of the Soviet state as the Principles of the Judicial System of the U.S.S.R. and the Union Republics adopted in 1924.

In the general section of the draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System, are very distinctly and exhaustively formulated, for the first time in our legislative history, the fundamental principles of organization of the Soviet courts, whose function it is to administer Socialist justice.

In conformity with Article 102 of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R., the draft Regulations enumerate the judicial bodies which administer justice in the U.S.S.R., and thereby give a description of the whole Soviet judicial system.

In conformity with the Stalin Constitution and the principles of the Soviet judicial system, Article 2 of the Regulations sets forth the tasks of our Soviet courts. Article 2 of the Regulations makes it the task of our courts to protect our social and state system, or the organization of the U.S.S.R., from any and every encroachment, to protect the Socialist system of economy and our sacred and inviolable Socialist property, which constitutes the foundation of our whole Soviet system.

Article 2 charges our courts with the duty of protecting from any and every encroachment the political, labour, dwelling and other property and legal rights and interests of the citizens—the interests guaranteed by the great Stalin Constitution—and also the legally protected interests of our state institutions, enterprises, etc.

A feature of this article of the draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System is its reference, as to one of the principal tasks of Soviet justice, to the necessity of ensuring the strict and undeviating observance of Soviet laws by all institutions, official persons and citizens.

If you compare Article 2 of the Regulations Governing the Judicial System with Article 1 of the Principles of the Judicial System adopted in 1924, you are bound to observe an immense difference, despite the complete identity of the fundamental lines of principle, which define the duties of the Soviet courts in the two legislative documents. The draft Regulations speak of the protection of the organization of society and of the state of the U.S.S.R., public property and the whole Socialist economic system. In this respect too they are expressive of the unique character of our brilliant Stalin era, the era of Socialism victorious in our country. (*Applause.*)

Noteworthy is the statement in the draft Regulations that the Stalin Constitution of the Union and the Constitutions of the Union and the autonomous republics guarantee the political and other civic rights of the Soviet people, and that the Soviet laws must be strictly and undeviatingly observed. At a time when the turbid wave of fascism has completely undermined and shattered the last buttresses of bourgeois law, with the result that in fascist countries law has given place to arbitrariness, to an open and naked criminal terrorist dictatorship of the exploiters, in the U.S.S.R. there prevails a state of Socialist order, Socialist discipline and Socialist law, which protect the welfare of the people and of every Soviet citizen under the great banner of the Stalin Constitution. (*Applause.*)

The Soviet courts are performing the great historic mission of eradicating all bourgeois survivals and the capitalist private-ownership psychology in the minds of people, who frequently fall victim to these survivals.

Rejecting all hypocrisy and pharisaism, the Soviet state demands that its courts should wage a relentless and consistent struggle against all enemies of Socialism.

Unerring and merciless punishment is a force in the hands of proletarian justice which must be fully used in the service of the great cause of Socialism.

The Soviet intelligence service, headed by Nikolai Ivanovich Yezhov, is energetically and mercilessly destroying the lairs of the Right, Trotskyite and other traitors, purging the Soviet land of perfidious traitors, the black treason-mongers, the agents of foreign fascism.

The despicable criminality of the Trotskyite and Bukharinite villains, of the fascist agents of foreign intelligence services and General Staffs, of the Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks, bourgeois nationalists and Whiteguards—of all those terrorists, spies, diversionists and wreckers, of all that fascist scum—is being reduced to dust under the powerful and relentless blows of the Soviet courts, whose hand

falls heavily in retribution on the heads of the contemptible criminals.

In utterly smashing and destroying the lairs of the fascist Right and Trotskyite traitors, the Soviet courts are performing their sacred duty to their fatherland, to the working people of their country, to the working people of the whole world, to all civilized humanity. (*Applause.*)

The Soviet courts are the only genuine people's courts, the only genuinely democratic courts in the world. The Soviet courts are based on Socialist democracy, which knows no racial or national distinctions, no distinctions of rank or property.

In its decree on the organization of the courts, the Paris Commune solemnly proclaimed:

"If the interests of the public weal demand the institution of special jurisdictions, they permit the upholders of law to affirm the principles of public welfare and justice which *stand above everything*:

Equal courts for all,
Election of judges,
The right to defence."

The Paris Commune fell under the blows of the Versailles butchers, but the banner of the Paris Commune, the banner of the heroic champions of Socialism, of the cause of the proletariat, has been taken up by the great Soviet Union, which has given practical form to these principles under the guidance of the invincible Party of Lenin and Stalin. (*Applause.*)

To this day, as we know, there are still operating in the various republics the republican Judicial Regulations, the republican codes of criminal and civil procedure, and the republican criminal and civil codes. This creates a number of inconveniences, especially as regards the uniformity of judicial policy, which necessitates corresponding uniform legislation.

That is why Article 14 of the Constitution of the Union places these matters under the jurisdiction of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The draft Regulations deal specially with the law defining the manner and content not only of the external organizational forms of judicial activity, but also of court procedure itself.

Unlike the existing Principles of the Judicial System of the U.S.S.R. and of the Union Republics, adopted in 1924, which confine themselves to questions of the judiciary in the narrow sense of the term, the draft Regulations deal with a number of highly important and fundamental questions relating to court procedure.

The draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System introduce an important innovation in this field, one that distinguishes them favourably from the existing legislation on the judiciary. Thanks to the fact that the draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System introduce a number of questions of trial procedure, they themselves are enriched with a material content which brings out to an even greater extent the

principles of the Soviet judicial system as the judicial system of a Socialist state of workers and peasants.

In conformity with the Stalin Constitution, the draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System not only secure to citizens who are entitled to vote the right to be judges and people's assessors, but also lay down the procedure for the election of judges and people's assessors, for removing them, for replacing them when their offices fall vacant, and for appointing substitutes in case of their temporary absence. Protecting the independence of judges in conformity with the principles of the Stalin Constitution, which states that judges are independent and subject only to the law, the draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System of the U.S.S.R., and of the Union and Autonomous Republics lay down a definite procedure governing the removal of judges from office and their arraignment and trial which safeguards the principle proclaimed in Article 112 of the Stalin Constitution.

The draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System of the U.S.S.R., and of the Union and Autonomous Republics devote a special section to the people's courts. Particularly noteworthy are the articles in the draft which define the jurisdiction of the people's courts and their rights not only during the trial of a case but even prior to trial.

It is important to note that the Regulations Governing the Judicial System confer considerable powers on the people's courts and in a certain sense place under their control the activities of the investigating authorities with regard to proceedings.

The Regulations Governing the Judicial System confer on the people's courts the right to disagree with indictments submitted by the Procurator. The people's court has the right to reject an indictment and refer it back to the Procurator, or to amend it, or to give a different definition of the crime.

These tremendous rights which the draft of the Regulations Governing the Judicial System of the U.S.S.R., and of the Union and Autonomous Republics confers on the people's courts make them a valuable organ of the whole judicial system, raise them to a very high level, and turn them into an organ of truly independent, genuinely democratic and genuinely Socialist justice.

There can be no doubt whatever that, constructed on the principles of the great Stalin Constitution, the people's courts will in the future be able to perform their duties with even greater success.

This is fully guaranteed by the whole system of organization of the people's courts, and chiefly by the fact that, contrary to the existing practice, the people's courts will be elected on the basis of universal, direct and equal suffrage and secret ballot.

What may be described as judicial culture is acquiring a tremendous role and significance in the work of the courts. The procedure of the court sittings, the organization of trials—the manner, forms and methods of examining witnesses and expert witnesses; the manner, forms and methods of questioning the accused; the place in the trial which the

court will succeed in assigning to counsel for defence, the representative of the interests of accused persons who desire to avail themselves of counsel in accordance with the right to defence conferred by the Stalin Constitution; the place which the Procurator will succeed in making for himself in relation to the trial—all these are questions of the utmost importance and of exceptional significance for further raising the prestige of the Soviet court.

Complete success in this respect is guaranteed by universal, direct and equal suffrage and secret ballot.

The draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System of the U.S.S.R., and of the Union and Autonomous Republics contain no special articles dealing with the Procurator, as did the Principles of the Judicial System of the U.S.S.R. and of the Union Republics adopted in 1924, and as is the case in the Regulations Governing the Judicial System of the Union Republics. Nevertheless, this draft of the Regulations Governing the Judicial System of the U.S.S.R., and of the Union and Autonomous Republics will be a tremendous organizational factor in the future work of our Procuratorship. The Regulations Governing the Judicial System will be a guiding law of the utmost significance for our Procurators as well. The Regulations Governing the Judicial System of the U.S.S.R., and of the Union and Autonomous Republics not only provide every condition for splendid work on the part of the Soviet courts, by further increasing their responsibilities and laying greater responsibilities upon the judges, but will also ensure new and more favourable conditions for the work of the Procurators in court, by laying upon them new and greater responsibility for their part in trials.

The quality of the work of the courts will in a large degree depend upon the quality of the preliminary investigation, which, unfortunately, is at present not always on the level it should be. Instances of the unsatisfactory work of Procurators have already been cited here by several deputies. Unfortunately, they are not isolated instances.

The quality of the work of the courts depends in no small degree on the state of preparation of the Procurators and on their activity at the trials themselves. And the situation hitherto has been obviously unsatisfactory in this respect. Our Procurators in the localities do not show much eagerness to attend trials. A Procurator must be a subtle and skilled investigator. He must convince the court of the guilt of the person he considers it necessary to commit for trial. But he must also be prepared to withdraw the charge should the materials of the preliminary investigation not be confirmed at the trial. When the Procurator makes a subtle and skilful analysis of the clues and evidence, when he deals with all the facts of the case correctly and fairly and gives a proper definition of the crime, this helps the court to arrive at a correct and just decision.

The new Regulations Governing the Judicial System provide all the conditions enabling our courts to arrive at unerring decisions in the cases they try, decisions which will fully conform to the demands of Soviet law. From this standpoint the Regulations Governing the Judicial System will be of inestimable value in improving the work of the investigation authorities and the Procurators as well.

The Soviet courts are an organ of power of the workers and peasants, an instrument for the education of the citizens in the spirit of Socialist discipline. The Soviet courts are a powerful means of enlisting millions and millions of working people to take an independent part in the administration of the State. The Soviet courts are a powerful weapon against all criminal encroachments on the Soviet state and on the rights and interests of the citizens of the U.S.S.R., which are defended and protected by the Soviet Constitution and the Soviet laws. The Soviet courts are a school of social discipline unparalleled and impossible in capitalist countries.

On the basis of the Soviet Constitution and the new law on the judicial system, the Soviet courts will develop their creative powers, the great powers of the invincible Soviet people, with even greater brilliance and effect.

Born in the fires of the Great October Socialist Revolution, schooled by twenty years of struggle against the enemies of the Soviet land, strengthened in this struggle and grown into a mighty force, a force protecting Socialist justice and Socialist culture, the Soviet courts, under the great banner of Lenin and Stalin, are entering on a new phase of their development, confident that their great fatherland, the fatherland of the working people of the whole world, will achieve new and brilliant victories! (*Loud and prolonged applause.*)

The Chairman: I call upon Deputy Khudaibergenov.

A. Khudaibergenov (*Tashauz Area, Turkmen S.S.R.*): Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet. The draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System of the U.S.S.R., and of the Union and Autonomous Republics submitted by the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. to the Second Session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. fully reflect the principles of our social system and the immense victories achieved by our mighty fatherland under the guidance of the Communist Party and the leader of peoples, Comrade Stalin.

In 1917 the working class and the peasantry, led by the Communist Party, led by Lenin and Stalin, destroyed the bourgeois state machine of exploitation and enslavement of the working people. The working class and the peasantry abolished despotism and created the Soviet Socialist state. And they created Socialist law, which fully reflects the principles of our Socialist system.

Over twenty years have elapsed since the people of our country once and for all discarded the system of oppression and exploitation. Right from the beginning of the conquest of power by the working class one of the chief tasks of the Soviets was to give effect to revolutionary law. Vladimir Ilyich Lenin said that the Soviet courts were required ". . . primarily for the struggle against the exploiters, who are endeavouring to restore their rule, or to preserve their privileges, or to smuggle in, or secure by deceit, some part or other of these privileges,"

And the Soviet courts rose up to guard the gains of the October Revolution.

The Soviet courts are the most democratic of all courts, genuine courts of the people, a powerful means of protecting the gains of the Socialist revolution and defending the rights and interests of the Soviet people.

Bourgeois courts are designed for the very opposite purpose. They protect the capitalist interests. The bourgeois courts are a machine of oppression, a machine of exploitation, a machine for the ruthless suppression of the people.

Defining the essence of bourgeois law, Engels wrote that "the law is sacred to the bourgeois, for it is his own composition, enacted with his consent, and for his benefit and protection. He knows that . . . more than all, the sanctity of the law, the sacredness of order . . . is the strongest support of his social position. . . . The workingman knows too well, has learned from too-oft repeated experience, that the law is a rod which the bourgeois has prepared for him; and when he is not compelled to do so, he never appeals to the law."

The courts in tsarist and capitalist Russia protected the interests of a handful of landlords, capitalists and bankers. They were an instrument of exploitation of the workers and peasants. The tsarist courts were particularly ferocious in the national border regions, where they protected the interests of the mullahs, khans, *bais* and tsarist satraps.

Particular forms of humiliation were inflicted by the tsarist courts on women.

A Turkmen woman was admitted into the courts of the tsarist autocracy only if her testimony was corroborated by a man. But even so, the testimony of two women was regarded as equivalent to the testimony of one witness.

Thanks to the fraternal aid of the great Russian people, and under the guidance of the Communist Party and of the leader of all peoples, Comrade Stalin, the people of Turkmenistan, like all the peoples of the Soviet Union, have rid themselves of the accursed past once and for all. The people of Turkmenistan, supported by the unshakable friendship between the peoples of the Soviet Union, are developing their industry, agriculture, art and culture, and are building a happy and joyous life.

The Soviet power has introduced the women of Turkmenistan to a new life. They, our free women of Turkmenistan, are now active builders of Socialism, active statesmen and wielders of Soviet justice.

The post of People's Commissar of Justice of Turkmenistan is filled by a Turkmen woman. Of the seventy people's judges in Turkmenistan, nine are Turkmen women. In addition, one Turkmen woman is a member of a circuit court, and three Turkmen women are members of the Supreme Court of the Turkmen Republic. Two Turkmen women are acting as Assistant Procurators of our republic, and over 7,000 Turkmen women as people's assessors.

The Soviet courts are designed to protect the gains of our fatherland and the interests of our people. They are truly democratic and genuine

people's courts. In the Stalin Constitution a special chapter is devoted to the Soviet judicial system; it defines the fundamental principles of Soviet justice in full conformity with the instructions framed by the genius of Lenin and Stalin.

I consider that the draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System of the U.S.S.R., and of the Union and Autonomous Republics submitted to the Second Session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. fully conform to the demands of the Stalin Constitution.

Article 2 of the draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System which we are examining gives a perfectly correct definition of the tasks of Soviet justice when it states that:

"It is the task of justice in the U.S.S.R. to protect from any and every encroachment:

"a) the social and state system of the U.S.S.R., the Socialist system of economy and Socialist property established by the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. and the Constitutions of the Union and the autonomous republics;

"b) the political, labour, dwelling and other personal and property rights and interests of citizens of the U.S.S.R. guaranteed by the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. or the Constitutions of the Union and the autonomous republics;

"c) the rights and interests of state institutions, enterprises, collective farms, co-operative and other public organizations.

"It is the task of justice in the U.S.S.R. to secure the strict and undeviating observance of Soviet laws by all institutions, official persons and citizens of the U.S.S.R."

There is no country in the world except our Soviet Union where judges are elected by secret ballot, where no qualification restrictions are placed on their election, where provision is made for public trial and the conduct of judicial proceedings in the native language and where persons not knowing this language are ensured every opportunity of fully acquainting themselves with the material pertaining to the case through an interpreter and likewise the right to speak in court in their own language.

Justice is possible only in our country, the country where life is happy and joyous, the country where Socialism has been victorious.

A lot of wrecking was done by the enemies of the people—the Trotskyites, Bukharinites and bourgeois nationalists—in the courts and the procuratorship. They distorted Soviet laws, hindered the training of people for the legal profession, and did their best to interfere with the protection of Socialist property, the protection of the rights and interests of the working people.

The People's Commissariat of Justice of the U.S.S.R. and the People's Commissariats of Justice of the Union republics, including that of Turkmenistan, are still not fighting hard enough to expedite the hearing of cases and are putting up a feeble fight against bureaucracy in our people's courts. Very feeble too is the practical guidance of the local judicial authorities by the People's Commissariat of Justice of the U.S.S.R. and the People's Commissariat of Justice of our republic. The People's Com-

missariat of Justice of the U.S.S.R. and the People's Commissariats of Justice of the republics must change their methods of work and make them fully answer to the demands of the new Regulations Governing the Judicial System. The People's Commissariat of Justice of the U.S.S.R. must do everything to ensure the training of new forces for the judiciary in the near future.

I wholly endorse the proposal made by the deputies who have spoken here to adopt the draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System as submitted by the Council of People's Commissars to the Session together with the proposals and comments of the Legislative Bills Commission.

Comrades, the Soviet courts, armed with the wise instructions of Lenin and Stalin, have played an important part in the struggle for the abolition of exploiting classes in our country and in the exposure and ruthless suppression of the enemies of the people—the Trotskyites, Bukharinites and bourgeois nationalists, who endeavoured to restore capitalism in our country. The chief nesting places of the vile enemies of the people, the agents of fascism, have been destroyed.

The Soviet courts, armed with the new Regulations Governing the Judicial System, which are based on the Stalin Constitution, and bearing in mind what our father and teacher, Comrade Stalin, has told us about the capitalist encirclement, will exercise even greater revolutionary watchfulness and will devote even greater energy to the exposure and eradication of all enemies of the people.

I agree with the opinion of the deputies who have spoken and move the adoption of the draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System of the U.S.S.R., and of the Union and Autonomous Republics together with the proposals and comments of the Legislative Bills Commission; for this draft has been drawn up in full accordance with the Fundamental Law of our country, the Stalin Constitution, the author of which is our beloved leader and teacher, Comrade Stalin! (*Applause.*)

The Chairman: I call upon Deputy Katayeva.

E. V. Katayeva (*Melekess Area, Kuibyshev Region*): Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet. Yesterday, at the joint sitting of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, we heard the report of Comrade Rychkov, People's Commissar of Justice of the U.S.S.R., and at the sitting of the Soviet of the Union we heard the co-report of Deputy Shagimardanov, member of the Legislative Bills Commission of the Soviet of the Union, on the draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System of the U.S.S.R., and of the Union and Autonomous Republics.

This draft is based on the Stalin Constitution. It fully conforms to all the historic features of the Stalin era, the era of Socialism victorious.

The draft of the new law on the judicial system is based on the tasks of Socialist justice, defined in Chapter IX of the Stalin Constitution.

The Stalin Constitution raises the status of the Soviet courts to a very high level, as the most democratic of courts and genuine people's courts, and as a powerful means of protecting the gains of the workers'

and peasants' Socialist state and the rights and interests of the Soviet people.

For over two decades the Soviet courts have been guarding the interests of the workers and peasants and of all the working people of the Soviet land.

In bourgeois countries the courts protect the pillars of capitalism, the private ownership of land, forests, factories, mills and other means and implements of production; they defend the exploitation of man by man. The bourgeois courts are class courts and consist of representatives of the exploiting classes and their agents; they are courts which, as Vladimir Ilyich Lenin said, are "a subtle instrument for the ruthless suppression of the exploited and for the protection of the interests of the moneybags."

In December 1917 the Soviet Government promulgated its decree on the courts. This decree abolished the bourgeois courts and their apparatus, and laid the foundations of the new Soviet courts.

In this connection, Lenin wrote:

"The new courts were required primarily for the struggle against the exploiters, who are endeavouring to restore their rule, or to preserve their privileges, or to smuggle in, or secure by deceit, some part or other of these privileges."

The new courts were set up for the protection of the gains of the Great October Socialist Revolution, for the defence of the interests of the working people. At the same time, as Lenin pointed out, the Soviet courts were entrusted with the important task of "ensuring the strictest observance of discipline and self-discipline by the working people."

During the twenty years they have been in existence, the Soviet courts have performed with credit their task of protecting the gains of the Great October Revolution and of reinforcing revolutionary law.

Article 112 of the Stalin Constitution states that judges are independent and subject only to the law. The Stalin Constitution creates all the conditions necessary for the courts to perform their tasks, by removing them from all local influences. This article of the Stalin Constitution shows what exceptional confidence is placed in the people's courts.

The people's judges were formerly elected by the Soviets. In accordance with the Stalin Constitution, "people's courts are elected by the citizens of the district on the basis of universal, direct and equal suffrage and secret ballot for a term of three years." This serves to enhance the importance and prestige of the people's courts in the eyes of the population and imposes a great responsibility on the judges towards their electors.

In the constitutions of bourgeois countries you may find references in one form or another to the independence of the courts. But in every bourgeois country this "independence" amounts to nothing more than that the courts serve the interests of the capitalists, are slavishly subservient to capital, and oppress the working people in every way.

Independence of judges is impossible in bourgeois countries. The independence of our Soviet judges is not only possible but indispensable

to their work. The judges are subject only to our law, which is the expression of the will of a great people. In enforcing the law, the judges serve the will of the people.

Article 142 of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. states that "it is the duty of every deputy to report to his electors on his work and on the work of the Soviet of Toilers' Deputies, and he is liable to be recalled at any time in the manner established by law upon decision of a majority of the electors."

This duty fully applies to the people's judges too. They must maintain the most intimate contact with the working people and function under their control.

The tremendous confidence that our people, the Party and the Soviet Government have in the people's judges, and the immense tasks entrusted to the Soviet courts, lay a great responsibility upon the people's courts and upon the People's Commissariats of Justice.

The work of the people's courts must as soon as possible be made equal to the duties demanded of them by the Stalin Constitution.

Steps must be taken to remove the serious shortcomings to be met with in the work and organization of the people's courts; they can no longer be tolerated. There are still people's judges who countenance the most outrageous red tape and procrastination in the hearing of cases and the carrying out of court decisions.

There are 115 people's courts in the Kuibyshev Region. The enemies of the people entrenched in the judicial apparatus tried to curtail the number of people's courts in the region. Prior to February 1938 there were five districts in the Kuibyshev Region which had been without people's courts for periods of six to eight months, and four districts which had been without people's courts for nearly a whole year. The result was an accumulation of unexamined cases.

The people's judges in the Kuibyshev Region are poorly trained and therefore require special attention. For example, out of 114 judges, two are graduates of the Law Institute, 34 of law school, 33 have taken six-months law courses, while 45 have had no legal education at all. The People's Commissariat of Justice should devote special attention to the training and requalification of workers in the judiciary.

There is a one-year law school and several six-months law courses in the Kuibyshev Region, but these educational institutions are functioning unsatisfactorily. They have not yet received the attention they deserve.

The unsatisfactory training of the people's judges affects the quality of their work. It should be stated that defects of one kind or another are to be met with in 40 per cent of the cases tried by the people's courts of the region; 28 per cent of the cases are tried with delays of from six to eight months, and 47 per cent with a delay of one month. Very little attention is paid to the people's courts by the district executive committees and by the regional executive committee; in fourteen divisions the people's courts have not even any premises. The executive committee of the Khvorostyansk district once evicted the people's court from the premises it occupied.

The new Regulations Governing the Judicial System of the U.S.S.R., and of the Union and Autonomous Republics will put an end to this bureaucratic attitude to the people's courts and will further enhance the prestige of the Soviet courts; and this will obligate the regional executive committees and the district executive committees to alter their attitude towards the courts and to ensure them everything required for their proper functioning.

There are quite a number of complaints from citizens about the bad practice prevailing in the people's courts of "postponing" and "deferring" hearings. Many people are summoned to attend court to the detriment of their ordinary work, and all to no purpose. This entails unnecessary expense and gives rise to dissatisfaction.

An exemplary system of examining claims and complaints in the people's court must be established. Complaints brought to the people's courts must be examined expeditiously and all necessary measures in connection with them taken.

The people's courts must work systematically and with precision. This entails a radical change in the methods of direction of the people's courts. Bureaucratic and red-tape methods of direction should be abandoned for practical and systematic direction, for checking up on the spot, and for regular instruction.

The first thing is to strengthen the control and supervision over the activities of the people's courts from below, on the part of the working people. The working people have a good eye and feeling for the defects of the people's courts and they will suggest what should be done to remedy them.

Reports of people's judges to the population constitute one of the best forms of contact between the courts and the working people. It is the duty of a people's judge to give account of his work to the population. The reports of judges are not something in the nature of a campaign timed for the elections of the people's judges, but a constant and important duty of theirs. The reports of judges to the population constitute one of the ways of enlisting the working people in the work of strengthening social discipline and Socialist law. The electors expect the people's judges to report not on the number of cases they have tried but on what the courts have done to combat enemies of the people and pilferers of Socialist public property.

The work of the courts will be judged primarily by whether they have performed correctly, from the political standpoint, their tasks as courts of the Soviet state, which is waging a gigantic struggle against its enemies for a new world, for Socialism.

The contact of the people's courts with the population is still not as close as it should be. Many judges regard their reports to the population as a formality and do not understand that healthy criticism will help them to improve the organization of the work of the people's courts and to bring to light the shortcomings and mistakes of the judicial apparatus.

The general cultural level of our judges must be raised, and they must be helped to perfect their knowledge of jurisprudence.

When Soviet citizens apply to a judge, they should be made to feel that he is an instrument of justice, a man who can enforce respect for the decisions of the Soviet courts.

The forthcoming elections of the people's courts will be a most important political examination for the whole judicial system. This examination should result in the complete fulfilment of the demands made on the Soviet courts and on the Procurators by our people, who are marching forward to new victories guided by the Soviet Government, our Party, and our great leader, Comrade Stalin. (*Loud and prolonged applause.*)

The elective principle on which the Soviet courts now rest and function derives from the Stalin Constitution and is further developed in the draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System of the U.S.S.R., and of the Union and Autonomous Republics.

Under the existing law the people's judges were elected by the Soviets; now they will be elected by the people themselves. Under the existing law, people's judges, in order to be elected, were required to have a two years' record of responsible political work, or a three years' record of work in the Soviet judicial system in posts not inferior to that of investigator. The draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System place no restrictions whatever on the election of judges or people's assessors.

Under the existing law, people's assessors were elected by factory committees, village Soviets, or Red Army units by open vote. The new draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System provide that the people's assessors, like the people's judges, are to be elected in the same way as members of Soviets, namely, by secret ballot.

These changes in the method of electing people's judges and people's assessors derive from the principles of the Stalin Constitution and serve still more to stress the exceptional importance of the principle laid down by Lenin and Stalin that the judicial bodies should be elected by the people themselves.

Such a consistent and genuinely democratic organization of the judicial system is something unknown to any bourgeois country, even the most advanced and democratic.

An important feature of the draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System submitted to the Second Session of the Supreme Soviet is the exceptionally harmonious structure of the whole judicial system. The draft definitely abolishes the multiplicity of so-called supervisory bodies.

Comrades, I propose that the draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System of the U.S.S.R., and of the Union and Autonomous Republics submitted to the Session, with the amendments and additions proposed by the Legislative Bills Commission, be adopted.

Comrades, the Soviet courts unflinchingly bring down the sword of justice on the heads of the contemptible criminals, the Trotskyite, Bukharinite and bourgeois-nationalist agents of fascism. There can be no place for the contemptible enemies of the people on Soviet soil!

The glorious Soviet intelligence service, headed by the Stalin People's Commissar, Nikolai Ivanovich Yezhov, is smashing and destroying the enemies of the people.

Formidable is the anger of the people against the despicable enemies! Great and unbounded is the love of the Soviet people for the Party of Lenin and Stalin, for the father and friend of the working people, our great Stalin! (*Applause.*)

We are convinced that the draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System that we are now about to adopt will be observed in all their details. A guarantee of this is the boundless devotion of all the working people of our country to the cause of Lenin and Stalin. A guarantee of this is the unprecedented moral and political unity of the broadest masses of the working people. A guarantee of this is the firm and clear-sighted leadership of our glorious Communist Party. A guarantee of this is the fact that we, the Soviet people, are being led from victory to victory, are being hourly taught and cared for by our wise and beloved father, our friend and teacher, our beloved Joseph Stalin. (*Applause.*)

Under the brilliant leadership of Comrade Stalin we shall march forward to the triumph of Communism all over the globe.

Long live our Government, the only Soviet government in the world, and its head, the loyal associate of Lenin and Stalin, Vyacheslav Mikhailovich Molotov! (*Loud applause.*)

Long live the author of the most democratic Constitution in the world, the great genius, our dear and beloved Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin! (*Loud and prolonged applause.*)

The Chairman: Comrades, there is a motion to adjourn for 15 minutes. Are there any objections?

Voices: No.

The Chairman: Adjournment for 15 minutes.

(*Adjournment.*)

T. D. Lysenko (*in the chair*): The sitting of the Soviet of the Union is resumed. I call upon Deputy Ledentsov.

A. P. Ledentsov (*Molotov Area, Sverdlovsk Region*): Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet. The draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System of the U.S.S.R., and of the Union and Autonomous Republics submitted by the Council of People's Commissars of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics are in full conformity with the interests of the Soviet people. That is why the draft will undoubtedly be approved and adopted by the Second Session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. unanimously.

Our courts of justice stand sentinel over the state and social organization of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, protecting it from any and every encroachment. It is the task of Soviet justice to protect the Socialist system of economy and Socialist property. It is its task to protect the political, labour, dwelling and other personal and property rights and interests of citizens of the Soviet Union guaranteed by the Stalin Constitution.

The Soviet courts not only punish criminals, but aim at correcting and reforming them. The activities of the courts are designed to educate the citizens in the spirit of devotion to the country and the cause of Socialism.

Justice in the U.S.S.R. is administered through uniform courts, equal for all citizens irrespective of their social, property or occupational status, their nationality or race.

The election of the people's courts by the citizens of the district on the basis of universal, direct and equal suffrage and secret ballot guarantees their independence. The democracy of the Soviet courts is clearly shown by the fact that trials are held in public, as the draft Regulations provide.

Such justice and such courts can exist only in the Land of Socialism. The Stalin Constitution has sealed the victory of Socialism, and thereby has considerably extended and fortified the democratic foundations of the whole Soviet state system, including the Soviet courts.

The picture is quite the opposite in the capitalist countries that encircle us, especially the fascist countries. The prevailing principle there is that judges are appointed by the ministers, the king, the president, and so forth. The system of "electing" of judges which still exists in some capitalist countries is utterly formal in character. The bourgeois courts protect the interests of the exploiters, the capitalists and landlords.

While formally the principle of public trial may still be preserved in bourgeois-democratic countries, it has long ago been abolished in the fascist countries; every remnant of democracy has been completely destroyed, including public trial. The bourgeoisie resorts more and more to punishment without trial. In the fascist countries reprisals without trial have become the regular practice. In Germany, the vast majority of criminal cases are tried not by ordinary courts, but by what are known as emergency courts. The conditions governing these courts are such as to make it utterly impossible for the working people to attend trials. The fascist courts must needs hide from the eyes of the public the barbarous means and methods they use to frame up accusations against working people.

The extension and fortification of the democratic principle in the organization and functioning of the Soviet courts, and the new tasks laid upon them in conformity with the Soviet Constitution, necessitate a further improvement in the quality of work of all judicial bodies. They must receive daily attention—chiefly from the district, city, regional and territorial executive committees and from the Supreme Soviets of the Union and autonomous republics.

Some of the people's courts are housed most unsatisfactorily. In our region, the Sverdlovsk Region, for example, the people's courts are housed in absolutely unsuitable premises.

This state of affairs must be improved at the earliest moment.

I must draw attention to some serious defects in the work of the judicial organs of the Sverdlovsk Region. The majority of the people's courts

have on their calendars hundreds of cases which have been waiting for months. The position is no better with regard to the regional court.

The People's Commissariat of Justice of the R.S.F.S.R. and the Procuratorship are well aware of this impermissible state of affairs. But they have not yet by any means put a stop to the objectionable things that occur in some courts. The People's Commissariat of Justice should draw the necessary lessons from this.

The new tasks of the judicial bodies require that the people elected to be people's judges should be boundlessly devoted to the cause of the Party of Lenin and Stalin, and be able to keep a keen and unflagging watch over the Soviet laws, over the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. and the constitutions of the Union and autonomous republics.

The draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System open up broad new prospects for the work of the Soviet courts for the benefit of Socialism and for the achievement of new victories in the struggle for the triumph of Communism.

Long live the all-conquering banner of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin!

Long live our leader, friend and teacher, the organizer of all the victories of Socialism, our great Stalin! (*Prolonged applause.*)

The Chairman: Comrades, I have received a motion to close the debate on the report on the draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System of the U.S.S.R., and of the Union and Autonomous Republics.

Are there any objections to the motion? No.

I shall put it to a vote. Those in favour of closing the debate, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No. The debate is closed.

We shall proceed to the speeches in reply to the debate. I call upon Comrade Rychkov, People's Commissar of Justice of the U.S.S.R., to reply to the debate.

N. M. Rychkov: Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. The debate in connection with the report on the draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System of the U.S.S.R., and of the Union and Autonomous Republics has shown that the Regulations Governing the Judicial System submitted by the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. meet with the unanimous approval of the members of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

In their speeches, all the deputies stressed the exceptional political importance of the draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System of the U.S.S.R., and of the Union and Autonomous Republics, their sustained consistency of principle, and their complete conformity with the fundamental principles of the great Stalin Constitution. The members of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. have given one more confirmation of the fact that the Soviet courts enjoy tremendous prestige among the Soviet people and their profound love and confidence.

The Legislative Bills Commission of the Soviet of the Union and the deputies who have spoken from this rostrum have made a number of

proposals and comments with regard to various articles of the draft Regulations. The majority of these proposals and comments are just. Their purpose is to achieve a more precise definition of the tasks of our courts and their organizational forms.

As the reporter, I fully support the majority of these amendments. Furthermore, I consider it necessary to move that the title of the draft itself be changed from "Regulations Governing the Judicial System of the U.S.S.R., and of the Union and Autonomous Republics" to "Act Concerning the Judicial System of the U.S.S.R., and of the Union and Autonomous Republics."

In my opinion, this would be more precise and more correct.

As to the amendments proposed by the Legislative Bills Commission, I agree to all of them except the one relating to Article 15 of the draft Regulations. The second paragraph of Article 15 of the draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System states that "when hearing appeals and protests, the higher court reviews the *legality* and the *merits* of the sentence pronounced or the judgment rendered by the lower court by examining the material contained in the record of the case and that submitted by the parties."

The Legislative Bills Commission of the Soviet of the Union proposes that this article be amended as follows: "When hearing appeals and protests, the higher court reviews the *correctness* of the sentence pronounced or the judgment rendered by the lower court by examining not only the data contained in the record of the case but also the material submitted by the parties."

I consider that the formulation of Article 15 of the draft as submitted by the Council of People's Commissars defines more precisely and correctly the duties of a higher court in reviewing a sentence or judgment of a lower court. According to the draft Regulations, the sentences or judgments of the courts should be reviewed not only to see whether the sentence or judgment is in accordance with the actual facts of the case, but also to see whether the sentence or judgment answers to all the provisions of the law. I therefore propose that Article 15 be adopted as formulated in the draft Regulations submitted by the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R.

As to all the other amendments submitted by the Legislative Bills Commission, I fully endorse them and consider that they should be accepted when we come to adopt the Regulations Governing the Judicial System of the U.S.S.R., and of the Union and Autonomous Republics.

Members of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. who spoke in the debate on the draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System made a number of critical comments on the work of the People's Commissariat of Justice of the U.S.S.R.; they pointed to serious defects in the matter of training and requalifying the forces, in the organization of the judicial bodies, and in the matter of supplying codes and other requisite legal literature to workers in the judicial system.

Members have also quite rightly pointed to serious shortcomings in

the work of the court deputies, who sometimes delay the execution of court decisions for months on end.

I consider the criticisms made by the members to be fully justified, and I am able to announce to the members of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. that the People's Commissariat of Justice has adopted a number of measures to improve the work of the Commissariat and the organization of the judicial bodies.

The People's Commissariat of Justice is doing a great deal of preparatory work in connection with the forthcoming elections of people's judges and people's assessors.

Regulations Governing the Elections of People's Judges and People's Assessors are being drawn up. Courses have been arranged in the regions, territories and republics for improving the legal training of the people's judges.

I shall investigate the instances of bad work on the part of the People's Commissariat of Justice of the U.S.S.R. referred to by members of the Supreme Soviet and shall take measures to correct existing shortcomings.

Guided by the new Regulations Governing the Judicial System of the U.S.S.R., and of the Union and Autonomous Republics, and by the criticisms made by the deputies, the People's Commissariat of Justice will strive with even greater persistency and determination to organize our judicial bodies in such a way as to fully equip them for the performance of the tasks laid upon them by the Stalin Constitution. (*Applause.*)

The Chairman: Deputy Shagimardanov will make the reply to the debate on behalf of the Legislative Bills Commission.

F. V. Shagimardanov (*Duvan Area, Bashkir A.S.S.R.*): Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet. The debate on the draft of the Act Concerning the Judicial System of the U.S.S.R., and of the Union and Autonomous Republics has shown that the members of the Supreme Soviet unanimously endorse the draft of the Act submitted. There is therefore no need to take up your time by replying to the debate, and I shall confine myself to a few statements.

The Legislative Bills Commission of the Soviet of the Union submitted to the Session a number of amendments and comments on the draft of the Act Concerning the Judicial System of the U.S.S.R., and of the Union and Autonomous Republics. As Comrade Rychkov, People's Commissar of Justice, has announced here on behalf of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R., the latter agrees to all the amendments except one.

The only amendment of the Commission that meets with objection is the one to Article 15. The Commission proposed that the second paragraph of Article 15 should be formulated as follows:

"When hearing appeals and protests, the higher court reviews the correctness of the sentence pronounced or the judgment rendered by the lower court by examining not only the data contained in the record of the case but also the material submitted by the parties."

What the Commission proposed was that the word "correctness" should be substituted for the words "legality and merits."

Having heard the arguments of the reporter for the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. on the subject, the Commission does not insist upon its amendment to Article 15 and accepts the original formulation of this article as contained in the draft submitted by the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R.

In view of the proposals made by several deputies, Deputy Katayeva in particular, the Legislative Bills Commission of the Soviet of the Union recommends that the section of the act entitled "The People's Courts" should be supplemented by a new article, Article 29, to run as follows:

"People's judges account to the electors for their work and the work of the people's courts."

There are no other amendments or objections. (*Applause.*)

The Chairman: We shall now proceed to vote the adoption of the Regulations Governing the Judicial System of the U.S.S.R., and of the Union and Autonomous Republics. Comrade Rychkov will submit a motion.

N. M. Rychkov: I move that the title be changed from "Regulations Governing the Judicial System of the U.S.S.R., and of the Union and Autonomous Republics" to "Act Concerning the Judicial System of the U.S.S.R., and of the Union and Autonomous Republics."

The Chairman: I shall put Comrade Rychkov's motion to a vote. Those in favour of the Regulations examined being entitled the "Act Concerning the Judicial System of the U.S.S.R., and of the Union and Autonomous Republics," please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

I have received a motion that the voting on the Act be taken section by section, any articles to which amendments are moved being voted separately. Are there any motions or remarks on the procedure of voting?

Voices: No.

The Chairman: Those in favour of the vote being taken section by section, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Are there any comments or amendments to Article 1? No. Are there any amendments to Article 2?

Shagimardanov: The Legislative Bills Commission of the Soviet of the Union moves the following amendments to Article 2: in clause "a" to substitute "organization of society and of the state" for "social and state system"; in clause "c," after the words "rights and" to insert the words "legally protected." In the second paragraph after the words "all institutions" to insert the word "organizations."

The Chairman: The Legislative Bills Commission has moved amendments to Article 2. Are there any other amendments to Article 2? No.

I shall take a vote on the amendments moved by the Legislative Bills Commission. Those in favour of the amendments to Article 2 as read, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Are there any amendments to Article 3?

Shagimardanov: I move to amend Article 3 as follows: in clause "a" to substitute for the words "directed against traitors to the country, wreckers," etc., the words "to traitors to the country, wreckers," etc.; in clause "b" after the word "examination" insert the words "and determination."

The Chairman: Are there any other amendments? No.

Those in favour of adopting the amendments to Article 3, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Are there any amendments to Article 4?

Shagimardanov: I move that Article 4 be amended as follows: in the second paragraph, to substitute for the words "in the spirit of devotion to the country and the cause of Socialism, in the spirit of Socialist law" the words "in the spirit of devotion to the country and the cause of Socialism, in the spirit of strict and undeviating observance of Soviet law."

The Chairman: Are there any other amendments? No.

Those in favour of adopting Article 4 as amended by Comrade Shagimardanov, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Shagimardanov: Further, the Legislative Bills Commission of the Soviet of the Union moves that the order of Articles 3 and 4 be reversed.

The Chairman: I shall put this motion to the vote. Those in favour of calling Article 3 Article 4, and Article 4 Article 3, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Are there any amendments to Article 5?

Shagimardanov: In Article 5, clause "a" after the words "uniform courts equal for all" insert the word "citizens," and at the end of the clause add the words "nationality or race."

The Chairman: Are there any other amendments? No.

I shall take a vote on Article 5 as amended by the Legislative Bills Commission. Those in favour of adopting Article 5 as amended, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Are there any amendments to Article 6? No.

Are there any amendments to Article 7?

Shagimardanov: I move that Article 7 be adopted in the following wording:

"*Article 7.* In accordance with Article 110 of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R., judicial proceedings in the U.S.S.R. are conducted in the language of the Union republic, the autonomous republic or the autonomous region, persons not knowing this language being ensured every opportunity of fully acquainting themselves with the material pertaining to the case through an interpreter and likewise the right to speak in court in their own language."

The Chairman: Are there any other amendments to Article 7? No. Then I shall take a vote on Article 7 as amended by the Legislative Bills Commission. Those in favour of its adoption, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Are there any amendments to Article 8?

Voices: No.

The Chairman: Are there any amendments to Article 9?

Voices: No.

The Chairman: Are there any amendments to Article 10?

Shagimardanov: I move that the wording of Article 10 be adopted as follows:

"*Article 10.* In accordance with Articles 105, 106, 107, 108 and 109 of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R., courts in the U.S.S.R. are elective, being formed in the manner established by the present law."

The Chairman: Are there any other amendments to Article 10? No. I shall take a vote on Article 10 with the amendment read by Deputy Shagimardanov. Those in favour of its adoption, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Are there any amendments to Article 11?

Voices: No.

The Chairman: Are there any amendments to Article 12?

Voices: No.

The Chairman: Are there any amendments to Article 13?

Shagimardanov: In the second paragraph of Article 13, after the words "In all other cases people's assessors are reimbursed the expenses they incurred" insert the words "in the performance of their duties in court."

The Chairman: Are there any other amendments to Article 13? No. Those in favour of the adoption of Article 13 as amended by the Legislative Bills Commission, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Are there any amendments to Article 14?

Shagimardanov: In Article 14, to substitute for the words "are heard by three permanent judges" the words "are heard by three members of the court."

The Chairman: Are there any other amendments to Article 14? No. Those in favour of the adoption of Article 14 as amended by Deputy Shagimardanov, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Are there any amendments to Article 15? No.

Are there any amendments to Article 16?

Shagimardanov: In Article 16 it is moved to replace the reference to Articles 49, 62 and 73 of the present Act by a reference to Articles 50, 63 and 73.

The Chairman: Are there any other amendments? No. Then I shall take a vote on Article 16 as amended by the Legislative Bills Commission. Those in favour of its adoption, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Any amendments to Article 17?

Shagimardanov: In Article 17 to substitute for the words "and also" the word "or."

The Chairman: Are there any other amendments? No. I shall take a vote on Article 17 as amended by the Legislative Bills Commission. Those in favour of its adoption, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Are there any amendments to Article 18? No.

Are there any amendments to Article 19?

Shagimardanov: I move that the wording of Article 19 be adopted as follows:

"*Article 19.* In case the office of people's judge becomes vacant before the expiration of his term, a new election for people's judge to fill the vacancy is arranged for not later than two months from the day it has occurred.

"The new election of the people's judge is arranged by the People's Commissariat of Justice of the Union republic, and in an autonomous republic by the People's Commissariat of Justice of the autonomous republic.

"If vacancies occur in the membership of area, territorial or regional courts or the Supreme Courts of Union or autonomous republics, or in the membership of the special courts or of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R., the elections of the new members of the courts are held at the next regular Session of the Soviets of Toilers' Deputies of the region, territory or area, of the Supreme Soviet of the Union or autonomous republic, or of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R."

The Chairman: Are there any other amendments to Article 19? No. I shall take a vote on Article 19 as formulated by the Legislative Bills Commission. Those in favour of its adoption, please raise their

hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Are there any amendments to Article 20?

Shagimardanov: The Legislative Bills Commission moves that Article 20 be formulated as follows:

"*Article 20.* The institution of criminal proceedings against judges and their consequent removal from office, arraignment and trial are effected in the following manner:

"In respect to people's judges, members of territorial, regional or area courts and of courts of autonomous regions, and members of the Supreme Courts of Union or autonomous republics—by decision of the Procurator of the Union Republic with the sanction of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union Republic;

"In respect to members of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. and of the special courts of the U.S.S.R.—by decision of the Procurator of the U.S.S.R. with the sanction of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R."

The Chairman: Are there any other amendments? No. I shall take a vote on Article 20 as formulated by the Legislative Bills Commission. Those in favour of its adoption, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Shagimardanov: The Legislative Bills Commission moves to put Article 20 in place of Article 18, Article 18 in place of Article 19, and Article 19 in place of Article 20.

The Chairman: Are there any other motions on this point? No. Those in favour of adopting the motion of the Legislative Bills Commission, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

I shall take a vote on Section I, "General Principles," of the Act Concerning the Judicial System of the U.S.S.R., and of the Union and Autonomous Republics, as a whole. Those in favour of the adoption of Section I as a whole, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Section I of the Act Concerning the Judicial System of the U.S.S.R., and of the Union and Autonomous Republics is adopted unanimously.

We now pass to Section II, "The People's Courts."

Are there any amendments to Article 21?

Shagimardanov: I move to formulate Article 21, clause "a" as follows:

"Concerning violations of the electoral and other rights of citizens guaranteed by the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. or the Constitutions of the Union and autonomous republics."

Accordingly, to delete from the last paragraph the words "violations of the election law" and "violation of lawful orders of organs of the government."

The Chairman: Are there any other amendments to Article 21? No. I shall take a vote on Article 21 as amended by the Legislative Bills Commission. Those in favour of the adoption of Article 21 as amended by the Legislative Bills Commission, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Are there any amendments to Article 22? No. Are there any amendments to Article 23?

Shagimardanov: It is moved to formulate Article 23 as follows:

"*Article 23.* People's judges and people's assessors are elected by the citizens of the districts according to election areas; the election area for the election of people's judges and people's assessors comprises the total population residing on the territory under the jurisdiction of the particular people's court."

The Chairman: Are there any other amendments to Article 23? No. I shall take a vote on Article 23 as amended by the Legislative Bills Commission. Those in favour of the adoption of Article 23, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Are there any amendments to Article 24?

Shagimardanov: In Article 24, to substitute for the words "right to promote" the words "right to nominate," and for the words "is exercised by the public organizations" the words "is secured to the public organizations."

At the end of the clause add "of state farm workers and employees held on the respective state farms."

The Chairman: Are there any other amendments? No. I shall take a vote on Article 24 as amended by the Legislative Bills Commission. Those in favour of the adoption of Article 24, please raise their hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Are there any amendments to Article 25? No. Are there any amendments to Article 26?

Shagimardanov: I move that the wording of Article 26 be adopted as follows:

"*Article 26.* The number of people's courts for each district is fixed by the Council of People's Commissars of the Union republic on the recommendation of the People's Commissar of Justice of the Union republic. In the autonomous republics the number of people's courts for each district is fixed by the Council of People's Commissars of the autonomous republic on the recommendation of the People's Commissar of Justice of the autonomous republic."

The Chairman: Are there any other amendments? No. I shall take a vote on Article 26 as amended by the Legislative Bills Commission. Those in favour of the adoption of this article, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Are there any amendments to Article 27?

Shagimardanov: I move that the beginning of Article 27 be formulated as follows:

"Before hearing a case at a sitting of the court, the people's court:"

In clause "b" substitute for the word "examines" the word "decides."

The Chairman: Are there any other amendments? I shall take a vote on Article 27 as amended by the Legislative Bills Commission. Those in favour of the adoption of this article, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Are there any amendments to Article 28? No.

Shagimardanov: The Commission moves that the section on "The People's Courts" be supplemented by Article 29, to run as follows:

"*Article 29.* People's judges account to the electors for their work and the work of the people's courts."

The Chairman: Are there any other motions? No. I shall take a vote on the motion of the Legislative Bills Commission to add Article 29 to Section II, "The People's Courts." Those in favour of this motion, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

I shall now take a vote on Section II, "The People's Courts," as a whole. Those in favour of the adoption of this section, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

We shall now pass on to Section III, "The Territorial, the Regional and the Area Courts and the Courts of the Autonomous Regions." Are there any amendments to Article 29?

Voices: No.

The Chairman: Are there any amendments to Article 30?

Voices: No.

The Chairman: Are there any amendments to Article 31?

Shagimardanov: We move to add a paragraph to Article 31 running as follows:

"The territorial, the regional and the area courts and the courts of the autonomous regions in addition hear appeals from and protests against sentences, judgments or orders of the people's courts."

The Chairman: Are there any other amendments?

Voices: No.

The Chairman: I shall take a vote on Article 31 with the addition proposed by the Legislative Bills Commission. Those in favour of its adoption, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Are there any amendments to Article 32?

Voices: No.

The Chairman: Are there any amendments to Article 33?

Voices: No.

The Chairman: Are there any amendments to Article 34?

Shagimardanov: In Article 34, to substitute for the words "are composed of three permanent members of the court" the words "are composed of three members of the court in question."

The Chairman: Are there any other amendments?

Voices: No.

The Chairman: I shall take a vote on Article 34 as amended by the Legislative Bills Commission. Those in favour of the adoption of this article, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Are there any amendments to Article 35?

Voices: No.

The Chairman: Are there any amendments to Article 36?

Voices: No.

The Chairman: I shall take a vote on Section III as a whole. Those in favour of the adoption of Section III, "The Territorial, the Regional and the Area Courts and the Courts of the Autonomous Regions," as a whole, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

We shall now pass to Section IV, "The Supreme Courts of the Autonomous Republics." Are there any amendments to Article 37?

Voices: No.

The Chairman: Are there any amendments to Article 38?

Voices: No.

The Chairman: Are there any amendments to Article 39?

Shagimardanov: We move to add to Article 39 a paragraph running as follows:

"The Supreme Courts of the autonomous republics in addition hear appeals from and protests against sentences, judgments or orders of the people's courts."

The Chairman: Are there any other amendments?

Voices: No.

The Chairman: I shall take a vote on Article 39 with the addition moved by the Legislative Bills Commission. Those in favour of the adoption of this article, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Are there any amendments to Article 40?

Voices: No.

The Chairman: Are there any amendments to Article 41?

Voices: No.

The Chairman: Are there any amendments to Article 42?

Voices: No.

The Chairman: Are there any amendments to Article 43?

Voices: No.

The Chairman: I shall take a vote on Section IV, "The Supreme Courts of the Autonomous Republics," as a whole. Those in favour of the adoption of this section as a whole, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

We now pass on to Section V, "The Supreme Courts of the Union Republics." Are there any amendments to Article 44?

Shagimardanov: In Article 44, after the words "the autonomous republics," insert the words "the territories."

The Chairman: I shall take a vote on Article 44 with the addition proposed by the Legislative Bills Commission. Those in favour of its adoption, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Are there any amendments or additions to Article 45?

Shagimardanov: In Article 45, to substitute for the words "are selected" the words "are elected."

The Chairman: I shall take a vote on Article 45 as amended by the Legislative Bills Commission. Those in favour of its adoption, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Are there any amendments to Article 46?

Voices: No.

The Chairman: Are there any amendments to Article 47?

Voices: No.

The Chairman: Are there any amendments or additions to Article 48?

Voices: No.

The Chairman: Are there any amendments to Article 49?

Voices: No.

The Chairman: Are there any amendments to Article 50?

Voices: No.

The Chairman: Are there any amendments to Article 51?

Voices: No.

The Chairman: I shall take a vote on Section V as a whole. Those in favour of its adoption, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Section V, "The Supreme Courts of the Union Republics," is adopted unanimously.

We now pass on to Section VI, "The Special Courts of the U.S.S.R."

Are there any amendments or additions to Article 52?

Voices: No.

The Chairman: Are there any amendments to Article 53?

Voices: No.

The Chairman: Are there any additions or amendments to Article 54?

Shagimardanov: In Article 54, after the words "Supreme Soviets of the Union," delete the parentheses and say "and autonomous."

The Chairman: Are there any other amendments?

Voices: No.

The Chairman: I shall take a vote on Article 54 with the addition moved by the Legislative Bills Commission. Those in favour of the adoption of Article 54, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Are there any amendments to Article 55?

Shagimardanov: In Article 55, to substitute for the words "are tried by three permanent judges" the words "are tried by a court composed of three members of the court in question."

The Chairman: Are there any other amendments or additions?

Voices: No.

The Chairman: I shall take a vote on Article 55 as amended by the Legislative Bills Commission. Those in favour of the adoption of this article, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Are there any amendments to Article 56?

Shagimardanov: In Article 56, to substitute for the words "the military tribunals are formed" the words "the military tribunals are organized."

The Chairman: Are there any other amendments?

Voices: No.

The Chairman: I shall take a vote on Article 56 as amended by the Legislative Bills Commission. Those in favour of the adoption of this article, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Are there any amendments to Article 57?

Voices: No.

The Chairman: To Article 58?

Voices: No.

The Chairman: To Article 59?

Voices: No.

The Chairman: To Article 60?

Voices: No.

The Chairman: To Article 61?

Voices: No.

The Chairman: I shall take a vote on Section VI, "The Special Courts of the U.S.S.R.," as a whole. Those in favour of the adoption of this section as a whole, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

We shall now pass to Section VII, "The Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R."

Are there any amendments to Article 62?

Voices: No.

The Chairman: To Article 63?
Voices: No.
The Chairman: To Article 64?
Voices: No.
The Chairman: To Article 65?
Voices: No.
The Chairman: To Article 66?
Voices: No.
The Chairman: To Article 67?
Voices: No.
The Chairman: To Article 68?
Voices: No.
The Chairman: To Article 69?
Voices: No.
The Chairman: To Article 70?
Voices: No.
The Chairman: To Article 71?
Voices: No.
The Chairman: To Article 72?
Voices: No.
The Chairman: To Article 73?
Voices: No.
The Chairman: To Article 74?
Voices: No.
The Chairman: To Article 75?
Voices: No.
The Chairman: To Article 76?
Voices: No.

The Chairman: I shall take a vote on the section on "The Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R." as a whole. Those in favour of the adoption of this section as a whole, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Section VII, "The Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R.," is adopted unanimously.

We now pass to Section VIII, "Court Deputies." Are there any amendments to Article 77?

Voices: No.

The Chairman: Are there any amendments to Article 78?

Shagimardanov: In Article 78, after the words "to the people's courts," insert the words "the area." We move that the end of the article be formulated as follows: "and are appointed by the People's Commissariats of Justice of the Union republics, and in the autonomous republics, by the People's Commissariats of Justice of the autonomous republics."

The Chairman: Are there any other amendments?

Voices: No.

The Chairman: I shall take a vote on Article 78 as amended by the Commission. Those in favour of its adoption, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Are there any amendments to Article 79?

Voices: No.

The Chairman: I shall take a vote on Section VIII, "Court Deputies," as a whole. Those in favour of the adoption of this section as a whole, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Section VIII, "Court Deputies," is adopted unanimously.

Accordingly, all the sections of the Act are adopted unanimously by the Soviet of the Union.

I shall take a vote on the Act Concerning the Judicial System of the U.S.S.R., and of the Union and Autonomous Republics as a whole. Those in favour of the adoption of the Act Concerning the Judicial System of the U.S.S.R., and of the Union and Autonomous Republics as a whole, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Accordingly, the Act Concerning the Judicial System of the U.S.S.R., and of the Union and Autonomous Republics has been adopted by the Soviet of the Union unanimously. (*Applause.*)

Comrades, I call upon Deputy Bogdanov to make a motion on the procedure of election of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. and on the procedure for hearing the report on the Citizenship of the U.S.S.R. Act.

V. D. Bogdanov (*Krasnogvardeisky Area, Leningrad Region*): Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet. I move that the next point on the agenda of the Session—Election of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R.—be discussed and decided at a joint sitting of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities.

I also move that the report on the draft of the Citizenship of the U.S.S.R. Act be heard at a joint sitting of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities.

I propose that the joint sitting of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities for the election of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. and for the hearing of the report on the draft of the Citizenship of the U.S.S.R. Act be held tomorrow, August 17, at 1 p. m.

The Chairman: Are there any other motions?

Voices: No.

The Chairman: Does anybody wish to speak on Deputy Bogdanov's motion?

Voices: Put it to the vote.

The Chairman: I shall take a vote on Deputy Bogdanov's motion. Those in favour of the adoption of this motion, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Deputy Bogdanov's motion is adopted unanimously.

Accordingly, a joint sitting of both Chambers will be held on August 17 at 1 p.m. A sitting of the Soviet of the Union will be held on August 19 at 6 p.m.

This closes the day's proceedings.

SEVENTH SITTING

August 19, 1938

T. D. Lysenko, Vice-Chairman of the Soviet of the Union, takes his seat on the dais and the members of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. and the leaders of the Party and the Government enter the boxes. They are greeted with loud and prolonged applause. All rise.

T. D. Lysenko (*in the chair*): I hereby open the sitting of the Soviet of the Union. On the agenda we have the debate on the Citizenship of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics Act.

I call upon Deputy Korneichuk.

A. E. Korneichuk (*Zvenigorodka Area, Ukr. S.S.R.*): Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet. The Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. has submitted to the Session a draft of the Citizenship of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics Act. This draft is a brilliant reflection of the Soviet Government's policy, which is founded on the theories of the leaders of the working class—Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.

Every citizen of a Socialist republic is a citizen of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics; a citizen of the great country of a hundred and seventy million, multi-national Soviet people; a citizen of the fatherland of the oppressed and exploited of the whole world; a citizen of the country which has made the dreams and aspirations of advanced men in all eras and of all nations a reality; a citizen of the country of the heroes of labour, science and art; a citizen of the country of sublime creation; a citizen of the world's only country that is fighting for peace; a citizen of the country which is the sole heir of all progressive, humanist culture; a citizen of the country which has produced a new type of men, fearless sons of a great people, Stalin's pupils, the intrepid conquerors of the air.

To be a citizen of the country which has made the sorry, squalid landscape of old tsarist Russia a landscape of joy and happiness; to be a citizen of the country which is headed and led from victory to victory by the Soviet Government with Comrade Molotov at its helm; to be a citizen of the Soviet country, which is led by our luminary, our banner—the leader, friend and preceptor of all the people, Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin (*loud and prolonged applause*); to be a citizen of such a prosperous, mighty country is a great honour and joy. The title of citizen of a new world, citizen of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is a very proud one.

There are no bounds for the Soviet people in any sphere of human activity. But in one sphere there is a limit, there are bounds. As a citizen of the Soviet Union I simply cannot understand the boundless stupidity nor delimit the madness of certain fascist leaders of certain fascist countries, who are making frenzied preparations for war against the citizens of the great Soviet Union and are trying to provoke us to war every day. It is hard to understand where this madness ends. I therefore consulted one of our celebrated, learned psychologists, a good analyst of the reflexes of the fascist military clique. I consulted the psychologist Professor Valeri Chkalov, Hero of the Soviet Union. Professor Chkalov gave me a reply which was quite exhaustive and whose truth has also been proved by the brilliant experiments of his fellow-scientists. He said: "The germ of madness has been found; it is world-wide banditism." And if these bandits make tracks for our territory then science, as far as he, Chkalov, knows, has only one remedy—"we shall give them such a thrashing on their own, enemy, territory that their jaw-bones will fly, never mind their teeth." (*Loud applause.*)

The Soviet Union is a great country. The citizens of the smallest nationality in this country have nothing to worry about. We know that our free labour is guarded by the valiant sons of the single, mighty, invincible Red Army, led by our dear People's Commissar, Kliment Yefremovich Voroshilov. (*Applause.*)

We know that as the sun cannot be halted in his course, neither can the sunny life of the citizens of the Soviet Union.

Comrades. In Article 3 of the draft we have the following clause:

"Citizenship of the U.S.S.R. may be conferred upon aliens, irrespective of their nationality or race, upon their petition, by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. or the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union republic. . . ."

But there are foreigners whom the Soviet people have adopted without petition—such as the great German poet, Heine. The works of this celebrated poet have been consigned to the flames in his native country.

The fascist filibusters have destroyed the best works of the foremost authors of the German people. In the Soviet Union alone in recent years Heine has been published in millions of copies in ten of the languages of the peoples of the Socialist country. The great poet Heine has become a citizen of the Soviet Union.

On May 10, 1933, by order of the fascist Minister of Education and Propaganda, a huge bonfire was built on a public square in Berlin and the works of revolutionary writers and political leaders were burnt to ashes.

This orgy of twentieth-century barbarians was the hideous signal for the destruction of the world's best revolutionary and progressive literature in Germany.

After disposing of world-renowned philosophers, scientists and men of letters with cudgels and firebrands, German fascism produced fascism's foul theory, the race "theory," which is now being propagated by the Polish *szlachta* (nobility) and the Italian Fascists. The Polish fascist *szlachta* are covetous of the laurels of the fascist vandals in Germany. They are striving with might and main to outdo their neighbours, the German fascists. More and more frequently the shattering of glass is to be heard at night on the streets of Warsaw, Lwow, and Cracow in the homes of poor Jews.

The millions of Ukrainian peasants in Western Ukraine have been deprived of the right to use their mother tongue. The Ukrainian schools have been raided and closed. There is not a single grammar school, not a single college where the Ukrainian language is used in Western Ukraine.

What has the Polish republic given to the millions of Ukrainians in Western Ukraine? It has given them poverty, hunger, disfranchisement and the degrading title of "yokels."

And this Polish fascist *szlachta*, together with German fascism, is dreaming even today of putting the yoke on the free citizens of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. They are dreaming of making a "yokel" of this republic. But Soviet Ukraine is unperturbed, for her sons and daughters are citizens of the great, invincible Soviet Union. And however the Polish fascist gentry may rattle their tin swords to the tune of the German fascists, we Ukrainian citizens of the Soviet Union are unperturbed. We know that the gentlemen of Warsaw will have to go back a sight further than Berlin to find their tin swords again if they attack Soviet Ukraine.

Soviet Ukraine is an invincible outpost of Socialism on the West of the U.S.S.R. The Russian working class rendered brotherly aid to the Ukrainian people in October 1917, in their struggle, and in the building of Socialist Ukraine. The finest sons of the great Russian people shed their blood together with the Ukrainian people for the freedom of Soviet Ukraine. And this sacrifice has borne precious fruit.

The happy songs of the free Ukrainian people ring out over the golden seas of wheat, over the mellow green velvet of beet fields, over the beautiful blue Dnieper—the mover of giant turbines—over the collective farms, giant factories and mines of the Ukraine.

Pavlo Tychina, a leading poet of the Ukrainian people, wrote many years ago:

> " Arise, men whose hearts irrepressible urge!
> Let the new republic have birth!
> Roll in to us, sea, your refreshing surge!
> Let giants be your offspring, O earth!"

And the Soviet people has begotten giants of emancipated labour. Stakhanov sprang from the coalfields of the Ukraine, Maria Demchenko sprang from the prospering collective farms of the Ukraine. Krivonoss sprang from the family of railwaymen. And after them came tens and

hundreds of thousands of Stakhanovite men and women, Krivonoss engine-drivers, outstanding exponents of the Socialist art of labour.

Literature, art and science have made great progress in our country. The Ukrainian people are proud of their true son, the Academician Lysenko, the master of Stalin harvests, Vice-Chairman of the Soviet of the Union. (*Applause.*) Our great Socialist fatherland has provided all the peoples of the Soviet Union with matchless conditions for the development of culture.

Not long before his death, Academician Pavlov, the great Russian scientist of world fame, wrote a letter to the Soviet younger generation. He closed with these words: "We are all in harness to one common cause, and each advances the cause in proportion to his powers and abilities. With us it is often hard to tell what is 'mine' and what is 'yours,' but our common cause only gains thereby. Our country opens great prospects to scientists, and it cannot be denied that science is liberally put into practice in our country. Liberally to the highest degree!

"What is there to be said of the situation of the young scientist in our country? Nothing could be clearer. Much is given him and much is expected of him. And for the young, just as for us, it is a matter of honour to justify the great hopes which our country reposes in science." Thus wrote Pavlov, the great Russian scientist.

The young citizens of our great mother-country are growing and developing in a happy era. Their lives are generously illumined by the great, radiant sun of the Stalin Constitution.

The hearts of the Ukrainian people are replete with a feeling of great patriotism for our Soviet mother-country. The Ukrainian people will most joyously greet the citizenship law introduced by the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R.

The history of the Ukrainian people is a history of heroic resistance to their ancient oppressors, the Polish *szlachta*, to the Ukrainian and Russian landowners and the tsar's satraps.

The mighty Ukrainian people gained freedom for the first time in their history with the help of the great Russian working class, under the leadership of the geniuses of the proletarian revolution, Lenin and Stalin, during the Great October Socialist Revolution of 1917.

Our people are free and equal in rights. They are united by firm Stalin friendship into the single family of the peoples of the Soviet Union.

The greatness of our country is embodied in the words "citizen of the Soviet Union." Wherever a citizen of the Soviet Union may be, he feels the power and support of his great country.

The Chelyuskin epic showed the whole world what it means to be a citizen of the Soviet Union. The Government, the whole Soviet people did everything to save the stokers, scientists and sailors in distress.

There, in the far North, in the pitiless Arctic, a handful of Soviet men on a small ice-floe had no fears for their destinies. They knew that they were citizens of the Soviet Union and that the Soviet people would do everything to save them.

I know of something different too. Abroad, in a bourgeois-democra-

tic capital I saw an old unemployed worker dying not on an icefloe but in a public square in a city of eight million people. A citizen of a bourgeois country was dying of hunger. It was a heart-breaking spectacle. His eyes were full of misery and despair, for he knew that no one would help him. There is only one right for working people in capitalist countries—the right to die of hunger.

Comrades! I move that the draft of the Citizenship of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics Act be adopted.

Long live our great country! Long live the great citizens of the invincible Soviet Union! Long live the Government of the free citizens of our great Soviet Union! Honour and glory to our great genius, leader, father, friend and teacher, our great Stalin! (*Loud and prolonged applause.*)

The Chairman: I call upon Deputy Bratanovsky.

G. A. Bratanovsky (*Kirov Area, City of Moscow*): Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet. I am wholly in support of the motion of Deputy Korneichuk to ratify the draft of the Citizenship of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics Act submitted to the Second Session of the Supreme Soviet by the Government of the U.S.S.R.

This Act is designed to further strengthen our mighty Socialist country. It adds still greater strength to our state, which we must do everything to fortify.

Our country is surrounded by capitalist states. Anti-Socialist elements inside our country receive support from these capitalist states, primarily from the fascist aggressors. The fascist states and other capitalist countries despatch spies, diversive agents and wreckers to our country.

The law the draft of which we are discussing today is a direct outcome of the Stalin Constitution. It makes it quite clear and distinct who is a citizen of the U.S.S.R., it makes it quite clear and distinct how citizenship of the U.S.S.R. can be acquired.

Comrades, the import of the very conception—citizen—and the definition of his rights are of full value only in our country, because the rights which are spoken of in our Stalin Constitution are real and tangible rights which are enjoyed by every citizen of the U.S.S.R.

Comrade Stalin put this admirably in his report on the Draft Constitution of the U.S.S.R., delivered at the Extraordinary Eighth Congress of Soviets. He said:

"The specific feature of the draft of the new Constitution is that it does not confine itself to fixing the formal rights of citizens, but shifts the centre of gravity to the guarantees of these rights, to the means by which these rights can be exercised. It does not simply proclaim equality of rights for citizens, but ensures it by the legislative consolidation of the fact that the regime of exploitation has been abolished, of the fact that the citizens have been emancipated from all exploitation. It does not simply proclaim the right to work, but ensures it by the legislative consolidation of the fact that crises do not exist in Soviet society, of the fact that unemployment has been abolished. . . . It is clear, therefore," says Comrade Stalin, "that democracy in the draft of the new Constitution is not the 'ordinary' and 'universally recognized' democracy in general, but *Socialist* democracy."

Never before have working people had such rights, never before have the rights of the working people been defined with such clarity as in the Constitution of the U.S.S.R., never have they had such real, tangible guarantees.

The bourgeois politicians' chatter of freedom and equality in capitalist countries means freedom for the exploiters to exploit the working people. All other rights and duties of the citizens of capitalist countries follow from this fundamental. We know what this "equality" between the capitalists and the workers means. The capitalist buys labour power and the worker sells it. At the first glance this is a deal between equals. But, as Marx aptly stated, the capitalist who has bought labour power goes with "an air of importance, smirking, intent on business," while the worker goes "timid and holding back, like one who is bringing his own hide to market and has nothing to expect but—*a hiding.*"

For every working man to have tangible rights, the bourgeois order must be overthrown and another created, under which there shall be no exploitation, no crises, no unemployment. The working people of our country have proved it in practice.

"Democracy in capitalist countries, where there are antagonistic classes, is, in the last analysis," says Comrade Stalin, "democracy for the strong, democracy for the propertied minority. In the U.S.S.R., on the contrary, democracy is democracy for the toilers, *i.e.*, democracy for all."

In our Soviet country a new state has been built, a new society has been built, a new people, the Soviet people, has come into being. There is no place for exploiters in our country. All citizens are toilers, so that the Government and the people have the same common interests. All that is bound up with Socialism is near and dear to the Soviet people, and all that is hostile to Socialism inspires the toilers' hatred. In our country the people and Communism have become indissoluble and inseparable one from the other. Therein lies the strength and power of our state. The citizens of our country have a high sense of right, a lofty conception of their civic duty.

The Stalin Constitution defines with the utmost clarity not only the rights of citizens, but their duties to their country. It is the duty of every citizen of the U.S.S.R. to abide by the Fundamental Law of Socialist life, the Stalin Constitution, to observe the laws of the Soviet state, to maintain labour discipline, honestly to perform public duties, and to respect the rules of Socialist human intercourse, to safeguard and fortify public, Socialist property as the sacred and inviolable foundation of our system.

Soviet people display heroism and self-sacrifice in all fields of Socialist construction: industry, agriculture, aviation and all other spheres of our life. In our country heroes can be counted by the thousand, hundred thousand, and even by the million. Day after day, month after month, year after year the Stakhanovites and shock workers of our country are

advancing our Socialist economy, leading the mass of workers and collective farmers into the fight for new victories of Communism.

I should like to cite just one example of the feats which are accomplished everywhere in our country. The construction of the new bridges in Moscow was effected in a very brief term. Yet our Moscow bridges are of large dimensions. The largest of them, the Krassnokholmsky, has a span of 160 metres. For span, this bridge holds sixth place among the world's bridges. However, it is much wider than any arched bridge in Europe or America. This same Krassnokholmsky Bridge, weighing 6,600 tons, was assembled in sixty days. The Krymsky Bridge, weighing 10,000 tons, was assembled in fifty-six days. But in effect, practically all the assembly work on the Krymsky Bridge was done during April 1938. Such rates of bridge construction were unknown anywhere in the world.

A bridge in London which was completed in 1937 took six months and a half to assemble. Six months and a half! Yet it is of the same type as the Krymsky Bridge, but much less in span and width.

The assembly of a bridge at Pittsburgh, U.S.A., with a much smaller span than the Krymsky and only 18 metres wide, took nine months.

But why were our bridges built and assembled so quickly? Only one reply can be given: they were assembled by citizens of the U.S.S.R., who knew that they were doing this work for themselves, for their people, for the capital of their country.

Stakhanov builders and assemblers performed miracles in their work. On the Krymsky Bridge, for instance, 200 tons of steel-work were assembled daily instead of the 70 or 80 tons scheduled. The rates of rivetting were exceeded by something over one thousand per cent.

What motive force was behind these men? The motive force was their understanding of their duty to the country, a fervid feeling of Soviet patriotism.

Such an attitude to work is an expression of the fervid patriotism of the Soviet people.

A feeling of fervid patriotism moved the citizens of our country when they went to the ballot-boxes to cast their votes for the candidates of the Stalin Communist and non-Party bloc. It was this feeling that inspired our heroic airmen when they made their non-stop flights from Moscow to America and from Moscow to Vladivostok. A feeling of fervid patriotism inspired our heroes when they were conquering the North Pole.

This feeling of fervid patriotism for the Soviet country is producing Stakhanovites and shock workers among the workers, collective farmers, employees and working intellectuals in countless numbers.

Soviet patriotism is fervid love for our own people, our own country, our Bolshevik Party, our leader and teacher, Comrade Stalin. (*Loud and prolonged applause.*)

Soviet patriotism means utter hatred for all oppressors, fascist barbarians, and their Trotskyite and Bukharinite hirelings.

Our patriotism, the patriotism of Soviet citizens, is profoundly international. Soviet citizens know that to strengthen the Socialist system in the U.S.S.R. is to serve the cause of the international proletariat.

Every victory of Socialism in our country is a contribution to the cause of proletarian internationalism. The Soviet people have the warmest sympathy for the Spanish and Chinese peoples, who are fighting for democracy, for their independence, against the fascist barbarians.

Soviet patriotism is love for our Socialist country, whose achievements are achievements for the working people of the whole world.

That is why the masses in China and Spain, the working class and progressive men and women throughout the world watch the increasing might and power of the U.S.S.R. with such joy and hope.

We know that in all countries we have allies who are ready to safeguard the Soviet Union against attempts at armed intervention on the part of its external enemies. The peoples of the whole world see that the Soviet Union is the citadel of Socialism and of real democracy.

Therefore, comrades, for each and every one of us citizens of the U.S.S.R. the main obligation and sacred duty in respect both of our country and of the international working class is to leave nothing undone to safeguard our country, to fortify our Socialist fatherland.

Article 133 of the Stalin Constitution declares: "To defend the fatherland is the sacred duty of every citizen of the U.S.S.R."

This has special significance because we are surrounded by capitalist states, because the fascists are becoming more and more aggressive.

We know where the main hot-beds of war are. We know that the fascists are still dreaming of annexations of Soviet territories, that they are stooping to the basest villainies to provoke us. In his book, of such sad notoriety, Hitler writes: "Having decided to get new territories in Europe, we could on the whole obtain them solely at the expense of Russia. In this case, girding up our loins, we would have to tread the ancient path of the knights of our orders." The fascists are just trotting out their "knights" to no purpose at all.

The fact is that a few centuries ago a band of German robbers, self-styled "knights," made an attempt to enslave the Russian people, their main intent being plunder. Karl Marx gave these highwaymen, who plundered and massacred the civilian population, their deserts with some biting characterizations. Karl Marx calls their chieftains—Bishop Christian a "stinking monk" and Bishop Albert the "lousy canonic of Bremen." Marx notes that the "overweening sword-bearers," these "crusading riff-raff," first embarked on a crusade against Lithuania and that the Lithuanians "gave the hounds a *terrible thrashing.*" And six years later, in 1242, the Russian people knocked the German "knights" into a cocked hat on the ice of Lake Peipus. In his historical synopses Marx says: "*Alexander Nevsky went into battle against the German knights*, defeated them on the ice of *Lake Peipus*, so that the blackguards were completely driven back from the Russian border." Marx only gives these bandits their deserts when he calls them "hounds" and "blackguards," for their main aim was plunder.

But this was not the last of the "victories" of the "knights" whose example is cited by Hitler.

Two hundred and fifty years later Walter von Pletenburg, Master of the Livonian Order, set out on a new expedition against Moscow and Pskov. He was severely repulsed by the Russian people. Historians record—and historical facts are stubborn things!—that the bold "knights," who are remembered so fondly by the German fascists, had to make themselves scarce. A rather distressing distemper broke out among the German troops and spread into an epidemic—diarrhea. The "knights" turned tail and fled all the way to Riga. After that the struggle continued on German territory, not Russian. The knights lost about 40,000 men, killed and captured, and sued for peace.

So these German "knights"—the ideal of the German fascists—whom Marx calls "barbarian boobies" and Hitler is bent on following, received a salutary lesson from the Russian people in those days. We do not doubt that if the fascist aggressors on the Western or Far Eastern frontiers of the U.S.S.R. set war afoot, the great Soviet people will give them such a rebuff that the same complaint which affected the German "knights" a few centuries ago might, as a result, become widespread among them. (*Laughter, applause.*)

The people of our great country have given numerous examples of self-sacrifice and heroism in the fight against the foreign aggressors. It is sufficient to recollect the years of civil war. At that time our country was half-ruined, backward economically and culturally, she was exhausted. Nevertheless she was able to cope with a widely organized attack from without. Now that the material and cultural standards of the people have improved beyond measure, and the peoples of the Soviet Union are politically and morally united as never before under the banner of Bolshevism, it will be enough for the complete triumph of our cause if every citizen of the Soviet Union does his duty as an honest son of his people.

There can be no doubt that all citizens of the U.S.S.R. will do their duty by their country.

We see the wave of indignation with which all citizens of the Soviet Union have reacted to the Japanese militarists' brazen provocation on our Far Eastern frontier.

In the Kirov Electoral Area, just as throughout Moscow, the people have been moved by the one feeling, the one desire—to give the trespassers on the Soviet border a most resolute rebuff. The workers of the Paris Commune factory, five thousand strong, declared in reply to the Japanese provocation that they are "ready at any minute to fight side by side with our Red Army for the defence of our Socialist fatherland. At the first summons of our Bolshevik Party and Comrade Stalin," said the workers of the Paris Commune factory, "we are ready to change the tools of peaceful labour for the weapons of war. The fascist provocateurs will feel the irresistible power of the mighty, invincible Soviet people."

These are not just words, nor mere declarations, nor empty promises. Our people are confirming what they say in deeds.

We know what a crushing rebuff the Japanese aggressors got when they tried to provoke us on the Far Eastern border.

On August 15, 1938, the newspaper *Krassnaya Zvezda* published some remarkable instances of the heroism of our army men. Today's *Pravda* cites some remarkable facts concerning the bombardment of the Japanese trespassers by our aircraft. "The enemy's anti-aircraft guns were overwhelmed: they could not bring down a *single* Soviet plane."

We know that the gallant men of the Far Eastern Front will always do their duty everywhere. (*Loud applause.*)

Love of country, love of the Party of Lenin and Stalin will inspire the Soviet people in their fight against the enemy when he attacks our country. We are firmly convinced, and our assurance is grounded on real facts, that the enemy will be annihilated on his own territory. Let this be borne in mind by those who are out to test the strength of the friendship of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. and the strength of Soviet patriotism. In this struggle all the republics of our country will act in a united front.

In the Stalin Constitution and the draft of the Act which we are discussing it is declared that citizens of the R.S.F.S.R. are simultaneously citizens of the U.S.S.R., citizens of the Ukraine are likewise citizens of the U.S.S.R., the citizens of each Union Republic are citizens of the U.S.S.R.

All citizens of the U.S.S.R., irrespective of their nationality, will do their civic duty honourably by the Soviet people and by the country.

The Stalin Communist and non-Party bloc will assure our victory in the coming decisive combat with the aggressors.

In his speech on the twentieth anniversary of the October Revolution, delivered at the meeting of celebration in the Bolshoi Theatre on November 6, 1937, Comrade Molotov said: "The moral and political unity of the people in our country has its living embodiment too. We have a name which has become a symbol of the victories of Socialism. This name is at the same time the symbol of the moral and political unity of the Soviet people. You know, that this name is Stalin." (*Loud applause.*)

We citizens of the U.S.S.R. are happy in the realization that the first citizen of our country is the continuator of the cause of our great Lenin, the organizer of our struggle throughout and all our victories—Comrade Stalin. (*Applause.*) His life, his struggle and work are models for every citizen of the U.S.S.R. It is our good fortune that, thanks to the efforts of the citizens of the U.S.S.R., led by Comrade Stalin, our country has become mighty and abundant, it has become a fortress of international Socialism guiding all mankind on to Communism.

We have won success and victories, we have the Stalin Constitution, because our Party and all the working people of the Soviet Union are being led forward by the author of the Socialist Constitution, the great citizen of the U.S.S.R., the leader of the peoples of our country and of the working people of the whole world—Comrade Stalin. (*Loud and prolonged applause.*)

The Chairman. I call upon Deputy Akhunbabayev.

Y. Akhunbabayev (*Andizhan Area, Uzbek S.S.R. Deputy Akhun-*

babayev speaks in Uzbek. Deputy V. Y. Yemtsov interprets): Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet. The draft of the Citizenship of the U.S.S.R. Act submitted by the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. to the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is a document of great political significance. The short, laconic articles of this law are full of the most profound meaning.

A single Union citizenship is established for citizens of the U.S.S.R. Every citizen of a Union republic is a citizen of the U.S.S.R.

These brief formulas, abrupt at the first glance, are a reflection of the results of the historic gains of the working class of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, which has covered a long and glorious road from the conquest of power to the construction of Socialist society.

The establishment of single Union citizenship for citizens of the U.S.S.R., the establishment of citizenship of the U.S.S.R. for every citizen of a Union republic, is in full accord with the equality of rights that our citizens have won in all spheres of life—political, economic and cultural—irrespective of nationality and race.

V. I. Lenin once wrote:

"In contrast to the old world, the world where nationalities are oppressed, are at strife or are mutually isolated, the workers produce a new world in which there is unity between the working people of all nations and in which there is no place for a single privilege or the slightest oppression of man by man." (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Russ. ed., Vol. XVI, p. 390.)

On reading the articles in the draft of the admirable law on citizenship of the U.S.S.R. one cannot help becoming thoughtful and looking back on the dark past history of the peoples who inhabited tsarist Russia. Utter oppression, political, economic and moral subjugation—such in brief is the picture of the plight of the working people of Uzbekistan before the Great October Socialist Revolution. It will suffice to say that the very names "Uzbeks" and "Uzbekistan" were non-existent at that time. The tsarist officials forbade the Uzbeks to call themselves by their own name and used in its place the word "Sart," which was an insult to them.

The Uzbek people had absolutely no rights. The working people of Uzbekistan, or Turkestan, as this former tsarist colony was then called, were barred from civil or military service. The tsarist autocracy, the *bais* and the priesthood debarred them from all elections. The extent to which the Uzbek people were bereft of political rights may be judged from the fact that even in 1913 groups of manacled dekhkans—"bondsmen" being sold for debt—were often to be seen on the main public square of Bokhara in front of the Emir's palace.

The Uzbek people were under a double yoke: tsarism on the one hand, and the local bourgeoisie on the other.

In Uzbekistan before the revolution there was no home industry, nor a native working class. The Russian bourgeoisie were anxious to keep Uzbekistan exclusively as a source of raw materials and were mortally afraid lest a native proletariat should arise. Not only the city of Tashkent —the largest centre of old Turkestan—but even the whole of Central Asia

was practically devoid of industrial enterprises. The Uzbek dekhkans were viciously exploited on the fields of Uzbekistan, which yielded precious cotton to the tsarist colonizers.

The land was the property of the *bais* and landowners. The dekhkans had the status of farm-hands or small tenants *(cheirikeri)* dependent upon the landowners. Tens and hundreds of thousands of dekhkans pawned their belongings and were perpetually in debt to the *bais* and tsarist colonizers.

The tsarist colonizers, the local *bais* and the priesthood held the Uzbek people in a state of ignorance. In Uzbekistan, before the revolution, only 1.5 per cent of the population could read and write, and they were mullahs and *bais*. In 1914 in all the intermediate schools of Turkestan there were only 93 boys from the local, native population. Not a single Uzbek had higher education.

Health services were on an extremely low level; to be more exact, they were practically non-existent in Uzbekistan before the revolution. Disease of every kind was rife among the population. In alliance with the bourgeoisie, the priesthood implanted darkness, ignorance and prejudice among the masses. Uzbek women were slaves in the literal sense of the word. They could come out in public only if they wore the purdah and the veil. The human dignity of the Uzbek people was trampled on by the tsarist colonizers in every way. The Uzbeks and other local nationalities were treated with the utmost contempt.

Burdensome and joyless in the past was the life of the Uzbek people. They suffered frightful conditions, they were bereft of political rights, economically enslaved and downtrodden.

Only the Great October Socialist Revolution emancipated the Uzbek people, and, setting forth on a triumphant march along the road of Socialist construction with all the other peoples of the great Soviet Union, they have made enormous progress in a short historical period. The Uzbek people achieved this great progress through the national policy of Lenin and Stalin, under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, with the constant daily assistance of the great Russian people and thanks to the unremitting care of our great teacher and leader—Comrade Stalin.

During the civil war the Russian proletariat rendered great assistance and support to the working people of Uzbekistan in their struggle against the exploiters, the landowners, capitalists and the counter-revolutionary *basmachi*. In this struggle the Uzbek people were assisted by the splendid soldiers and organizers—Lazar Moisseyevich Kaganovich, Kuibyshev and Frunze.

When the civil war came to an end, thousands of working people of Uzbekistan learned industrial practice from the Russian workers in the factories and foundries of Moscow, Leningrad and other cities in the R.S.F.S.R., and became skilled workmen. On the other hand, thousands of Russian workers and technical experts came to Uzbekistan to participate with the Uzbek people in the Socialist construction of sunny Uzbekistan.

As a result of the October Socialist Revolution and the two

Stalin Five-Year Plans, the citizens of the Uzbek S.S.R. can claim to be citizens of one of the foremost republics of the Soviet East, and boast unlimited rights and opportunities in all spheres of political, economic and cultural life.

Citizens of the Uzbek S.S.R. enjoy all rights equally with all citizens of the great Soviet Union.

The victories of the Uzbek people, just as the victories of all the peoples of the U.S.S.R., are inscribed in the Stalin Constitution. The great amity of the peoples and the moral and political unity of the multinational Soviet Union have been brilliantly demonstrated in the elections to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. and the Supreme Soviet of the Uzbek S.S.R. On the basis of the invincible Communist and non-Party bloc and the unprecedented political activity of the masses, the peoples of the Uzbek S.S.R. elected their best sons to the highest organs of power. Among the members of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., for instance, there is Tishabai Mirzayev, formerly a farm labourer, and now chairman of the Organizational Committee of the Ferghana Region, a cotton-planter, holder of an Order, whom Comrade Stalin praised as a real agronomist. And we have tens and hundreds of thousands of remarkable men like Mirzayev.

In our country women are enlisted on a wide scale to administer the state. Is it not a remarkable fact that among the members of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. there are fourteen Uzbek women—factory operatives and collective farmers whose mothers could look at the world only through the veil in the old days and had not the right to set foot in the men's part of the home?

The achievements of Soviet Uzbekistan in industry, agriculture and other branches of the national economy are known to all. The brilliant industrial development of the Uzbek S.S.R. has rapidly swelled the ranks of the native Uzbek working class. Over 100,000 people are now employed in large-scale enterprises and the building industry. Over 50 per cent of them are skilled Uzbek workers.

The Uzbek S.S.R. now has a native technical intelligentsia, kith and kin of the working class and the collective farm peasantry. Over 6,000 engineers and technicians are at work in the industries of Uzbekistan.

The dekhkans of Uzbekistan are not the benighted farmhands of yesterday; the vast majority of them are collective farmers. Ninety-five and a half per cent of the dekhkan holdings have been collectivized. Our collective farms have broken all records in cotton growing. The dekhkans live a prosperous and happy life.

Where only primitive implements were to be seen in the old days, all cultivation is now done by tractors. More than 20,000 tractors are at work in the fields of Uzbekistan.

Nowadays Lenin's electric lamps light up the collective farmers' homes instead of rushlights. Culture is being implanted in full measure in the domestic life of the collective farmers.

The progress of cultural development in Uzbekistan is truly immense.

We now have 33 higher educational establishments (before the revolution there were none at all), 82 training colleges and 3,715 schools.

Among the university students there are more than 5,300 Uzbeks and representatives of other local nationalities, while in the training colleges there are 14,300. This year the universities will graduate 2,054 young specialists.

The cultural requirements of the population are met by 68 theatres (we had none at all before the revolution), 770 cinemas, 1,147 clubs, 1,292 libraries. 168 newspapers are published in Uzbekistan. In respect of health service, there is a widely distributed network of hospitals, dispensaries, nurseries, maternity homes, rest homes, etc. There has been a marked drop in the morbidity of the population. This is the case particularly with endemic diseases, malaria, reshteh, etc.

Such are the principal achievements of Uzbekistan in the field of culture. Uzbekistan's great economic and political progress has created the most valuable of her possessions—new people, a new, Stalinite generation. In common with all citizens of the U.S.S.R. this generation is happy to bear the proud title of citizens of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The title of citizen of the U.S.S.R. has a proud ring; and we are indeed proud of this high title before the whole world. We are proud of the rights and duties which it gives and imposes upon us. The peoples of the Uzbek S.S.R., in one family with all the peoples of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, will live up to the title of citizens of the U.S.S.R. and will creditably perform all the duties of citizens of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in the matter of advancing the national economy and strengthening the defensive power of our country.

Together with our beloved Workers' and Peasants' Red Army, the peoples of the Uzbek S.S.R. are ready at the first call of the Party and the Government, the great leader of peoples, Comrade Stalin, and the great soldier, Kliment Yefremovich Voroshilov, to defend the frontiers of the Soviet Union from the attack of the fascist brutes.

With all the peoples of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the peoples of the Uzbek Republic are firmly united around the Party of Lenin and Stalin, around the great leader, Comrade Stalin.

Their feeling of legitimate pride is mingled with a sense of warm admiration for the man who created the Constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, which defines the rights and duties of citizens of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics—the man who has led us to grand victories of Socialism, the man who is leading us on to Communism, our beloved, great teacher, our friend and leader, Comrade Stalin. (*Loud and prolonged applause.*)

The Chairman: I call on Deputy Obraztsov.

V. N. Obraztsov (*Rtishchev Area, Saratov Region*): Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. The Citizenship of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics Act, submitted to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., however brief, is of very great importance to the country, like everything that follows from the Stalin Constitution.

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is the first powerful multinational state, and the only one. In our country, the national problem has been solved; in our country all nationalities, while freely developing their best national traits, are conscious that they are citizens of the one great Union. This, comrades, could be achieved only because the working class gained power in the country.

Rabid, chauvinist nationalism, which recognizes none but the home nationality and preaches its superiority over all others, which has culminated in the fascist race "theory," the nationalism which sets nations against each other—Buddhist Hindus against Mohammedans, Germans and Rumanians against Jews, Georgians against Armenians—such nationalism is no good to anybody but the capitalists, whose prime maxim is "divide and rule."

This nationalism is alien to the working people. The working people of all nations are national in their language, culture and customs, but they are international in their labour, in their aspiration to be free from exploitation by capital. The Soviet system has knit the working people of all nationalities into the one mighty, invincible Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The initiator of this union is the master of the national problem, our far-seeing leader and the guide of the world proletariat, Comrade Stalin. (*Applause.*)

The policy of knitting the republics into one mighty Union could be put into effect because it was derived from Lenin's and Stalin's precepts concerning the right of nations to self-determination, including secession. The policy of union was put into effect because the underlying principle was Stalin's stipulation:

"This union can be only voluntary, originating from the mutual trust and fraternal relations of the peoples."

About sixteen years have passed since the Soviet Union began its existence. And now we can see with our own eyes the great results of this union. All the peoples, all nationalities are striving in friendly rivalry for the happiness of their country, for a joyous life.

The national art of Georgia, Uzbekistan, the Ukraine and other republics is highly esteemed in our country. The national celebration of the 750th anniversary of the masterpiece of the Georgian poet Shot'ha Rust'hveli was greeted by the whole country, as was also the 750th anniversary of the composition of the "Lay of Igor."

Our science, which is based on the cultural development of all the working people, is bringing out ever greater scientific minds among all nationalities of the U.S.S.R.

Men like Timiryazev, Michurin and Pavlov did their best work under the Soviet system. I need only mention young scientists such as our Academician Lysenko, Comrades Papanin and Stakhanov.

Science, allied with life, with the working masses, the science which our younger generation is mastering, has yielded abundant results.

A citizen of the U.S.S.R. has something to be proud of, comrades. Only twenty years ago we were a poor, backward, illiterate country.

In industrial output we now stand first in Europe and second in the world. We have obviated the danger of harvest failures and have put Socialist agriculture on mighty foundations.

We have created a chemical industry, the best air fleet in the world, we have built the Moscow-Volga Canal, we are reconstructing Moscow, and have built the best underground railway in the world. We have created powerful railways which can creditably serve all our country's needs and the exigencies of defence.

Our Stakhanovites are having a great influence on scientists. Where scientists are still timid in their approach to some problem, the Stakhanovites stimulate them by their own fine work.

Comrades. We are only just beginning to feel the results of universal education: over 30,000,000 pupils in elementary and intermediate schools and 550,000 university students—there you have our future stand-by of science and culture.

If the First and Second Five-Year Plans gave results unprecedented in the world, it is hard to imagine what will be the results of the Third and Fourth Five-Year Plans, when an army of cultured, educated people will swell the ranks of the builders of Socialism.

The capitalist countries have good reason to be so apprehensive of the results of these "experiments," as they used to call them.

Comrades, it is a great honour to be a citizen of the Soviet Union. The great pride of Soviet citizens was excellently voiced by Vladimir Mayakovsky, the poet of the revolution, in his verses on the Soviet passport.

"They take,
without blinking,
the passports of Danes,
Of all kinds
of Swedes
and the like.
Of a sudden
the mug
of Mister
Inspector
Twists
as if it were
scorched—
You see,
the inspector
spots
like a spectre
My own
good redskin passport,
He handles it
gingerly
as though
'twere a bomb,

Handles it
as though
'twere a hedgehog.''

''Wouldn't they
gloat—
this gendarme tribe—
To see me scourged,
nailed to a cross
For having
a passport
so inscribed,
With hammer
and sickle
embossed.
Red
tape
like a wolf
I'd rend;
For credentials
I've not the least respect:
To the devil
and his angels
I'd send
All
such papers
except
The one
I take
from my pants—
for it is an
Invoice
for a priceless
freight.
Read it
and envy!
I am a citizen
Of the Soviet Union,
the Socialist state!''

(*Loud applause.*)

Yes, comrades, it is the greatest of honours to be a citizen of the Soviet Union. It is to be a citizen of the first Socialist country in the world, where all the working people have been united, given the right to work, to rest and to maintenance in old age. All these rights are guaranteed by the Stalin Constitution. They are a priceless asset to all working people. ''It is pleasant and joyful to know that the blood our

people shed so plentifully was not shed in vain, that it has produced results.''

And to these words of Comrade Stalin we can reply in the words of the citizen-poet, Vladimir Mayakovsky:

''But the land
we took
for our own
in battle,
Which we took
half-dead
and nursed
to life,
Where you rise
with bullets,
retire
with guns,
Where you've merged
like a drop
in the masses—
With a land
like this,
you can go with a will
To live
and labour,
feast or die!''

We citizens of the U.S.S.R. adopt the Citizenship Act with a sense of joy and satisfaction. We know what a hard fight it has been to win these rights to citizenship in our Socialist country, the first in the world.

We know that our country is under the ever-vigilant watch of our own dear Red Army, which has already shown the world how it is able to protect the interests of the country.

We know that our country is marching on to ever new victories under the leadership of the Party of Lenin and Stalin, under the leadership of its great leader who created our Union, our army, our Constitution, under the leadership of Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin! (*Loud and prolonged applause.*)

The Chairman: I call upon Deputy Shagadayev.

Minovar Shagadayev (*Garm Area, Tadjik S.S.R. Deputy Shagadayev speaks in Tadjik. Deputy Kurbanov interprets*): Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet. The draft of the Citizenship of the U.S.S.R. Act submitted by the Council of People's Commissars to the Supreme Soviet for discussion and endorsement conforms fully to the Stalin Constitution and moves the entire Soviet people with a feeling of the utmost pride in their Socialist country.

For every toiler of our country the words "I am a citizen of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics" have a particularly joyous ring. This is only natural, because our country is the only country in the world where Socialism has been triumphant, where free Socialist life is in full bloom.

This is the only country in the world where the labouring masses are not subject to exploitation and oppression, and where national subjugation is a thing of the past. The peoples of the Soviet Union are as one in Stalinite amity that nothing can shake.

All the peoples inhabiting the U.S.S.R. have, with the help of the heroic Russian people, emerged on to the highroad of happy, joyous, Socialist life.

The historic victories of Socialism have been consolidated by the great Stalin Constitution, which guarantees every citizen of the U.S.S.R. the right to work, the right to rest, the right to education, the right to maintenance in old age.

Where, in what other country, do working people enjoy such rights? There is no other such country, for these rights of working people are possible only in the Land of Socialism, which is led by the invincible Party of Lenin and Stalin, headed by the leader of the working people of the whole world, the great Stalin. (*Applause.*)

That is why the words contained in the draft of the Citizenship of the U.S.S.R. Act—"Every citizen of a Union republic is a citizen of the U.S.S.R."—inspire every working man and woman in our country to take an even more active part in the struggle for the building of Communist society.

To be a citizen of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, to be a member of Socialist society, is an honour indeed. All the peoples of the great Soviet Union are participating as equals in the triumphant march to Communism.

Comrades, such civic rights for working people as are enjoyed by citizens of the Soviet Union are out of the question in capitalist countries.

The working people in the capitalist countries are doomed to starvation and poverty, they are prey to tyranny and violence.

In fascist Germany, whose experience is assiduously copied by fascist Italy, a great part of the working population are classed as "inferior" subjects. They are the so-called "non-Aryans." The fascists use the bestial sterilization law against them.

Is not this an outrage on human beings? What citizenship can there be in fascist, capitalist countries?

In a number of capitalist countries the coloured or minority population has no civic rights whatever, or its rights are restricted: for instance, the Negroes in the United States of America and the national minorities in Poland. Women, representing 50 per cent of the population, are restricted in citizenship rights as compared with men.

Many facts of this kind could be cited. Even so, those I have mentioned leave no doubt that the working people have in effect no citizenship rights in capitalist countries, and cannot have any.

Comrades, Article 3 of the draft of the Citizenship of the U.S.S.R. Act lays down the procedure of naturalization, which applies equally to all foreigners, irrespective of their nationality and race.

This is a practical application of the basic principle concerning citizenship rights, irrespective of nationality and race, embodied in the Stalin Constitution.

In conformity with the Constitution, the Bill does not restrict naturalization with any property, education or other qualifications.

Article 5 declares: "The contraction of marriage by a male or female citizen of the U.S.S.R. with a person not a citizen of the U.S.S.R. does not entail a change in citizenship." Thus, the law applies equally to men and women.

Article 6 specially prescribes that when a change in the citizenship of parents takes place, the citizenship of children between fourteen and eighteen years of age can change only with their (the children's) consent.

The following is a highly important point distinguishing the Soviet principle of the rights and duties of citizens: deprivation of citizenship of the U.S.S.R. may be imposed only "a) by sentence of court in cases where the law so provides; b) by virtue of a ukase of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., specially issued in each case."

This law precludes any groundless decisions depriving a person of citizenship of the U.S.S.R.

Comrades, the draft of the Citizenship of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics Act will rally the entire Soviet people more than ever. The peoples of the great Soviet Union in their millions will have an even greater and stronger affection for their Socialist country.

Our Socialist fatherland is a country of mighty factories, prosperous collective farm fields with great, abundant harvests, and rapidly-developing Socialist cities.

The citizens of the Socialist state of workers and peasants are fervently devoted to their country and will never let an enemy set foot over the sacred borders of the Soviet Union. The guarantee of this is our own invincible Red Army and the entire Soviet people, united as never before around the Bolshevik Party, around the great leader of peoples, Comrade Stalin. (*Applause.*)

Comrades, I support the previous speakers in proposing that the draft of the Citizenship of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics Act be adopted.

Comrades, there is happiness in the thought that one is a citizen of the great Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. It is a happy thing to live and work under the leadership of the Party of Lenin and Stalin for the good of the people and the glory of Socialism. It is a happy thing to live and work in the Stalin era under the tried leadership of the leader and teacher of peoples, the man who is admired by all working people the world over—the great Stalin. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Long live the unshakable Stalin amity of the peoples of the great Soviet Union! (*Applause.*)

The Chairman: I call upon Deputy Karakulov.

I. K. Karakulov *(Kokpekty Area, Kazakh S.S.R.)*: Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet. Unlike the law in capitalist countries, the Citizenship of the U.S.S.R. Act stresses the absolute equality between men and women. The law makes no distinction between residents and non-residents, propertied and propertyless, educated and uneducated. They all have perfectly equal rights under the Citizenship of the U.S.S.R. Act.

The rights and status of a Soviet citizen depend upon his personal abilities, his work, his struggle for the successful construction of classless society. Such are the principles which underlie the rights and duties of free citizens of the U.S.S.R., embodied in the Citizenship Act. They emphasize with particular force the sharp contrast between our law and the law of capitalist countries. In capitalist countries, if the working people are granted any formal rights, they are never exercised in practice.

Try and find just one capitalist country where nationalities enjoy identical and full rights of citizenship. In the majority of the colonies of capitalist countries the population has no civic rights whatsoever. All nationalities in the colonies are subject to the most vicious exploitation.

In fascist Germany the rights of the population are regarded from the point of view of racial origin and nationality.

We all know in what onerous and oppressive conditions the Jews have been placed in Germany. You all remember how the German fascists dealt with Professor Einstein regardless of the protests of world public opinion.

Our Citizenship Bill demonstrates the greatness of the national policy of Lenin and Stalin. The Citizenship Bill defines the equal rights of the citizens of the various republics, the equal rights of all citizens of the Soviet Union.

The article concerning single citizenship especially emphasizes the Lenin-Stalin amity of the peoples.

The Soviet Union consists of fraternal national republics, compounded by ties that nothing can break. The sacred rights of citizens inscribed in the Constitution—the right to work, the right to education, the right to rest, and to maintenance in old age—are rights for all citizens of our national republics, all the peoples inhabiting our great Soviet country.

The Union republics have the right to grant naturalization independently. A citizen naturalized by one of the Union republics has identical rights with citizens naturalized by all the other Socialist Union republics. Is this not an achievement for the national republics of our great Soviet Union?

In his report at the Extraordinary Eighth Congress of Soviets Comrade Stalin noted "a radical change in the aspect of the peoples

of the U.S.S.R.; their feeling of mutual distrust has disappeared, a feeling of mutual friendship has developed among them, and thus, real fraternal co-operation between the peoples was established within the system of a single federated state.

"As a result, we now have a fully formed multi-national Socialist state, which has stood all tests, and the stability of which might well be envied by any national state in any part of the world."

Prior to the Great October Revolution the working Kazakhs were the most oppressed people in the whole Russian Empire. They were mere aliens and had no citizenship rights. They were prey to barbarous exploitation at the hands of tsarist officialdom, the *bais*, local kulaks, khans and mullahs. The plight of Kazakh women, who were sold like chattels and bore a lifelong yoke of slavery, was the worst of all.

Only as a result of the victory of the Great October Revolution, in fellowship with the other peoples of our great Soviet Union, were the Kazakh people given the opportunity to build a happy and joyous life.

Comrades, allow me to tell you of the past and present of the Kazakh people in the words of Jambul, the national bard of Kazakhstan.

"What were Kazakhs but slaves in the land,
Crouching in want, in misery damned?
Cruel, vicious and brutal the band
That ruled us all with an iron hand!
Our epoch has hastened time as it wings;
Now life is coursing freely as springs,
And man stands erect, master of things,
In this age of Stalin, who happiness brings!
And my people, reborn to a happier fate,
Sing from their heart of Stalin the great—
As honey fresh from the hive is the taste
Of the words in the song they create."

This is a song of gratitude to our Communist Party and our dear leader and teacher, Comrade Stalin, who have given the Kazakh people freedom. (*Loud applause.*)

The regenerated Kazakh people address sincere words of gratitude and acknowledgement to the great Russian people.

The Russian people are regarded with great admiration for their brotherly assistance to formerly backward and downtrodden peoples. Can any of us forget the workers of Moscow and Petrograd, who shed their blood for Soviet power, for the emancipation of the oppressed nationalities both in the centre of Russia and in our part of the world, the boundless plains of Kazakhstan?

We remember Comrades Frunze, Kuibyshev, Chapayev, Furmanov, true sons of the great Party of Lenin and Stalin, men who did so much to help the working people of Kazakhstan in the trials of the Civil War. It was they who organized the workers and toiling peasants

of Kazakhstan to fight with a will against our people's most dastardly enemies, the bands of Whiteguards and Alash-Orda.

The formerly oppressed peoples, emancipated by Soviet rule, are performing heroic feats on the economic and cultural front, and in the defence of our great country.

The heroism of our splendid airmen, the heroism of the scientist-explorers of the North Pole, the successes achieved in the international musical contests, the industrial achievements of the Stakhanovites, all make the peoples of the Soviet Union justly proud of their great country.

Remarkable people have sprung from the Kazakh people, whose arts are known to the whole U.S.S.R. Who, for instance, has not heard of our national bard, Jambul, who has twice been awarded Orders of distinction? Who has not heard of the Order-winner Kulyash Baisseitova, People's Artist of the U.S.S.R.? Everybody in the Soviet Union knows the best Stakhanovites of Kazakhstan, members of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.—the milkmaid Ongarbayeva, the miner Kuzumbayev, promoted manager of the Karaganda colliery, the car-loader Satpayev of the Turkestan-Siberian Railway, and many other Stakhanovites.

As Deputy Bulganin has justly remarked, Soviet legislation is of progressive import to the whole human race.

The Kazakh Republic, which was a benighted colony in the tsar's day, has now become an independent, prosperous republic enjoying full rights. It has all the rights of a sovereign state and is building a cultured, happy and joyous life with all its heart and soul.

All the oppressed peoples of the capitalist countries are looking hopefully towards the Soviet Union and her progressive laws.

Comrades! The group of deputies to the Supreme Soviet from the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic support the draft of the Citizenship of the U.S.S.R. Act, which prescribes that renunciation of citizenship may be permitted only by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. This is undoubtedly right and proper.

The laws adopted by the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. are designed for the good of the Union republics and their development. This thought has been most brilliantly and profoundly expressed by the poet Jambul in one of his songs:

> "I sing of the great, the Soviet law
> The law under which much joy comes to earth,
> The law under which there will never be dearth,
> The law under which we have burst into song,
> The law under which our youth blossoms long,
> The law under which all nature must serve
> Those who labour with hand and muscle and nerve."

To be a citizen of the Soviet Union is a signal honour and happiness for every thinking man whose interests run counter to exploitation and slavery. Therefore every citizen of the U.S.S.R. must be proud of this title and cherish it.

We support the proposal that deprivation of citizenship rights may be imposed by court in cases where the law so provides and by virtue of a ukase of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. specially issued in each case.

As I have already said, the citizenship law is based on the principles of the Lenin-Stalin national policy. It is a manifestation of real liberty which, as Comrade Stalin said, signifies the abolition of exploitation, the absence of unemployment and poverty, when a man is not in fear and trembling of losing his work, his daily bread, his abode or other necessities on the morrow.

In our country every toiler is guaranteed the right to work, rest and education.

In the Kazakh Republic there are nine health resorts with permanent accommodation for 2,650 people, and there is a large number of rest homes. There are scores of hospitals, with a total of 20,000 beds, as against 1,500 beds in 1913. There is a wide network of intermediate and higher schools. The people are given free medical service.

We are sure that the Citizenship of the U.S.S.R. Act, which we wholeheartedly support, will be a new proof of the further consolidation of the Lenin-Stalin national policy and will make the peoples of the Soviet Union stand even closer together to combat all encroachments of the enemy, from any quarter whatever.

Citizens of the Soviet Union are bound to love their fatherland, to be ever ready for any sacrifice in order to protect and fortify our great country.

In the recent elections to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. and the Supreme Soviet of the Kazakh S.S.R., the Kazakh people proved their unity, solidarity and readiness to fight for the cause of Lenin and Stalin, for their happy life in the mighty family of the peoples of the Soviet Union.

Not for one moment do the Kazakh people forget our great Stalin's warning that the Soviet Union is surrounded by capitalist states, that the capitalist and fascist countries are despatching their agents—diversionists, assassins, spies and wreckers—to our country, and will persist in doing so. Every move of the enemy must be countered with vigilance, determination, and ability to combat and destroy these agents of fascism.

Under the leadership of the Communist Party, with the help of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs, directed by the Stalinite Commissar, N. I. Yezhov, the Kazakh people have destroyed many a gang of nationalists, Trotskyites and Rights.

We shall continue to wipe out and destroy the agents of fascism just as resolutely in the future and rally the whole Kazakh people into even stronger unity for the complete victory of Communism.

The military orgy of the Italian and German fascists in Spain, who are out to drown the heroic Spanish people in a sea of blood,

the military orgy of Japanese fascism in China, attempting to strangle the Chinese people—such are the "achievements" of the fascist barbarians.

The fascists are propagating the "theory" of superior and inferior races, reviving the ethics and psychology of cannibalism, and preparing a new world shambles. Far from concealing them, they are, on the contrary, vociferously and cynically trumpeting their warlike intentions, first and foremost against the happy and joyous life of the peoples of the U.S.S.R.

They are making preparations for the coming clash. Through the agency of the surviving dastardly Trotskyite, Bukharinite and bourgeois-nationalist hirelings, they are trying to put a brake on the victorious progress of Socialist construction in our country.

But world fascism, covetous of our gains, is miscalculating in its intentions.

The Red Army made havoc of the Japanese *samurai* when they tried to attack our frontier.

May it be indelibly impressed on the fascists, never to be forgotten, that the peoples of the Soviet Union stand for peace and champion the cause of peace, but should it be necessary to strike out at the enemies, the instigators of war, all the peoples of our country, together with our glorious Red Army, Red Fleet and Red Air Force, will administer a crushing rebuff to the fascists at any moment.

Under the leadership of the Communist Party of Bolsheviks, under the leadership and command of Kliment Voroshilov, the First Marshal of the Soviet Union, we shall all rise to defend our sacred frontiers. (*Loud applause.*)

Long live the happy citizens of the happy Soviet Union!

Long live the great bond of friendship of the great people, the working people of the Soviet Union!

Long live the great Stalin! (*Loud and prolonged applause.*)

The Chairman: I call upon Deputy Aliyev.

M. I. Aliyev (*Nakhichevan Area, Azerbaidjan S.S.R.*): Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. We have heard Deputy Bulganin introduce the draft of the Citizenship of the U.S.S.R. Act. This draft is striking proof of the grand victories won by the Soviet people under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, under the leadership of the great Stalin.

I entirely support the members of the Supreme Soviet who have spoken from this rostrum proposing that the draft of the Citizenship of the U.S.S.R. Act be adopted.

Comrades, I speak as the representative of the Azerbaidjan people, who before the Great October Revolution were doomed to extinction and destruction. I speak in the name of a country which was one of the most backward and oppressed colonies of tsarist Russia.

Vicious exploitation of the working people, unemployment, oppression, poverty, illiteracy, national fratricidal dissension, were all the result of the bloody policy of the tsarist government in Azerbaidjan,

a result of the nefarious activities of the local bourgeois nationalists, the priesthood, and the like.

The people of Azerbaidjan suffered severely during the short-lived but tyrannous regime of the so-called national Mussavatist government in Azerbaidjan.

The people of Azerbaidjan saw with their own eyes that the Mussavatists were the blood brothers of the tsar's gendarmes. The people of Azerbaidjan knew nothing but misery during the rule of the Mussavatists, under the unbearable tyranny of *bais*, khans and exploiters in general. The women of Azerbaidjan were in the worst plight imaginable. Slaves to their husbands, to the Shariat and the Adat, the women of Azerbaidjan could not even dream of any political or civic rights.

Before the revolution, the working people of Azerbaidjan did not enjoy rights of citizenship. They had to work from dawn till dusk for a handful of exploiters; they had no rights and had to minister dumbly to the caprices of a handful of parasites, exploiters, *bais*, khans, mullahs and other vermin.

The songs, legends and tales wrung from the people in their heaviness of heart are an eloquent expression of ages of oppression and slavery.

In his poem "The Worker," Sabir, the people's satirical poet of Azerbaidjan, shows the contemptuous and supercilious manner in which an exploiter addresses a worker: "Worker, do you think you are a human being too? Or do you think, you dolt, it is easy to be a human being?"

Such was the past status not only of the people of Azerbaidjan, such was the status of all working people in tsarist Russia.

In 1920, under the leadership of the great Party of Lenin and Stalin, with the fraternal aid of the great Russian people, the people of Azerbaidjan threw off the yoke of the landowners and capitalists.

Since then, as an inseparable part of the great Soviet Union, Azerbaidjan has lived a life of creation and fullness.

The aspect of the country has changed in a brief space. The republic's economy, her oil industry, are thriving. Azerbaidjan has become the second cotton supplier of the U.S.S.R. In Azerbaidjan, as in all the republics of our Socialist fatherland, universal literacy is becoming a fact; culture, science, and art are flourishing as never before.

The people of our country achieved all this under the leadership of the Party of Lenin and Stalin, the leadership of the Soviet Government, with the constant daily paternal care, help and attention of our father, teacher—the great leader, inspirer and organizer of all our victories—Comrade Stalin! (*Applause.*)

In Soviet Azerbaidjan, as in every nook and corner of the great, prosperous Socialist country, life—creative, constructive, happy and cultured—is pulsating like a native spring. The right to work has become a fact, like the right to rest, to education, to maintenance in old age—rights emblazened in golden letters in the great Stalin Constitution, the most democratic Constitution in the world.

In Azerbaidjan, as a brilliant result of our Party's Lenin-Stalin

national policy, new, young cadres have come forward—tens and hundreds of thousands of people infinitely devoted to the Party of Lenin and Stalin, who are displaying exemplary methods of Bolshevik work in all fields of our Socialist construction.

This is strikingly confirmed by the fact that the people of Azerbaidjan are represented on the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. by a professor, a Scientist of Merit, an Azerbaidjanian composer, and a People's Artist of the U.S.S.R. The Vice-Chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., a woman, is also a native of Azerbaidjan.

In what other country is such true democracy, such an advance in the dignity and culture of peoples possible? All this is possible only in the great Soviet Union, the country where Socialism has triumphed under the leadership of the Party of Lenin and Stalin. (*Applause.*)

The Stalin Constitution sets forth the indefeasible rights of the Soviet citizen. Only under the leadership of our father and teacher, our beloved and dear Comrade Stalin, could we attain such a happy, joyous, well-to-do and cultured life.

The citizens of our country, the country of victorious Socialism, are the happiest citizens in the world. To be a citizen of our joyous country, to be utterly patriotic, to defend her interests and the integrity of her sacred frontiers is a great honour, a great privilege, because in no other country in the world is a citizen given such unrestricted rights, rights unparalleled in the history of mankind.

The law guarantees citizens of the U.S.S.R. freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of assembly, freedom of street processions and demonstrations, the right to unite in public organizations, inviolability of person and the home. Such things are not and cannot be known in the constitutions of bourgeois countries.

In no other country is there such solicitude for the individual as is displayed by our Government, the great Bolshevik Party and our beloved leader, Comrade Stalin. (*Applause.*)

The peoples of Soviet Azerbaidjan respond to this solicitude for the individual with a feeling of infinite love, infinite devotion to the dear, beloved leader of all working people, the genius of all mankind, Comrade Stalin.

Comrades, our achievements would have been even greater but for the despicable crimes of those enemies of the people—the Trotskyites, Bukharinites, the bourgeois nationalists—those spies, diversionists and assassins. These agents of bloody fascism wanted to despoil us of our happy life and throw the Soviet people back into slavery. But they miscalculated! With the help of the glorious Soviet intelligence service, led by the Stalinite Commissar, Nikolai Ivanovich Yezhov, the Soviet people destroyed the hornets' nests of the enemies. The Soviet people will continue to destroy without mercy all enemies of the people, spies, wreckers, diversionists and assassins.

It is our bounden duty as deputies to do everything to mobilize the citizens of our country for the complete liquidation of the consequences of the wreckers' activities, to root out what despicable enemies of the people still survive.

Comrades, with all the peoples of our country, the people of Azerbaidjan are ready to defend our great Socialist country with life and limb at the first summons of the Bolshevik Party, the Soviet Government and Comrade Stalin, the leader of peoples.

Let the Japanese *samurai*, the German and Italian fascists be advised that the Soviet people are united as never before around the Party of Lenin and Stalin, around our dear, beloved leader, Comrade Stalin. (*Applause.*)

Let the enemy be advised and remember that if he attacks our frontiers he will have to deal with a great power, the Soviet Union, the most formidable, mighty and virile power in the world, with her valiant Workers' and Peasants' Red Army, with her great people, who are ready to strike and destroy any enemy on his own territory.

Let all instigators of war be advised that the borders of our great country are sacred and inviolable. They are guarded by our heroic frontier men and all the citizens of our country. Let them be advised that we have the glorious Workers' and Peasants' Red Army, led by Comrade Voroshilov, First Marshal of the Soviet Union. (*Loud applause.*)

Let them be advised that we are led by the heroic Party of Lenin and Stalin. Let them be advised that we are led by the greatest man of our time, the great strategist and organizer of the victories of Socialism, the leader of peoples, our father and teacher, our dear Stalin. (*Loud applause.*)

The Chairman: Comrades, there are no more speakers on the list. There is a motion to close the debate. Are there any objections?

Voices from the floor: No.

The Chairman: All those in favour of closing the debate, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No. The debate is closed.

There is a motion to adjourn for fifteen minutes before hearing Deputy Bulganin's reply to the debate. Are there any objections?

Voices: No.

The Chairman: Adjournment for 15 minutes.

(*Adjournment*)

The Chairman: The sitting of the Soviet of the Union is resumed. I call upon Deputy Bulganin to reply to the debate. (*Applause.*)

N. A. Bulganin: (*Moscow City Area, R.S.F.S.R.*): Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet. All the speakers have been unanimously in favour of approving the draft. There have been no objections to the Bill from members of the Supreme Soviet. Neither have any amendments to the Bill been proposed by the deputies. There is one amendment to Article 9 only. By virtue of the procedure established during the debate on previous questions and likewise in complete conformity with the Constitution, there is a motion to revoke the

laws dealt with in this article by ukases of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and, accordingly, to strike out Article 9 from the Bill.

As I have already said, there have been no other amendments. Inasmuch as the Act has been received with unanimous approval both in the Soviet of Nationalities and in the Soviet of the Union by all the speakers, I presume that the Bill will be adopted by the Soviet of the Union and will serve as a new contribution to the cause of making our Socialist country stronger. (*Loud and prolonged applause.*)

The Chairman: Are there any more amendments or addenda to the articles of the Citizenship of the U.S.S.R. Bill? There are none. I shall put Deputy Bulganin's motion of deleting Article 9 from the Bill to the vote. All those in favour please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Article 9 is deleted from the Bill by unanimous vote.

Now I shall put the Citizenship of the U.S.S.R. Bill to the vote as a whole. All those in favour of passing this bill, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Accordingly, the Citizenship of the U.S.S.R. Bill is passed unanimously by the Soviet of the Union. (*Loud and prolonged applause.*)

I shall now call upon Comrade Rychkov, People's Commissar of Justice of the U.S.S.R., to inform the Soviet of the Union what amendments to the Act Concerning the Judicial System of the U.S.S.R., and of the Union and Autonomous Republics have been adopted by the Soviet of Nationalities.

N. M. Rychkov: Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet. On August 16, the Act Concerning the Judicial System of the U.S.S.R., and of the Union and Autonomous Republics was adopted unanimously by the Soviet of Nationalities. The Soviet of Nationalities introduced a number of changes and amended formulations, coinciding with the changes and amendments which the Soviet of the Union adopted in the Bill introduced by the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R.

However, the Soviet of Nationalities adopted certain articles of the Act in a formulation somewhat different from the formulation of these articles as adopted by the Soviet of the Union.

Thus, clause "a" of Article 21 in the formulation adopted by the Soviet of the Union puts criminal cases of "violations of the electoral and other rights of citizens guaranteed by the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. or the Constitutions of the Union and autonomous republics" under the jurisdiction of the People's Courts.

The Soviet of Nationalities adopted clause "a" of Article 21 as formulated by the Council of People's Commissars. Divers cases of breaches of electoral and other rights of citizens are to be tried, according to the specific circumstances, either as offences committed in the discharge of official duties, or as crimes of a counter-revolutionary character, if the violations of the electoral rights and other rights of citizens be committed for counter-revolutionary purposes.

Cases of violations of the rights of citizens may be subject to trial either by criminal or by civil procedure.

Therefore the Soviet of Nationalities found that clause "a" of Article 21 as formulated by the Council of People's Commissars gives a more precise and accurate definition of the jurisdiction of the People's Courts. In clause "b" of Article 2, which speaks of the general tasks of the courts, it is clearly stated that "it is the task of justice in the U.S.S.R. to protect from any and every encroachment . . . the political, labour, dwelling and other personal and property rights and interests of citizens of the U.S.S.R. guaranteed by the Constitution of the U.S.S.R., and the Constitutions of the Union and the autonomous republics."

The Soviet of the Union adopted the Council of People's Commissars' formulation of clause "d" of Article 28, where it is stated that a people's judge "gives orders to summon the accused, the witnesses and the expert witnesses."

The Soviet of Nationalities adopted clause "d" of Article 28 in a different formulation, supplementing it with the words "and notifies the plaintiffs and defendants of the times when their cases will be heard."

This amendment to clause "d" of Article 28, adopted by the Soviet of Nationalities, makes explicit the rights and duties of people's judges in the trial of civil cases.

The Soviet of Nationalities adopted analogous amendments in the case of Articles 36, 43 and 51, which deal with the rights and duties of the Presidents of territorial, regional and area courts and the courts of the autonomous regions, and of the Presidents of the Supreme Courts of the Union republics and autonomous republics.

Article 36, as adopted by the Soviet of Nationalities, is formulated as follows:

"*Article 36.* The President of a territorial, regional or area court, or of the court of an autonomous region, presides at the sittings of the court or appoints a member of the territorial, regional or area court or of the court of the autonomous region to preside at the sittings of the court; he sets down the cases for a hearing, gives orders to summon the accused, the witnesses and the expert witnesses to court and notifies the plaintiffs and defendants of the times when their cases will be heard."

The Soviet of Nationalities adopted Article 43 in the following formulation:

"*Article 43.* The President of the Supreme Court of an autonomous republic presides at the sittings of the court or appoints a member of the Supreme Court of the autonomous republic to preside at the sittings of the court; he sets down the cases for a hearing, gives orders to summon the accused, the witnesses and the expert witnesses to court and notifies the plaintiffs and defendants of the times when their cases will be heard."

The Soviet of Nationalities adopted Article 51 in the following formulation:

"*Article 51.* The President of the Supreme Court of a Union republic

presides at the sittings of the court or appoints a member of the Supreme Court of the Union republic to preside at the sittings of the court; he sets down the cases for a hearing, gives orders to summon the accused, the witnesses and the expert witnesses to court and notifies the plaintiffs and defendants of the times when their cases will be heard.''

Considering that the formulation of these articles—clause ''a'' of Article 21, clause ''d'' of Article 28, and Articles 36, 43 and 51—gives a more precise and distinct definition of the tasks of the courts, I move on behalf of the Government that clause ''a'' of Article 21, clause ''d'' of Article 28, and Articles 36, 43 and 51 of the Act Concerning the Judicial System of the U.S.S.R., the Union Republics and the Autonomous Republics be ratified in the formulation adopted by the Soviet of Nationalities.

The Chairman: Does any deputy wish to speak on Comrade Rychkov's motion?

Voices: Adopt the motion.

The Chairman: I shall put it to a vote. All those in favour of the motion proposed by Comrade Rychkov please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

I now call upon Deputy Malyshev, who has a motion on the procedure for the debate on the draft of the Act Concerning the Procedure for Ratifying and Denouncing International Treaties and for the debate on the draft of the State Horse Tax on Individual Peasant Farms Act.

V. A. Malyshev: (*Kolomna Area, Moscow Region*): Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet, I move that the fifth item on the agenda of the Session—the draft of the Act on the Procedure for Ratifying and Denouncing International Treaties—be heard and debated at a joint sitting of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities. I also move that the report on the sixth item on the agenda of the Session—the draft of the State Horse Tax on Individual Peasant Farms Act—be heard at a joint sitting of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities.

The Chairman: Does anybody wish to speak on this motion? No.

I shall put it to the vote. All those in favour of Deputy Malyshev's motion please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

V. A. Malyshev: I move that the joint sitting of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities be held on August 20 at 1 p. m.

The Chairman: Are there any objections? No. All those in favour of holding the joint sitting of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities tomorrow at 1 p. m. please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

The joint sitting of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities will be held tomorrow at 1 p. m.

The sitting of the Soviet of the Union will take place on August 21, at 11 a. m. This closes the seventh sitting.

EIGHTH SITTING

August 21, 1938

A. A. Andreyev, Chairman of the Soviet of the Union, and T. D. Lysenko, Vice-Chairman of the Soviet of the Union, take their seats on the dais and the members of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. and the leaders of the Party and the Government enter the boxes. They are greeted with loud and prolonged applause. All rise.

A. A. Andreyev (*in the chair.*): I hereby open the sitting of the Soviet of the Union. We shall proceed to the debate on the bill on the State Horse Tax on Individual Peasant Farms.

I call upon Deputy Melnikov.

R. E. Melnikov (*Smolensk Rural Area, Smolensk Region*): Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet. I move that the Bill on the State Horse Tax on Individual Farms introduced by the Legislative Bills Commission of the Soviet of the Union be passed *in toto*.

This Bill is an expression of the Stalin policy of our Bolshevik Party and Government in the countryside, which is directed towards strengthening the collective farms in all ways, towards their further development and the transformation of all collective farms into Bolshevik collective farms and all collective farmers into prosperous farmers.

The Bolshevik Party, under the leadership of Comrade Stalin, has achieved historic victories in the bitter struggle against the most malicious enemies of the people. Agriculture has been reconstructed along Socialist lines on the basis of collective and state farms, on the basis of the introduction of modern machine technique into the process of agricultural production. Our Party, under the leadership of the great genius of toiling humanity, Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin, has solved the most difficult and complex problem of the Socialist revolution in our country.

The collective farm system in the countryside has conquered finally and irrevocably. The collective farm peasantry is a loyal, steadfast support of the Soviet power. The collective farms have inexhaustible opportunities for further increasing the harvest yields and carrying out Stalin's slogan of producing 7,000,000,000-8,000,000,000 poods of grain annually.

In his report at the Extraordinary Eighth All-Union Congress of Sov-

iets, Comrade Stalin characterized our Soviet peasantry with exceptional vividness. He said:

"Our Soviet peasantry is an entirely new peasantry. In our country there are no longer any landlords and kulaks, merchants and usurers to exploit the peasants. Consequently, our peasantry is a peasantry emancipated from exploitation. Further, Our Soviet peasantry, the overwhelming majority, is a collective farm peasantry, *i. e.*, it bases its work and wealth, not on individual labour and on backward technical equipment but on collective labour and up-to-date technical equipment. Finally, the farming of our peasantry is based, not on private property, but on collective property, which has grown up on the basis of collective labour.

"As you see, the Soviet peasantry is an entirely new peasantry, the like of which the history of mankind has never known before."

Comrades, the broad masses of the collective farm peasantry fully understand that their prosperous, cultured and happy life is inseparably linked up with the growth and consolidation of the national economy and the defensive power of the great Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Therefore the peasant collective farmers manifest a high political level in their comprehension of state tasks. Therefore, the collective farm peasantry considers honest Bolshevik fulfilment of all its obligations to the Soviet state its prime duty.

I should like to dwell on a few facts characterizing the tremendous changes which have taken place in agriculture in the Smolensk Region during the years of the Stalin Five-Year Plan periods. Before the revolution the overwhelming majority of the peasants in the old Smolensk Province owned but insignificantly small plots of land and eked out a miserable existence. Under pressure of landlord and kulak bondage the peasants abandoned the villages in search of remunerative work. Now 94.5 per cent of the peasant households in our region have united in collective farms and are therein building a happy, joyous and prosperous life.

Thanks to the solicitude of the Bolshevik Party, the Soviet Government and our great Stalin personally, the collective farm peasantry of our Region has at its disposal modern agricultural technique. A total of 85 machine and tractor stations, 4,500 tractors, over 600 harvester combines, 1,750 flax pullers, complex threshing machines, tractor sowers and other agricultural machines are operating on the collective farm fields of the Smolensk Region.

Modern agricultural technique has brought about fundamental changes in peasant labour, made it lighter and ensured a rapid expansion of the sown area, primarily of the area sown to the most important industrial crop in our region—flax. These successes forcefully demonstrate the brilliant results of the Stalin policy of collectivization of agriculture, achieved on the basis of the development and consolidation of the collective farm system.

The enemies of the people—the Right and Trotskyite traitors to their fatherland—having wormed their way into the leadership of what was formerly the Western Region, tried with all their might to retard the growth of the collective farms, used wrecking methods to disrupt collective farm economy, created conditions that were more favourable for the individual peasants than for the collective farmers. As a result of this hostile work the percentage of collectivization of peasant households in the region remained on one and the same level for a long time.

On January 1, 1938, there were 29,000 individual farms in the region, or 6.4 per cent of the total number of farms. Of these individual farms, 11,394 owned horses, and many of the individual peasants used these horses not for agricultural work on their farms but for purposes of speculation and profiteering.

There were many cases in our region where as a result of the subversive activities of wreckers, as a result of the fact that local Soviet organs in the region violated the decisions of the Party and the Government concerning non-collective farm peasants, the individual peasants were either not taxed at all or were taxed less than was due, not all the sources of income being estimated.

For instance, in the Andreyevsky district of the Smolensk Region, the individual peasant Peter Belmachev owned two draught horses, large cattle and a large number of small livestock. All this property was incorrectly taxed. The amount of the tax was obviously underestimated, and even this reduced tax was systematically left unpaid.

For a number of years the local finance organs did not apply the measures required by law to compel this individual farm to carry out its obligations.

In the village of Vertensk in the Duminich district, an individual peasant woman by the name of Senyushkina, who owned two horses, regularly used them not for her own agricultural work but for purposes of profiteering, engaging in carting and stocking bark. It is characteristic that in estimating the tax on Senyushkina's farm, the local organs took no account of this main source of income.

The wrecking practice whereby the local Soviet organs tolerated cases of undertaxation with regard to individual farms had a harmful effect on the economic growth and consolidation of the collective farms and gave rise to unhealthy sentiments among some collective farmers.

Thanks to the exceptional sagacity of our great leader, Comrade Stalin, the glorious Soviet Intelligence service, headed by the Stalinite Commissar, N. I. Yezhov, exposed and destroyed the hornets' nests of the Right and Trotskyite hirelings of fascism.

The Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.(B.) and the Government rendered the Smolensk Region tremendous assistance, ensuring the successful elimination of the consequences of the wrecking activities in agriculture.

The decisions of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. and the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.(B.) adopted on April 19, 1938—"On the Prohibition of the Expulsion of Collective Farmers from Collective Farms." "On the Incorrect Distribution of Incomes in Collective Farms" and "On Taxes and Other Duties on Individual Peasant Farms"—played a big role in strengthening the collective farms and in rapidly eliminating the consequences of wrecking activities in agriculture.

These decisions vividly reflect the Stalinite solicitude for the collective farms and collective farmers.

In our Smolensk Region 7,446 peasant farms entered collective farms during the first half of 1938.

It is our most important task to liquidate in a Bolshevik manner the consequences of wrecking activities in the agriculture of the region.

The Bill on the State Horse Tax on Individual Peasant Farms, which is up for adoption by the Session of the Supreme Soviet, meets the desires of the broad masses of collective farmers. This law will be a powerful weapon with which to suppress the profiteering carried on by the non-collective farm peasants. It will facilitate the still greater consolidation and development of Socialist agriculture, the further growth of a prosperous, cultured and happy life for the collective farm peasantry.

Comrades, we are all certain that our great Socialist fatherland will achieve wonderful new successes in all fields of Socialist construction in town and country. A guarantee of this is the fact that we are guided by the glorious Bolshevik Party, that we are being led from victory to victory by the great leader of toiling humanity, a man of the most profound wisdom and steel will—our own great Stalin. (*Applause.*)

The Chairman. I call upon Deputy Saberov.

M. S. Saberov (*Sergach Area, Gorky Region*): Comrades members of the Supreme Soviet. As the chairman of a collective farm, I fully acclaim and support the Bill on the State Horse Tax on Individual Farms presented for adoption to the Session of the Supreme Soviet, and I shall state my reasons for this further on.

Comrades, in our country, under the leadership of the Party of Lenin and Stalin, Socialism has proved victorious. In the twenty years that have elapsed, our Soviet people has done wonders which set the whole world marvelling. What else can we call all our achievements but wonders? Out of the illiterate, uncultured, ignorant and needy people that the peasants were in tsarist Russia they have turned into really literate, prosperous and cultured collective farmers, possessing an up-to-date technique.

Comrades, we know that in these twenty years we have built hundreds and thousands of plants and factories; we have built up completely new giant cities. We know that in our Gorky Region the giant Molotov Automobile Plant has been constructed on a former swamp site. We have built up Dzerzhinsk, we have built up Balakhna, not to speak of the wonderful bridges we have erected during this time. Just take a look here in Moscow at the Metropolitan Railway, at the Moscow-Volga Canal, at our wonderful bridges. No capitalist country can do all this in fifty or a hundred years, and we have done it in twenty!

Comrades, we were the first in the world to explore the North Pole, and our heroic flyers Chkalov, Baidukov and Belyakov have accomplished feats the like of which mankind has never seen before. (*Applause.*)

We were the first to spend a winter camping on icefloes—that was Comrade Papanin and his crew. We fly swifter, higher and faster than all others—Comrade Kokkinaki has shown us this.

During these years Stakhanov, Smetanin, Busygin, Demchenko and hundreds of thousands of other Stakhanovites have come forth in our country—people such as cannot come forth in other countries, where the workers do not work for themselves. In any case Stakhanovite heroes can only come forth where the workers work for themselves, where there is no exploitation of man by man, where people lead cultured and prosperous lives, making use of the most advanced technical means.

Comrades, in the field of agriculture also we have shown no few wonders. Just think—from a country of backward, scattered, poverty-stricken and small-plot peasant economy we have become a country of collectivized agriculture. Ninety-three per cent of the farms throughout the Soviet Union are now collectivized, and 92 per cent of the farms in our Gorky Region.

We collective farmers have now understood that there is one road leading towards a cultured, prosperous and happy life—that is the collective farms. We have not only established collective farms, but have equipped them with modern technique. The collective farms now have complex machinery such as the peasants had not even heard of until the present time. Take even our Sergach district for comparison. What did we have twenty years ago, and what do we have now? True, for the Soviet Union this is not a big scale, but if this district be compared with all the other districts of our Soviet Union, you will get one whole.

In pre-revolutionary times our Sergach district had only wooden ploughs, there being only ten iron ploughs, belonging to a few households, in the whole district. And you must bear in mind that even these were called Berlin ploughs, which means that we did not even have our own iron ploughs. Now look at what our Sergach district has today: two machine and tractor stations, about a hundred tractors, dozens of harvester combines, dozens of complex threshing machines, not to mention reapers and other machines.

Such are the changes that have taken place in the Sergach district!

Comrades, such achievements are possible only where the working people themselves rule the country, where the Communist Party leads, where men like Comrade Stalin—who embodies the heart and soul of the people—are the leaders. (*Applause.*)

Comrades, I should like to bring out as an example the old Tatar village, oppressed by the local kulaks and by tsarism. Our collective farm, of which I am now the chairman, is a good collective farm. Before the revolution our village had four mosques and eight mullahs. That was all our "wealth." There was not a single teacher. The village consisted of 700 houses, but only twelve people could write their addresses (*laughter*), let alone really read and write. (*Laughter.*)

Now we have universal education. Last year we counted up that there were still ninety illiterates, but this year we shall teach them to read and write. (*Applause.*)

Now I must briefly relate what we have at present. A two-story brick schoolhouse, a seven-grade intermediate school, has been built in our

village. We have 22 teachers of our own, "purely" our own. (*Laughter and applause.*)

Until 1917 tsarist Russia did not give a single kopeck for school construction, for our education, whereas now the Budget of our village Soviet includes 120,000 rubles for this purpose.

Comrades, I tried to figure out what per cent this comes to, but I couldn't. Figure it out for yourselves. (*Laughter.*) There was absolutely nothing, and now there are 120,000 rubles. (*Loud applause.*)

Comrades, we have not only organized a collective farm but have equipped it with machinery. We have taught our land to bear fruit in collective farm style. Here is an example. Before the revolution our village raised a harvest of 6-7 centners. We consider this year an unfortunate one—a drought year—but we are nevertheless expecting a harvest of 15-16 centners. (*Laughter and applause.*) This in a drought year! That is why I say that our land has begun to bear fruit in collective farm style. From some fields we have already learned to obtain a yield of up to 56 centners of barley. This is what our land has begun to yield!

What else do we have in the collective farm? Besides the cows owned personally by the collective farmers, we have a dairy with 210 cows, and 300 horses. Formerly Tatars were categorically forbidden to eat pork, but now we have our own hog farm. (*Laughter and applause.*)

We have now realized that eating pork is not such a great sin. Not only do we no longer throw out pork, but we know that pork and potatoes make a dish that is not at all bad. (*Applause.*)

On the example of our collective farm—I have already told you how we lived before and how we live now—it is clear to view what gains the Soviet people have won, gains inscribed in the Stalin Constitution. Take such important articles in the latter as the right to work, the right to education, the right to rest and the right to maintenance for the aged.

The right to work. The collective farm offers boundless opportunities to work. Take, for instance, the woman Stakhanovite Islyamova, who earned the equivalent of 35 workdays in a single day. The earnings per workday amount to not less than ten rubles in our collective farm; that means that Islyamova earned 350 rubles in a day.

That is how our collective farmers live, that is how they work. (*Loud applause.*)

The right to education. I have already reported to you about this, need I say more?

As concerns the right to rest, there are some things worth mentioning. A collective farm rest home for the use of our collective farmers has been built in our collective farm. This rest home accommodates 150 collective farmers in a summer; here they rest and improve their health.

Material assistance for the aged. I attended the Extraordinary Eighth All-Union Congress of Soviets and heard the report of our great Comrade Stalin. He spoke about assistance for the aged. True, even before this we rendered assistance to the aged. But while travelling home from the congress I thought about what ought to be done. When I returned, I called a general meeting at which we resolved to found a home for the aged. We

bought beds and linen, and established a home for the aged. Now our old people are living in a splendid house, are well looked after and want to live still longer. There is one old woman, 105 years old, who wants to live another fifty years. (*Applause.*)

Comrades, the collective farmers are living well and prosperously. True, it must be stated that they want to live still better, to be still better off. And they want to live better and be better off because they know that the power is their own, the government is their own, the Party is their party, Comrade Stalin is their Stalin, and the collective farmers want to live still better, and we will secure them a still better life.

Comrades, the enemies wanted to hinder us in achieving this happy, joyous, cultured life, and they have hampered us quite a bit. Had it not been for the interference of the enemies, life would be still better.

True, they hampered us a great deal, but our people, under the leadership of the Party, with the interference of the organs of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs, the defender of right, Comrade Yezhov, hampered them a great deal also, are still hampering and will continue to hamper them. We shall pull up all enemy roots, so that they do not disturb our prosperous, happy life. (*Applause.*)

The enemies wanted to turn us back to the old, they wanted to take away our prosperous life from us. Couldn't they understand that we cannot give up our happy life? We did not give it up in the years when we were hungry—I have in mind the year 1917. At that time they could not take life away from us! And now the collective farmers, from little to big, will not give up their happy life. Let not the internal and external enemies think to take away this happy life from us. The collective farmers know that life is good, that life is joyous only in the collective farm. And the collective farmers want to live well. And since they want to live well, no one will be able to take from the collective farmers their good life, for their hand is of iron.

We are living, as Comrade Stalin says, in a capitalist encirclement.

They, especially the the fascists, especially Japan, want to get us into a war. I think that it is sufficiently clear to every one of us that we do not want war, that we have no need of it. What should we want war for? As it is our country is big, we have enough of everything. If we lack expanse, if we need wealth—we do not want someone else's; we will go to the depths—I have in mind those depths of which I have spoken: instead of seven centners we have learned to obtain twenty to thirty centners. What do we need someone else's for?

If we are drawn into a war—let them make no mistake; that will not be fighting old, tsarist Russia, that will not be fighting downtrodden soldiers, that will not be dealing with the old generals—they will have to deal with the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army, they will have to deal with People's Commissar Comrade Voroshilov (*applause*), they will have to deal with the people, at whose head stands Comrade Stalin. (*Applause.*)

Yes, comrades, we will not yield an inch of land to anyone and do not intend to yield. Let no one even think of it! But if the enemies should

want to get a taste of anything of ours, we will give them stones and leaden bullets in exchange. We will say to the Japanese workers and peasants—our friends: You turn about, we will shoot at the fascists, you turn your arms against them, we will make the world-wide revolution and establish Communism throughout the world. That is how we will fight! We have no need of foreign land. But we will beat the enemies on their own territory. No one can conquer us.

No one can say that in twenty years the policy of Stalin, the policy of our Party, has not been victorious. We were victorious in the revolution, we were victorious in the civil war, we fulfilled the Five-Year Plans, we conquered the North Pole. Wherein have we not been victorious? Let the fascists understand that in the event of war victory will be ours. Long live our Party, long live our great Marshal, Comrade Voroshilov, our Soviet Government and Comrade Molotov, who heads the Government, and the heart of the people, the beloved and best collective farmer, our father—Comrade Stalin. (*Applause.*)

The Chairman. I call upon Deputy Tronin.

A. V. Tronin (*Mozhga Area, Udmurt A.S.S.R.*): Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet. I support the motion made here by the preceding deputies to pass the law on the State Horse Tax on Individual Peasant Farms, as formulated by the Legislative Bills Commission of the Soviet of the Union and presented to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. for consideration and adoption. This law, which I believe will be passed unanimously by the Supreme Soviet, will meet with full approval among the great masses of workers, collective farm peasants, and all the working people of our country, as a law in full conformity with the general policy of our Party, the policy of the Soviet power.

This law will be approved by the broad masses of working people of our country as a law drawn up on the basis of our great Stalin Constitution, as a law calling for further successes in the field of Socialist agriculture in our country. This law will serve as an appeal for the further organizational and political consolidation of the collective farms.

In his report at the Seventeenth Party Congress on the work of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.(B), Comrade Stalin said:

"The appearance of our villages has changed even more. The old village, with its church in the most prominent place in the village, with the best houses for the policeman, the priest and the kulaks in the foreground and with the semi-dilapidated huts of the peasants in the background, is beginning to disappear. Its place is being taken by the new village with its public buildings, its club, radio, cinema, school, library, nursery, with its tractors, harvester combines, threshing machines and automobiles. The old prominent personages of the village—the kulak exploiter, the blood-sucking usurer, the profiteering merchant, the father policeman, have disappeared. Now, the prominent personages of the village are the leading workers in the collective farms and state farms, in the schools and clubs, the head tractor and combine drivers, the brigade-leaders in the fields and in the stock-raising farms, the best shock brigade workers on the collective farm fields.

"The antithesis between town and country is disappearing. The peasants are ceasing to regard the town as the centre of their exploitation. The ties of the economic and cultural bond between town and country are becoming stronger. The village now receives assistance from the town and its industry in the shape of tractors, agricultural machinery, automobiles, forces and funds. And even the village itself now has its own industry in the shape of the machine and tractor stations, repair shops, all sorts of collective farm industrial undertakings, small electric power stations, etc. The cultural gulf between town and country is being bridged."

This is what Comrade Stalin said four and a half years ago. During this period great new improvements have taken place in the country in all spheres of life—political, economic and cultural.

It suffices to point out that during this period there arose from among the masses of workers the Stakhanov movement, a mass movement coming from below and spreading not only among the many millions of workers, but also among the collective farm peasantry.

With what joy do we today note the fact that the ranks of the Stakhanovites in agriculture are swelling from day to day, that from day to day ever larger masses of collective farm peasantry are joining in the active political and production life of our country!

It must be stated that the elections to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. and to the Supreme Soviets of the Union and autonomous republics once again strikingly demonstrated the moral and political unity of the Soviet people, the indestructible friendship of the peoples, their devotion to the cause of the Party of Lenin and Stalin.

Again and again at these elections millions of peasants demonstrated their unity, their love and devotion to the cause of the working class, to our fatherland.

In our country the peasantry is irrevocably following the path of Lenin and Stalin. The victory of the collective farm system showed the former farm hand, the former poor and middle peasant—the present-day collective farmer—material benefits that can actually be felt, showed in practice the road towards genuine cultural growth, the road to participation in the most active political life.

In his report on the twentieth anniversary of the October Revolution, Comrade Molotov said:

"In pre-revolutionary Russia the majority of the peasantry consisted of the hungry poor peasants. Only ten years ago we estimated that not less than one-third of the countryside consisted of poor peasants. Now we no longer have poor peasants in the countryside. The poor peasants, together with all the working people in the countryside, are building a new, really prosperous and really cultured life in the collective farms."

Our collective farms in all parts of our great Socialist fatherland are expanding and growing stronger organizationally and economically with every year. The ranks of millionaire collective farms in our country are constantly increasing. These are the best practical agitators for convinc-

ing that small section of the peasantry which is still outside the collective farms to join them.

In a few words I shall demonstrate our successes by examples from the history of the Udmurt people, to whom I belong.

The Udmurts—"aliens" who were little known to anyone in the past and who were gripped as in a vice by the colonizing policy of the tsarist government and the local bourgeoisie—were slowly dying out. But now, as a result of the victories of the Great October Socialist Revolution, Udmurtia is a flourishing autonomous Soviet Socialist republic. On an area but little known even geographically, a republic having large industrial centres has arisen. I think that our motorcycles, our shot-guns, our excavators and one or two still more complex items are not unknown in the U.S.S.R. All this is being made by the workers, including new cadres of Udmurt workers raised by the Party and the Soviet power, people talented and capable, despite the assertions of the tsarist satraps in the past that the Udmurt people were incapable of anything.

I can also report that in our republic we have a pedagogical, a medical and an industrial institute, and dozens of intermediate schools.

What a pleasure it is now to see the new Udmurt intelligentsia from the ranks of the workers and peasants, a Bolshevik-trained intelligentsia, created through the solicitude of our mighty Communist, Bolshevik Party, headed by Comrade Stalin!

What a pleasure to see how these people, raised by our Party and the Soviet power, connected with the masses of workers and collective farm peasantry by bonds of love, are helping our collective farms in every way to achieve still greater successes!

On the collective farm fields of the Udmurt Republic, as well as in every other part of our great fatherland, the sound of thousands of tractors, hundreds of harvester combines and other complex agricultural machines can be heard.

With each new year the workday of a collective farmer carries more weight and becomes more valuable, while his work becomes easier.

We have quite a number of famous people—Order-bearers—among our collective farm peasantry, including Comrades Elena Vasilyevna Vasilyeva and Evdokia Fedorovna Budina, deputies to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

What a pleasure it is for us, in recalling the past condition of the Udmurt people, deprived of all rights, to see our young people—boys and girls—operating complex machines, harvester combines, tractors, and so on!

So, you see, we have the people and the means with which to make stronger, elevate and give all-round development to our collective and state farms.

For all our successes we are obliged to the great Bolshevik Party, the Government of the Soviet Union, the Government of the R.S.F.S.R. On behalf of the Udmurt people I should like, from the tribune of our Soviet parliament, to thank our great Stalin with all my heart and soul. (*Loud applause.*)

Our Udmurt collective farm village has changed beyond recognition, comrades. Radio masts and silos tower above it, clubs, reading rooms and Red Corners are increasing in number. Buildings for collective use, stables and cattle barns, are being built. The countryside is assuming an increasingly cultured aspect, culture is permeating the life of the collective farmers.

Every year our collective farmers fulfil and overfulfil the sowing plans and punctually fulfil state obligations. The feeling of consciousness and responsibility in respect to the fulfilment of state and social obligations are growing ever greater among our collective farmers. This, of course, cannot be said of many, many individual farms.

In our republic 97 per cent of the farms are collectivized; the remaining 3 per cent are not in collective farms and it must be said that many of the individual peasants do not fulfil their sowing plans, do not fulfil their obligations to the state, do not fulfil their social obligations. Very many of the horses owned by individual peasants are not used for agricultural work on their farms, but for work directed towards bringing in easy profits, for speculation—transporting passengers and goods at rates several times exceeding those set by the Government. Under such conditions it is clear that very often the individual peasant has the advantage over the collective farmer.

This situation has arisen owing to the toleration of local officials. First, we do not conduct sufficient mass political work among the individual peasants. We do not inculcate in them, daily, the feeling of responsibility in respect to the fulfilment of state and other obligations.

Our judicial organs, wherever the necessity arises, must be more operative, must react more quickly to cases where individual peasants wilfully do not fulfil their obligations to the state.

The law concerning the State Horse Tax on Individual Peasant Farms, which has been put before us to pass on, is a law of exceptional political importance. We deputies to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. must be active in putting this law into effect.

Comrades, you know what a mighty new wave of activity caught up the millions of working people during the period of the elections to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. and the Supreme Soviets of the Union and autonomous republics. You know how actively the masses subscribed to the Third Five-Year Plan Loan (first year issue). We also know what a mighty wave of indignation surged over the whole of our great land against the provocatory sallies of the Japanese militarists.

All this points to the unity and might of the Soviet people, led by our glorious Communist, Bolshevik Party, headed by the inspired continuer of the cause of Lenin—our great Stalin. (*Prolonged applause.*)

The Chairman: I call upon Deputy Yezhov.

A. S. Yezhov (*Budyonny Area, Ordjonikidze Territory*): Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet, I fully support the motion to pass the Bill on the State Horse Tax on Individual Peasant Farms.

In discussing this Bill, introduced by the Legislative Bills Commission of the Soviet of the Union, it is necessary to consider the facts of

the enormous Socialist reconstruction of agriculture. During the two Stalin Five-Year Plan periods our agriculture, which in the past was petty and scattered, has become Socialist agriculture, the largest-scale and most advanced agriculture in the world. Our agriculture is based on the steadfast Stalin law—the statutes of the agricultural artel.

The collective farm system has been finally and irrevocably victorious. The successes of the collective farm system are tremendous.

As Deputy Ugarov said here, 93 per cent of the peasant households are united in collective farms. A total of 99 per cent of the sown area of the farms in our country belongs to the collective farms. These figures are vivid proof of the fact that our country has become a country of Socialist agriculture, a country of the largest-scale agriculture in the world.

Hundreds of thousands of tractors, harvester combines, automobiles and other agricultural machines are working in our fields. New people, people of Stakhanovite labour, are arising in the collective farms. Labour in agriculture, as in all branches of Socialist construction, has become a matter of honour, valour and heroism.

Life in the collective farms is getting better every day. The collective farmers are leading prosperous, cultured and happy lives.

Comrades, these successes have been achieved primarily on the basis of the undeviating fulfilment of the general line of our Bolshevik Party. The peoples of our Socialist fatherland know that they have achieved these successes under the leadership of the Party of Lenin and Stalin. The multi-national people of our splendid fatherland know that for the successes achieved they are obliged to the leader, friend and teacher of all working people, to our own Stalin. (*Loud and prolonged applause.*)

Comrades, the Bill on the State Horse Tax on Individual Peasant Farms presented to the Session of the Supreme Soviet for consideration is a document of great political importance. In our country only 7 per cent of the peasantry are on individual farms. But even this insignificant proportion of individual peasants demands serious attention. We cannot allow part of the working people—the individual peasants—to disregard Soviet laws. The individual peasants, just as the collective farmers, must fulfil their state and social obligations. Frequently local Soviet organs show very little interest in how the individual peasants fulfil their obligations to the state. This is borne out by the fact that some individual farms, especially those which have horses but use them for purposes of profiteering, do not fulfil their obligations.

The collective farmers are justified in turning their attention to the necessity of stopping profiteering on the part of the individual farms which own horses.

The Bill presented for consideration to the Second Session of the Supreme Soviet fully and completely satisfies the demands of the many millions of the collective farm masses that the utilization of horses by individual farms for purposes of speculation and profiteering be stopped. We cannot permit individual farms to find themselves in more favourable conditions than the collective farmers.

At the plenum of the Leningrad Regional and City Committees of the C.P.S.U. (B) on October 10, 1934, the unforgettable Sergei Mironovich Kirov said:

"If we want to complete the collectivization of our region, we must, first, actually ensure the advantage of the collective farmers over the individual peasants, and, second, compel the individual peasants to fulfil their state and social obligations as they should be fulfilled."

The facts are that some individual farms which own horses do not fulfil their state and social obligations from year to year. Thus, for instance, in the Novoselitsk District, Orjonikidze Territory, where I work as secretary of the District Committee of the Party, there are 625 individual farms. The majority of them own horses but from year to year fulfil neither their plans of agricultural work nor all their obligations to the state.

The enemies of the people who operated in the territory encouraged and cultivated this anti-state practice. Individual farms took absolutely no part in the repair work of our hospitals, schools, reading rooms and clubs, or in road construction, but they enjoyed the results of the work of the collective farmers. I am not opposed to the individual peasants using the hospitals, schools and roads built with the help of the collective farmers. They should enjoy all the benefits created in our country. But I am opposed to the practice of rotten liberalism on the part of some local officials in respect to those individual peasants who do not fulfil their social and state obligations. The individual peasants must be compelled to fulfil their social and state obligations in earnest; liberalism towards those who violate Soviet laws must not be tolerated. The local officials must see to it that our Soviet laws are strictly observed.

I am confident that the Bill on the State Horse Tax on Individual Peasant Farms now being discussed by the Session will be adopted unanimously by the deputies and will also be unanimously acclaimed by the broad collective farm masses, for this law accords with the tasks of the further consolidation of the might and wealth of our flourishing fatherland.

Comrades, it is absolutely correct and opportune to raise the question of individual peasants at the Second Session of the Supreme Soviet. Violation of state discipline by some individual farms can no longer be tolerated. The utilization of horses for profiteering purposes cannot be permitted. Things should be so organized that the individual peasants will respect and conscientiously fulfil state and social obligations.

The Bill on the State Horse Tax on Individual Peasant Farms reflects the interests of our great Soviet people.

We are confidently marching forward to new victories, to the victories of Communism, thanks to the fact that we are led by the great Party of Lenin and Stalin, headed by our great leader and teacher, our own Stalin. (*Applause.*)

The Chairman: I call upon Deputy Lelina.

N. S. Lelina (*Osipovichi Area, B.S.S.R.*): Comrades, members

of the Supreme Soviet. Yesterday Deputy Ugarov reported to us on the Bill on the State Horse Tax on Individual Peasant Farms.

The necessity for issuing such a law arises from the numerous demands of the collective farmers to put a stop to the utilization of horses by individual farms for purposes of speculation, for purposes of profiteering.

In its overwhelming majority, the peasantry of Soviet Byelorussia, like the whole peasantry of our Soviet Union, is a collective farm peasantry. Centuries of want and the bloody struggle of the Byelorussian peasantry for land found their solution only in the Great October Revolution, which freed the Byelorussian people from the yoke of the landlords and Polish *pans*, from the contemptuous treatment of the tsarist officials and from kulak bondage.

The collective farm system has become the firm foundation of the prosperous, cultured and happy life of the collective farm peasantry. The Stalin statutes of the agricultural artel, which reflect all the interests of the collective farm peasantry, direct the life of the collective farms along the road of ever new victories.

In his historic speech at the First All-Union Conference of Stakhanovites, Comrade Stalin said: "The distinctive feature of our revolution is that it brought the people not only freedom, but also material benefits and the possibility of a prosperous and cultured life."

Our Byelorussian people, together with all the peoples of the Soviet Union, feel the truth of Stalin's words.

I am a collective farmer myself. I am now working as chairman of the executive committee of the district Soviet, and I see and rejoice that every day our collective farms are becoming richer and richer and the collective farmers more and more prosperous.

The collective farm peasantry has become convinced that the collective farm road is the only road leading to a prosperous, cultured and happy life.

On the basis of the modern technical means with which our collective farms have been equipped, the Byelorussian collective farmers have this year achieved a Stalinite harvest unprecedented in Byelorussia. As result of this, the collective farmers are receiving high pay for their workdays.

Under the leadership of our great Party of Lenin and Stalin and the Soviet Government, thanks to the paternal solicitude of our great Stalin for the Byelorussian people, the collective farmers of Byelorussia will achieve still better results in their work.

But alongside the collective farms there also exist the farms of the individual peasants. The existence of individual farms is allowed by our Stalin Constitution. Article 9 of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. states: "Alongside the Socialist system of economy, which is the dominant form of economy in the U.S.S.R., the law permits small private economy of individual farm peasants and handicraftsmen based on their personal labour and precluding the exploitation of the labour of others."

However, non-collective farm peasants who own horses do not use them so much on their farms as for profiteering purposes.

In our district and in other districts there are a number of cases of non-fulfilment of state obligations by these peasants with regard to road construction, cash payments, meat deliveries, etc., while the collective farms and collective farmers wholly and punctually fulfil their obligations to the state.

There are cases where non-collective farm peasants conceal from the state the incomes they receive outside their agricultural work. I'll take our district as an example. For ploughing up a truck garden for a worker the individual peasant charges from a hundred to two hundred rubles a day; for transporting one cartload of wood the individual peasant charges thirty to forty rubles. The individual peasants transport goods for co-operative stores and conclude private contracts with timber-felling camps and peat extraction organizations. All this gives the individual peasant an income of from seven to ten and more thousand rubles a year. And at that the finance organs do not always succeed in fully establishing the sources and sum of such incomes of the individual peasants.

In practice such conditions give the individual peasant an advantage over the collective farmer, which undoubtedly reflects to a certain extent on the discipline of some vacillating collective farmers.

There are instances in the Osipovichi and Klichev districts in the B.S.S.R. of collective farmers also purchasing horses for their own personal use.

Collective farmers everywhere are raising before the Soviets the question of the necessity for issuing a law that would put a stop to the use of horses by individual peasants for profiteering purposes.

I fully support and approve the present Bill on the State Horse Tax on Individual Peasant Farms. I feel confident that this law will be passed unanimously by the Session of the Supreme Soviet, since it is in full and complete accord with numerous demands of the collective farmers.

The adoption of such a law will once again show the great solicitude for the collective farmers displayed by our Soviet Government, our Party of Lenin and Stalin and our dear, beloved leader and teacher—Comrade Stalin. (*Applause.*)

The Chairman: I call upon Deputy Skilkov.

F. M. Skilkov (*Millerovo Area, Rostov Region*): Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet. The Bill on the State Horse Tax on Individual Peasant Farms presented by the Legislative Bills Commission of the Soviet of the Union for consideration and adoption by the Second Session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. reflects the striving of our Party and Government to attain the further consolidation of the collective farm system, which is the result of the great victories achieved by our country under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party and its inspired leaders—Lenin and Stalin. (*Applause.*)

We are speaking about individual farms at a time when the collective farm system in our country has been finally and irrevocably victorious.

The toiling peasantry, united in collective farms, stands firmly on the Socialist path.

On the basis of all-round collectivization the kulaks have been liquidated as a class. Socialist agricultural production on the largest scale in the world has been established on Soviet soil. The days when hunger and poverty were the lot of the peasants have gone forever. Collective labour and the freed land yield an abundance of produce. The life of the collective farmers is becoming increasingly prosperous and cultured.

In our Migulinskaya district, Rostov Region, the Don Cossacks, united in collective farms, have in only two machine and tractor stations 132 steel horses on their Socialist fields, of which 20 are "Stalinetzes" from the Chelyabinsk Tractor Works, besides 64 harvester combines, 130 complex sowing machines, and many other machines.

Our collective farms have 17 automobiles of their own, and in the Collective Farmer's Banner Artel, of which I am a member, there are 3 trucks and 1 passenger car. Our collective farmers are well-to-do. Last year every collective farm family received from 300 to 500 poods of grain. We are developing rich collective farm cattle breeding. Every collective farm family in our district has a cow, hogs, sheep and a large number of poultry.

In a letter addressed to the deputies, the collective farmer Kiril Vasilyevich Volokhov, a master combine operator of the Semibalkov Machine and Tractor Station, writes: "I have completed reaping a rich harvest. In twenty workdays, operating two 'Stalinetz' combines coupled, I harvested 1,335 hectares of grain and earned more than 9,000 rubles. I have a big favour to ask of you: help me buy an automobile."

Comrades, a great many such examples can be cited, for our people have achieved unparalleled results in the struggle for Socialism, in the bitter struggle against the class enemies, in the struggle against the hirelings of fascism, against the mad dogs, the Trotskyites, Bukharinites and other filth that tried to turn us from the road pointed out by Comrade Stalin.

Our worst enemies miscalculated. But evidently they require additional lessons.

Comrades, the Don Cossacks, educated by the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet power, are new, Soviet Cossacks, boundlessly devoted to the Communist Party and the leader of peoples, Comrade Stalin, and will always be faithful assistants of our valorous Red Army, led by Kliment Yefremovich Voroshilov. The Soviet Don Cossacks, not sparing their lives, will deal a crushing blow to those who try, whether from the West or from the East, to make an attempt upon our frontiers, upon our conquests.

The Don Cossacks declare: at the first call of our Party, our Government and our beloved leader, Comrade Stalin, the Soviet Cossacks will rise as one man in defence of their fatherland. And woe to him who dares to attack our Soviet fatherland.

The Don Cossacks well remember how important the raising of cavalry horses is for the defence of the country. If they do not realize what it

means to violate the Soviet frontiers, fascist heads will not be able to save themselves from our horsemen.

But it is not only our valorous cavalry that needs horses. We will also give the country strong artillery horses, so that our fearless artillerymen can quickly and confidently reach the enemy in any place and smash him to smithereens.

The Don Cossacks unanimously demonstrated their love and devotion to the great cause of Lenin and Stalin at the elections to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. and the Supreme Soviet of the R.S.F.S.R. In the last elections, for instance, in the Morozov Electoral Area, which consists of Cossacks, 99.88 per cent of the total number of voters cast their ballots. Of the 132 wards in this area, 127 had 100 per cent participation in the elections. In 121 wards the entire 100 per cent of the voters cast their ballots for the candidates of the Stalin Communist and non-Party bloc. With such solidarity of the people under the militant banner of Lenin and Stalin, we are afraid of no enemies.

Comrades, I fully support the Bill on the State Horse Tax on Individual Peasant Farms proposed by the Legislative Bills Commission.

The collective farmers of the Don Region know quite a few cases where individual peasants use their horses not for agricultural work, but for purposes of profiteering outside their own farms.

The adoption of this law will meet with the full approval of the broadest collective farm masses, who know that this is an absolutely expedient measure, the purpose of which is the further consolidation of our collective farm system.

We Don Cossacks heartily thank Comrade Stalin for his solicitude for the collective farm peasantry, for the Soviet Cossacks.

Long live our beloved leader, Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin! (*Loud applause.*)

The Chairman: I call upon Deputy Polyakov.

F. I. Polyakov (*Ryazan Rural Area, Ryazan Region*): Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet. I fully approve and support the Bill on the State Horse Tax on Individual Peasant Farms proposed by the Legislative Bills Commission to the Second Session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. for consideration.

I am the chairman of the Red Star Collective Farm under the Korablino village Soviet, Ryazan Region, and I want to tell you, the members of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., and through you all the working people of our country, what the Ryazan Province was like formerly, before the revolution, and what it has become today. I was born and bred in it. I know how the peasantry of our province lived and suffered under the tsarist government. I was a peasant myself before the revolution, in tsarist times.

The peasants lived in poverty, they never had enough grain of their own, harvests were low—20 to 25 poods of grain per desyatin. The peasants worked for the landlords, the priests and kulaks, wore bast shoes and lived in ramshackle huts that had no chimneys. Most of the land

belonged to the landlords, the monasteries and churches; the peasants owned plots of up to 0.47 hectares per person.

Only the Great October Socialist Revolution liberated our entire people, the workers and peasants of all the nationalities of the U.S.S.R., from landlord and capitalist oppression.

It is already more than twenty years that the toiling people, the workers and collective farm peasants, are building their joyous, happy life.

The new Ryazan Region, which was established in 1937 by decision of the Party and the Government, on the initiative of our leader and teacher, Comrade Stalin, is growing stronger with every year.

Here is an example of the increasing successes of our Ryazan Region.

The sown area now constitutes 2,399,500 hectares. The collective farms unite 423,260 farms, or 93 per cent of all the farms. There are 3,982 collective farms and 81 state farms in the Ryazan Region.

During the years of the two Stalin Five-Year Plan periods, the Ryazan Region equipped itself with agricultural machinery.

Thousands of tractors, harvester combines and other agricultural machines are working on the collective and state farm fields. There are 85 machine and tractor stations in the region, in which there are a total of 4,445 tractors, 995 harvester combines, 1,263 complex threshing machines, 1,810 tractor-drawn sowers, 708 cultivators, 210 potato planters and 300 potato diggers. The potato planters and potato diggers are being manufactured in plants located in our Ryazan Region.

Besides this we have 81 state farms, which have 770 tractors, 155 harvester combines, 181 complex threshing machines, 393 tractor-drawn sowers and numerous reapers and sowers. All in all there are 5,215 tractors, 1,150 harvester combines, 2,203 tractor-drawn sowers and a large number of other agricultural machines in the Ryazan Region.

The toiling masses of our region received this great wealth thanks to the solicitude of Comrade Stalin.

The yield of the collective farm fields is increasing from year to year. In 1930 a harvest of 4.14 centners per hectare was harvested on the territory of what is now the Ryazan Region, in 1937—11.2 centners and in 1938—14 centners. About 50 per cent of all the peasants in the village of Korablino, Ryazan Region, were illiterate before the revolution. As I have already said, until the revolution the peasants lived from hand to mouth, and wore bast shoes with wooden clogs over them. The three-grade parish school had fifty pupils. In this school the children were taught to honour the tsar, the priests and the landlords; the priests taught that the earth rested on three whales.

Before the revolution our village had 150 wooden ploughs, 150 wooden harrows and 300 flails. The peasants worked as farm hands for the landlords. Our mothers, who worked for the landlord Ashanin, had to suckle his dogs. Many peasants had no cows. Manufactured goods were very scarce in the villages. Even the pins were made in France, and the scythes in Austria.

And what do we have now? Our Red Star Collective Farm is made up

of 378 farms and 2,000 people. The collective farmers have three times as much land as our peasants formerly had. The land taken from the landlords we received for our free use in perpetuity, thanks to the Party of Lenin and Stalin and our great leader and teacher, Comrade Stalin. (*Applause.*)

Now in our collective farm no one wears bast shoes, the peasants do not live in chimneyless huts and there are no illiterates. A beautiful two-storey ten-grade school has been built and is attended by 600 collective farm children. We have a splendid club, a reading room, a library, a laboratory, a medical station, a maternity home, a nursery, a playground, a bath house, a cinema apparatus and our own cinema operator. A dramatic circle, a chorus and a circle of the Chemical and Air Defence Society are functioning in the club. The children of our collective farmers are becoming aviators, tractor drivers, harvester combine operators, technicians, engineers and teachers.

The collective farm has 2,500 hectares of land, worked by 96 ploughs, 80 Zigzag harrows, 13 horse-drawn sowers, 8 reapers, 8 sorters, 7 winnowing machines, 3 horse-drawn threshing machines, one complex threshing machine, etc. The collective farm has 3 storehouses for grain, 3 storehouses for potatoes, a silo, a vegetable storehouse, 4 threshing barns (each of which holds 1,500 ricks), 6 large cattle barns, a garage, three automobiles, a smithy, repair, wheel, harness, cooper and tailor shops, a public dining room and a dormitory for the watchmen and stablemen.

The collective farm has hog, dairy, sheep, horse and bee departments, a veterinary station, a fishery, nine hectares under a Michurin nursery, an orchard of 44 hectares with Michurin sorts of fruit, 12 hectares of berry gardens, 1,500 grape vines and a truck garden of 50 hectares.

Our harvests are three times as large as they were before the revolution. In 1938 we will harvest an average of 17 centners per hectare and for some crops—20 to 30 centners.

I want to express the thanks of the collective farmers of the Ryazan Region to our glorious Communist Party and its leader, Comrade Stalin, for our happy, joyous, prosperous collective farm life. (*Applause.*)

Whereas formerly we had nothing but grief, want, flails, shovels and wooden ploughs, we now have everything—a happy, prosperous, cultured life, a splendid farm equipped with up-to-date technical means, our own tractor drivers, harvester combine operators, technicians, engineers and aviators, our own mighty industry, our own Soviet power. All this we achieved thanks to our beloved, glorious Communist, Bolshevik Party and our dear, beloved leader and teacher—Comrade Stalin. (*Applause.*)

There was once a foreign delegation that visited us. They were interested in the collective farm and its economy. Now they know that the collective farms are a big force and that our collective farmers, together with the entire 170,000,000 people in the country, are rallied around the Communist Party, around the leader of peoples, Comrade Stalin.

Academician Pavlov also visited us. In the old days, he said, even on the best lands the landlords used to obtain a harvest of only seven times as much as the seed they planted. The collective farmers replied that our

yield is now not seven times the seed but an average of twelve times, and for some crops even fifteen and twenty. Academician Pavlov looked over our school and said that formerly only high schools had such buildings.

Comrades, I wholeheartedly support the Bill on the State Horse Tax on Individual Peasant Farms introduced for adoption by the Session. Comrade Ugarov was quite right in saying in his report that many individual peasants keep horses only for purposes of speculation, of profiteering. In the Petelinsk district of our region the individual peasants engage in transporting goods. At the Nesterov distillery and the Petsk starch and treacle plant they make from 70 to 100 rubles a day. The Bill on the Horse Tax on Individual Peasant Farms will strengthen our collective farms still more.

In our great country the slogans of Comrade Stalin—to produce 7,000,000,000-8,000,000,000 poods of grain annually and to make all the collective farms Bolshevik farms and all the collective farmers prosperous—are being realized.

For their happy, joyous life the collective farmers, young and old, thank our Party of Lenin and Stalin and the great leader and teacher of all peoples, Comrade Stalin. (*Applause.*)

The enemies of the people—the Trotskyite and Bukharinite bandits—wanted to deprive us of our joyous, happy life. But they miscalculated. They were destroyed. Let all the internal and external enemies remember that our country is invincible, for it is led by the Party of Lenin and Stalin and the great leader and teacher of all peoples—our dear Stalin. (*Loud applause.*)

Long live the collective farm men and women, the working men and women!

Long live the Party of Lenin and Stalin!

Long live our leader and teacher, Comrade Stalin, who is leading us from victory to victory, towards Communism! (*Loud applause.*)

The Chairman: Comrades, a motion has been made to adjourn for fifteen minutes. Are there any objections?

Voices: No.

The Chairman: Adjournment for fifteen minutes.

(*Adjournment.*)

A. A. Andreyev (*in the chair*): The sitting is resumed. I call upon Deputy Nemchenko.

P. I. Nemchenko (*Rossosh Area, Voronezh Region*): Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet. I wholeheartedly subscribe to the Bill on the State Horse Tax on Individual Peasant Farms.

This Bill fully conforms to the demands of the collective farmers. The law will help to make the lives of the collective farmers still more prosperous and help to increase collective farm discipline.

The Great October Socialist Revolution freed the masses of peasants from age-old oppression. I shall recount what the peasants of our Voronezh Region have achieved. The Voronezh Province of tsarist Russia

was notorious for its land shortage, for the decline, impoverishment and ruin of the peasant farms. Over 10 per cent of the peasant farms did not have sufficient land to sow crops. Of 316,405 peasant households in 1905, 11,610 had absolutely no land.

At the same time, 523,000 desyatins of land belonged to only 40 big landlords in the Voronezh Province—Buturlin, Vorontsov, Orlov, Kushelev-Bezborodko, and others. The characteristic features of the cultivation of land in the Voronezh Province were the distance of the land from the peasants' homes, the fact that the plots of the peasants were not all together but were separated by strips of land belonging to various owners and were extremely scattered, and the exceedingly primitive methods of cultivation. Peasant land was cultivated mostly with primitive wooden ploughs, on the everlasting three-field crop rotation system, and harvests were very poor.

It was only the Great October Socialist Revolution that laid the foundation for the steady regeneration of the region on a new, Socialist basis. Out of the scattered and small peasant farms in the region 5,352 collective farms have been organized, uniting over 600,000 peasant farms. A total of 6,200,000 desyatins of land have been secured to the collective farms of our region for their free use in perpetuity. Agriculture has been put on a mechanical basis. In the Voronezh Region there are 174 machine and tractor stations, having 10,000 tractors and 3,393 harvester combines. In the collective farms and machine and tractor stations of our region there are 2,531 trucks, 1,184 beet pickers, 1,031 MK-1100 threshing machines.

The Stakhanov movement is growing. In 1937 not only did individual Stakhanovites attain high results, but entire machine and tractor stations were also models of good work. Thus, for instance, in the Rossosh machine and tractor station a 15 hp. tractor covered an average of 1,055 hectares and a tractor of the Chelyabinsk Plant—2,235 hectares.

The collective farm system has developed a new, Socialist attitude towards labour. Thousands of leaders of collective farm production, Stakhanovites, genuine enthusiasts of collective farm labour, have come forth during these years.

The collective farms of our region, as of the whole country, are rich in outstanding people. About 100 collective farmers in our region have been awarded Orders of the Soviet Union. Among those so decorated are old men who have acquired a new outlook on life, who have set examples in labour, in Stakhanov methods of work. Such, for instance, are the Order-bearer V. G. Sibirka—dairy manager of a collective farm in the Mikhailovsk district, and Lyubavshin—manager of the hog department of a collective farm in the Moochkap district.

Among those who have been awarded Orders there are also young boys and girls, who have grown up under the Soviet power, who have been educated by the collective farm system. Such, for example, are the splendid girls of the Verkhne-Khavsky district, the leaders in the movement for a harvest of 500 centners of sugar beets per hectare—the

Order bearers Nyura Rebrova, Irina and Alexandra Litvinova, Maria Guseva, Shura Frolova and Katya Bredikhina.

Splendid people coming from the rank and file have been elected deputies to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. Among them are Comrade Shapovalova, Comrade Gorbachev and Comrade Zheleznoy. Comrade Popov and Comrade Rebrova have been elected to the Supreme Soviet of the R.S.F.S.R.

The Stakhanov movement has spread particularly during the harvesting of this year's crop. Tens and hundreds of splendid new people have come forward to the front ranks and are leading the collective farm masses. The names of over 150 workers who led in the harvesting have been inscribed on the Region's Honour Roll. These include the harvester combine operators Volkov, Geniyevsky, Pustovoitov and Serebryakov.

Comrade Tikhonenko, a collective farmer from the Vorobyov district, operating one mowing machine, mowed 27 hectares a day, instead of the 6 hectares set as the standard amount. The women collective farmers Diskaya and Pozhidayeva have raised high the banner of Socialist competition in binding sheaves. Thousands of sheaf binders have followed their example.

The masses of collective farm men and women are becoming convinced by their own experience that life has become better, that life has become more joyous; they are becoming convinced that the Great October Socialist Revolution not only liberated all working people from capitalist and landlord oppression, not only gave the working people freedom, but also brought with it abundant material benefits.

The numerous collective farms in our region have raised rich harvests. In 1937 the Ilyich Collective Farm in the Dobrinsky district paid out 7 kg. of grain and 3.40 rubles per work-day to each collective farmer. The collective farm households received an average of 320 poods of grain, 200 poods of potatoes and 2,450 rubles in cash this year.

One member of this collective farm, Domna Kalinichna Ryaguzova, the mother of a large family, who until joining the collective farm had only a dilapidated hut to her name, received 6,667 rubles in cash, 850 poods of grain and 450 poods of potatoes from the collective farm for her work and now has a cow, two sheep and a pig. This year she bought a bicycle and 3,000 rubles' worth of clothing.

The harvest yield in the Voronezh Region is increasing every year. Before the revolution, between 1904 and 1913, the average yield in what was then the Voronezh Province was 6.5 centners per hectare. During the Second Five-Year Plan period, between 1933 and 1937, the average yield amounted to 9.5 centners per hectare, and in 1937 the average throughout the region reached 12.5 centners per hectare.

While in 1913, 76 centners of sugar beets were harvested per hectare, in 1937 the average constituted 217 centners. While in 1913 one hectare yielded 7 centners of sunflowerseed, in 1937 the average was 8.5 centners. The cultivation of sunflowers is rapidly spreading from the southern districts of our region to the northern districts.

In 1937 a great number of collective farms showed examples of Stakhanovite work and striving for a high yield. In 28 districts of the region the collective farms reaped an average of 14 and more centners of grain per hectare, in 25 districts the collective farms attained a grain yield of 12 to 14 centners per hectare. Some collective farms reaped 25 and 30 centners per hectare. The Tempest Collective Farm in the Budyonny district raised an average of more than 16 centners of grain per hectare, the Pravda Collective Farm, Gribanovsky district—20 centners per hectare, the Leningrad Pravda Collective Farm—21 centners per hectare.

The area under sugar beets has been extended, having increased from 19,000 hectares in 1913 to 90,000 hectares in 1937. The area sown to sunflowers has increased from 165,000 hectares in 1913 to 325,000 hectares in 1937.

Comrades, despite the great achievements of the Voronezh Region in regard to collectivization, 10 per cent of the farms are still owned by individual peasants. The individual peasants own horses and oxen. Many of the individual peasants, as a rule, do not use their horses on their farms, but solely for purposes of profiteering.

Moreover, these individual farms pay practically no taxes, nor do they participate in road construction work. According to the plan for meat delivery for the Voronezh Region, 33,000 centners should come from individual farms, but only 2,900 centners, or 9 per cent, have been delivered. As for grain deliveries, 1,100 tons should come from the individual farms, but only 280 tons, or 25 per cent, have been delivered. In the same way the individual farms also fail to fulfil their other obligations. The local Soviet and Party organizations do not take the necessary measures with regard to individual farms refusing to fulfil their obligations to the state. Such individual peasants will have to be called to order and made to respect our Soviet laws.

I wholeheartedly subscribe to the Bill under discussion by the Session, and I am certain that the Soviet of the Union will adopt it.

The question of oxen owned by individual farms should also be discussed. The individual peasants often use oxen also for profiteering purposes. The question of taxing the oxen of individual farms as well should be considered.

Comrades, the working people of the Voronezh Region and the working people of our whole country have won great victories. Under the leadership of our Communist Party and the great genius of mankind—Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin—we shall advance to new victories. (*Prolonged applause.*)

The Chairman: I call upon Deputy Salova.

E. S. Salova (*Kursk Rural Area, Kursk Region*): Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet. The Bill on the State Horse Tax on Individual Peasant Farms introduced by the Legislative Bills Commission of the Soviet of the Union for discussion and approval by the Session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. is another step forward in consolidating the collective farm system in our Soviet land.

This law is directed towards eliminating the anomaly of individual peasants using their horses not on their own farms but for purposes of

profiteering. The collective farmers are quite rightly protesting against such intolerable practices in our Socialist land.

Under the leadership of our Bolshevik Party and the inspired leader of the toilers—our great Stalin—Socialist agriculture is expanding and growing stronger. Take our Kursk Region as an example. On July 1, 1938, 557,813 farms were united in collective farms. This constitutes 90.1 per cent of the total number of farms in our region.

These figures show convincingly enough that the decisive force in the agriculture of our Soviet land is the collective farms, whose husbandry is based on the widespread use of agricultural machinery and agrotechnical methods.

But what do we see in the individual peasant sector? Facts show that the horses belonging to individual peasants are being used not for agricultural work on their own farms, but as a means of profiteering outside their farms.

In 1937 the sown area of the individual peasant sector in the Kursk Region amounted to 1.3 per cent of the total sown area. In 1938 the sown area of the individual peasants constituted only 1.1 per cent. At the same time, there has been an increase in the number of draught horses on the individual peasant farms. Whereas in 1937 the number of draught horses on individual peasant farms constituted 4.8 per cent of the total number of horses in the region, in 1938 it constitutes 6.4 per cent. That means that the number of horses on individual peasant farms has increased.

These figures show that, while the sown area of the individual peasant sector is decreasing each year, the number of horses is increasing.

From this it may be concluded that to a great extent the individual peasants use their horses not on their farms but on the side, for profiteering purposes.

That, comrades, is why we must wholeheartedly support and adopt the law on the State Horse Tax on Individual Peasant Farms.

I should like this law to be formulated a little more precisely, comrades, making provision against certain individual peasants, in order to avoid paying taxes on their horses, registering their horses, by personal agreement, under the names of aged individual peasants, who are exempt from the payment of taxes. In this way these individual peasants evade paying taxes on their horses. We have had such cases in our Timsk district of the Kursk Region. It seems to me that such cases may occur not only in the Kursk Region, but in other regions as well.

Moreover, there should be more clarity on the question of aged individual peasants who own horses. Without such specifications, I believe there will be a certain amount of confusion in the localities.

Comrades, there is no doubt whatever that the collective farmers of our region and the collective farmers of our whole country will greet this law with a feeling of profound satisfaction, as a law which still further strengthens the collective farm system. This law again emphasizes the Stalin solicitude for collective farmers and collective farms. This law is another step forward in the building of a Socialist society in our Soviet land.

Long live the Party of Lenin and Stalin, which is leading us from victory to victory!

Long live our great friend and teacher, Comrade Stalin! *(Loud applause.)*

The Chairman: I call upon Deputy Fomin.

R. A. Fomin *(Bryansk Area, Orel Region)*: Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet. The Bill on the State Horse Tax on Individual Peasant Farms introduced by the Legislative Bills Commission for discussion by the Session is of great importance to the state and once again shows the solicitude of our Party and of Comrade Stalin personally for the further consolidation of the collective farm system and the reinforcement of state discipline.

The Party of Lenin and Stalin put the Soviet peasantry on the only correct road—the road of collective farms, which became possible only as a result of the victories of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

At the First All-Union Congress of Collective Farm Shock Workers in 1933, Comrade Stalin said:

"In order to adopt the collective farm path it was necessary first of all to bring about the October Revolution, to overthrow the capitalists and landlords, take the land and factories away from them and organize a new industry."

Under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union the collective farm system in the U.S.S.R. has established itself firmly and for all time despite the frantic opposition of the remnants of the smashed classes that were hostile to Socialist construction

More than 18,000,000 households are united in collective farms and more than 20,000,000 poor and middle peasants are rid of kulak bondage, of poverty, hunger and destitution.

The victory of the collective farm system in the countryside has given the Soviet peasantry a joyous, prosperous, cultured and happy life. The yield of the collective farm fields is growing and the prosperity of the collective farmers is increasing with every year. The collective farm countryside has gone right at the realization of the Stalin slogan of our Party concerning a yield of 7,000,000,000 to 8,000,000,000 poods of grain a year.

The incomes of the collective farms and collective farmers are growing. New people are growing up. Hundreds of thousands of tractor drivers, chauffeurs, agronomists and other agricultural workers are working in the collective farm countryside.

The political activity of the collective farm masses has risen to a high level. Their solidarity around the Party of Lenin and Stalin and the Soviet Government is unwavering.

Together with the whole people, with the collective farmers of our whole great fatherland, the collective farm peasantry of the Orel Region

is building a happy, prosperous life, leaving far behind the pauper standard of life of the muzhik of what was formerly the Orel Province.

What were the villages like in the Orel Province in the old days? According to the statistics of the census of 1905, landlord and kulak farms at that time constituted 17 per cent of all the farms and amounted to 54 per cent of all the land, while only 46 per cent of the land fell to the share of the 83 per cent of poor and middle peasant farms.

In his work *The Development of Capitalism in Russia*, Comrade Lenin wrote:

"The disintegration of the peasantry, which, at the expense of the middle 'peasantry,' develops the extreme groups, creates two new types of rural population. . . . The first new type is—the rural bourgeoisie, or wealthy peasantry. . . . The other new type is the rural proletariat, the class of *wage labourers possessing allotments.*"

Thus, the rural bourgeoisie, constituting a small minority of the whole peasantry, occupied a ruling position in the old village.

In two districts of the Orel Province—Eletz and Trubchevsky—50 per cent of all the peasants lacked the means of production, they let 93.9 per cent of all the allotment land to the kulaks. Only 17.7 per cent of all the farms owned draught cattle; 60 per cent of all the peasants went outside the village to work.

Such was the past of the Orel countryside. The Orel Region was formed by decision of the Party and the Government and on the personal initiative of Comrade Stalin. It is entered in the pages of the Constitution, the author of which is the great leader and friend of the people, Comrade Stalin. *(Applause.)*

The Orel Region now has 7,290 collective farms. 98 per cent of the region's agriculture is conducted by the collective farms, and only 2 per cent by the individual peasants.

According to the 1920 census, there were 139,500 wooden ploughs in the Orel Region. Now the Orel Region has 115 machine and tractor stations. A total of 6,462 tractors, 1,424 harvester combines and thousands of other agricultural machines are working on the collective farm fields. During 1938 alone, the region will receive another 1,800 tractors and 800 combines.

Comrade Stalin says: "Under the new, collective farm system, the peasants work collectively, co-operatively, they work with the aid of new implements—tractors and agricultural machinery, they work for themselves and for their collective farms, they live without capitalists or landlords, without kulaks and profiteers, they work in order, day after day, to improve their material and cultural conditions."

The collective farmers of the Orel Region, like all the working people of the Soviet Union, are building their own happy, prosperous life, without kulaks, without capitalists, on the basis of machine technique, which was given our region by the Communist Party, the Soviet power, which was given us by our Government.

The economic results of 1937 vividly testify to the stability of the collective farm system and the prosperous life of the collective

farmers. In 1937 the collective farms of the Orel Region harvested 112,000,000 poods of grain; of this amount, 23,000,000 poods were delivered to the state, part was set aside for seed and more than 50,000,000 poods were received by the collective farmers for their workdays. In comparison with preceding years, the value of a workday has increased several times over.

The old village with its constant companions—hunger and poverty—no longer exists in our country. The Stalin collective and state farms with their machine technique and large harvests have blossomed out in rich colours.

Comrades, in the Orel Region, alongside the collective farms, there also exist individual peasant farms. They constitute 7.3 per cent of the total number of farms.

It must be noted that the decisions of the Council of People's Commissars and the Central Committee of the Party with regard to taxes and other obligatory payments due from individual peasant farms have not been fulfilled in a number of districts of our region. The enemies of the people, who wormed their way into leadership in some districts, purposely did not compel the individual peasants to fulfil their obligations to the state.

That is why there are districts in the Orel Region in which the individual peasant farms do not fulfil their obligations with respect to the agricultural tax, the levies for cultural purposes and the meat deliveries.

In most cases individual peasants who own horses do not use them for agricultural work, but for profiteering purposes. They receive big incomes—estimated in some village Soviets of the Bryansk district at from six to seven thousand rubles a year per farm—besides their incomes from agriculture. Owing to this the individual peasants to a certain extent have the advantage over the collective farmers.

Comrades, I fully support the motions made by the preceding deputies to adopt the Bill on the State Horse Tax on Individual Peasant Farms which has been proposed by the Legislative Bills Commission.

This Bill conforms to the principles of the Stalin Constitution, it is directed against those who break Soviet laws and violate state discipline.

The adoption of this law will serve to strengthen the collective farm system still more. I am absolutely confident that the Second Session will pass this Bill on the State Horse Tax on Individual Peasant Farms, and that the Soviet collective farm peasantry will approve it. (*Applause.*)

The Chairman: Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet, a motion has been made to close the debate on this question. Are there any other motions? None. We will take a vote. Those in favour of the motion to close the debate please raise their hands. Please lower them. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No. The motion has been passed unanimously. I call upon Deputy Ugarov for the reply to the debate. (*Applause.*)

A. I. Ugarov (*Smolny Area, City of Leningrad*): The Bill on the

State Horse Tax on Individual Peasant Farms presented by the Legislative Bills Commission of the Soviet of the Union has met with unanimous approval in the speeches of all the members of the Soviet of the Union who spoke here. The Bill was adopted unanimously yesterday at the sitting of the Soviet of Nationalities.

I should like to dwell in my concluding speech on only two remarks made by the members of the Soviet of the Union.

The first remark, made by Deputy Nemchenko of the Rossosh Area, Voronezh Region, was that a state tax should be levied on individual peasants not only for horses but also for oxen, since these also serve the individual peasants as a source of profiteering.

The Bill on the State Horse Tax on Individual Peasant Farms has been brought up for consideration by the Session because in the overwhelming majority of territories, regions and republics horses constitute the principal source of profit-making for the individual peasants. Undoubtedly, the application of this law will stimulate the local organizations to become better acquainted with other forms in which the profiteering activities of individual peasants manifest themselves. And naturally, it is possible that other questions connected with terminating the profiteering activities of individual peasant farms will subsequently be raised and settled.

The second remark was made by Deputy Salova, of the Kursk Rural Area, Kursk Region. She said that individual peasants using horses for profiteering purposes resort to various manoeuvres. Evading the fulfilment of the state obligations in question, the individual peasants allege, for instance, that the horses are the property of invalids, etc.

It seems to me, comrades, that it is very difficult to make provision in the law for the various manoeuvres which may be used by one individual peasant or another in order to evade paying the state tax on horses. But here things depend mostly on our local organizations, the local Soviet organs. Their work should be so organized as to eliminate, preclude such manoeuvres, as to secure the payment of the state tax by all individual peasant farms owning horses.

After these remarks, comrades, allow me to read the text of the Bill proposed by the Legislative Bills Commission of the Soviet of the Union.

"STATE HORSE TAX ON INDIVIDUAL PEASANT FARMS ACT

"Whereas, on the testimony of collective farmers, the horses on individual peasant farms are usually used not for farm work on the farm in question, but for purposes of profiteering outside the farm, the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, meeting the desire of the collective farmers, resolves:

"1. To introduce a special state tax on the horses of individual peasant farms.

"2. To fix the rates of the state tax on the individual peasant farms possessing horses as follows by republics, territories and regions;

Republics, Territories and Regions	For one horse	For every horse over and above one head
1. R. S. F. S. R. (with the exception of the territories, regions and A. S. S. R. indicated below), Ukrainian S. S. R. and Byelorussian S. S. R.	1st group of districts—400 rbls. 2nd group of districts — 500 rbls.	1st group of districts—700 rbls. 2nd group of districts—800 rbls.
2. Azerbaidjan, Georgian, Armenian, Turkmen, Uzbek, Tadjik, Kazakh and Kirghiz S. S. R.; Far-Eastern and Krassnoyarsk territories; Irkutsk and Chita regions; Daghestan, Buryat-Mongolian, Kabardino-Balkarian, Kalmyk, Karelian, Komi, North Ossetian, Chechen-Ingush and Yakut A. S. S. R.	First group of districts—275 rbls. 2nd group of districts—350 rbls.	First group of districts—450 rbls. 2nd group of districts—550 rbls.

"3. To impose upon the territorial and regional executive committees of the Soviets of Toilers' Deputies, or, in the autonomous republics and the Union republics not divided into regions, upon the Councils of People's Commissars, the duty of classifying the districts or areas for tax-rating purposes either under the 1st or under the 2nd group, dependent upon the amount of the incomes received from the use of the horses.

"4. The tax on horses shall be paid by all individual peasant farms possessing horses three years old and over at the time of the publication of the law. The sale of horses after the publication of the law does not give exemption from payment of the tax for the current year.

"5. To fix October 15th as the time limit for the payment of the tax.

"6. Farms which enter collective farms before October 15, 1938, and deliver their horses to the collective farms, shall be exempt from the payment of the state tax on horses.

"7. The revenues collected from the tax on the horses of individual peasant farms are assigned as follows: 25 per cent to the Budgets of the Union republics, 25 per cent to the budgets of the territories, regions and autonomous republics, and 50 per cent to the district budgets."

(*Applause.*)

The Chairman: We shall now proceed to vote on the proposed Bill on the State Horse Tax on Individual Peasant Farms. Are there any amendments to the Bill? No amendments. Does any deputy request that we vote on each article separately?

Voices: No. Vote on the Bill as a whole.

The Chairman: Then we shall vote on the Bill as a whole. Those in favour of adopting the law on the State Horse Tax on Individual Peasant Farms please raise their hands. Please lower them. Anyone against? No. Any abstentions? No,

Accordingly, the State Horse Tax on Individual Peasant Farms Act is adopted unanimously. (*Applause.*)

Deputy Gudov has a motion with regard to the procedure of discussion of the further items on the agenda of the Second Session of the Supreme Soviet.

I. I. Gudov (*Lenin Area, City of Moscow*): Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet. I move that the seventh item on the agenda of the Session—On the All-Union Agricultural Exposition—be discussed at a joint sitting of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities.

I also move that the eighth item on the agenda of the Session—On the ukases adopted by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. in the interval between the First and Second Sessions and subject to confirmation by the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.—be discussed at a joint sitting of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities.

I propose that the joint sitting be set for six o'clock this evening, August 21.

The Chairman: Does anyone wish to speak on these motions by Deputy Gudov?

Voices: No.

The Chairman: I shall take a vote on Deputy Gudov's motions. Those in favour of the motions made by Deputy Gudov please raise their hands. Please lower them. Anyone against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Deputy Gudov's motions have been passed unanimously.

The joint sitting will be held at six o'clock this evening in this hall.

This closes the sitting of the Soviet of the Union.

SECOND SESSION

OF THE

SOVIET OF NATIONALITIES

FIRST SITTING

August 10, 1938

N. M. Shvernik, Chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities, and C. A. Aslanova, Vice-Chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities, take their seats on the dais and the members of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. and the leaders of the Party and the Government enter the boxes. They are greeted with loud and prolonged applause. All rise.

N. M. Shvernik (*in the chair*): I hereby open the Second Session of the Soviet of Nationalities. (*Applause.*)

The following questions have been proposed for the consideration of the Second Session of the Soviet of Nationalities:

1. Approval of the Unified State Budget of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics for 1938.

Proposed by the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R.

2. Draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System of the U.S.S.R., and of the Union and Autonomous Republics.

Proposed by the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R.

3. Election of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R.

4. Draft of an Act on Citizenship of the U.S.S.R.

Proposed by the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R.

5. Draft of an Act on the Procedure for Ratifying and Denouncing International Treaties.

Proposed by the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Soviet of Nationalities.

6. Draft of an Act on a State Horse Tax on Individual Peasant Farms.

Proposed by the Legislative Bills Commission of the Soviet of the Union.

7. On the All-Union Agricultural Exposition.

Proposed by a group of deputies from the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.

8. On the ukases adopted by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. in the interval between the First and Second Sessions and subject to confirmation by the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

Does anybody wish to speak on the subject of the agenda?

Voice: May I?

The Chairman: Deputy Ibrahimov.

R. K. Ibrahimov *(Meleuz Area, Bashkir A.S.S.R.)*: Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet. I move that the questions proposed by the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. and the Commissions of the Chambers for the consideration of the Second Session of the Soviet of Nationalities be adopted for consideration and included in the agenda of the Second Session of the Soviet of Nationalities.

Voices: Adopt the agenda.

The Chairman: Does anybody wish to speak? Nobody. I put to the vote the motion of Deputy Ibrahimov to endorse the agenda of the Session of the Soviet of Nationalities as here read. Those in favour of this motion, please raise their hands. Anyone against? No. Any abstentions? No. The agenda of the Session is endorsed unanimously.

I pass on to the next question—the procedure for the discussion of the agenda of the Session as endorsed .Who wishes to speak on this subject?

Voice: May I?

The Chairman: Deputy Khokhlov.

I. S. Khokhlov *(Moscow Rural Area No. 2, R.S.F.S.R.)*: Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., I make the following motion:

That the report of the Government on the Unified State Budget of the U.S.S.R. for 1938 be heard at a joint sitting of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities, since this question equally concerns both Chambers and it would be inexpedient to take it up separately.

That the reports on the findings of the Budget Commissions and the discussion be held separately—in the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities.

That the joint sitting of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities be appointed for 7 o'clock this evening.

The Chairman: Who wishes to speak on this question? Nobody.

Voices: Adopt the motion.

The Chairman: I shall put to the vote the motion of Deputy Khokhlov on the procedure of the discussion of the first item on the agenda and on the convocation of a joint sitting of the Chambers—the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities—for 7 o'clock this evening. Those in favour of the motion, please raise their hands. Anyone against? No. Any abstentions? No. Deputy Khokhlov's motion is adopted unanimously.

This closes the first sitting of the Soviet of Nationalities.

SECOND SITTING

August 11, 1938

N. M. Shvernik, Chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities, and C. A. Aslanova, Vice-Chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities, take their seats on the dais and the members of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. and the leaders of the Party and Government enter the boxes. They are greeted with loud and prolonged applause. All rise.

N. M. Shvernik *(in the chair)*: I hereby open the sitting of the Second Session of the Soviet of Nationalities.

We shall discuss the Unified State Budget of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics for 1938.

I call upon Deputy Khokhlov, Chairman of the Budget Commission of the Soviet of Nationalities, for the co-report.

I. S. Khokhlov: Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. The draft state Budget of the U.S.S.R. for 1938, including the local Budgets, presented by the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. to the Budget Commission of the Soviet of Nationalities provides for revenues to the amount of 125,184,200,000 rubles, and expenditures to the amount of 123,684,200,000 rubles, that is, revenues to exceed expenditures by 1,500,000,000 rubles. The Union and republican Budgets provide for revenues to the amount of 116,801,000,000 rubles and for expenditures to the amount of 115,301,000,000 rubles, that is, revenues to exceed expenditures by 1,500,000,000 rubles.

As compared with 1937, the revenues in the Union and republican Budgets increase by 20,229,000,000 rubles, or 21 per cent. Article 11 of the Stalin Constitution states: "The economic life of the U.S.S.R. is determined and directed by the state plan for the development of the national economy with the purpose of increasing the public wealth, of steadily improving the material conditions of the toilers and raising their cultural level, of consolidating the independence of the U.S.S.R. and strengthening its power of defence."

The state Budget of the U.S.S.R. represents a most important part of the national economic plan. It has been drawn up fully in accord with Article 11 of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. and reflects the further growth of the Socialist economy of our great country.

A characteristic feature of the revenue side of the Budget is the fact that for the most part it depends on the fulfilment of the tasks that have been set in our national economic plan. The increase in the gross output of industry and in trade, the reducing of production costs, the raising of the productivity of labour, the fulfilment of the plans with regard to total wages, etc., are an indispensable condition for the realization of the huge program of revenues outlined in the Unified State Budget.

This is the characteristic feature of the revenue side of our Budget, which hinges on the fulfilment of the national economic plan in each of its separate parts. The realization of the revenue side of the Budget requires on the part of the Councils of People's Commissars of the Union republics and autonomous republics, and of the executive committees of territories and regions, on the part of all those directly in charge of economic organizations, an energetic struggle for the lowering of production costs, for the fulfilment of the plans of industrial output. It is largely on this that the realization of the revenue side of the Budget depends.

With an entirely insignificant exception, the revenues accrue from the socialized sector. Thus, out of the 116,800,000,000 rubles in revenues provided for in the state Budget, the receipts from socialized economy amount to 108,000,000,000 rubles, or 92.4 per cent of the total. Loans account for 5,670,000,000 rubles, or 4.9 per cent, and receipts from the population in individual payments account for 3,140,000,000 rubles, or 2.7 per cent of the total. This clearly proves that the revenue side of the Budget depends on the fulfilment of the provisions of the national economic plan as regards both quantity and quality.

The more than 20,000,000,000 rubles' increase in revenues, as compared with 1937, is accounted for primarily by the increase in the receipts from socialized economy and the growth of loans. This year there is a considerable increase in the most desirable form of revenue—the profits tax on industry, which exceeds last year's by 3,000,000,000 rubles, or 44.8 per cent. This shows the steady improvement in the work of the Union, republican and local industries, whose accumulations in 1938 will amount to 20,400,000,000 rubles.

Out of the 115,300,000,000 rubles of the total expenditure, 47,200,000,000 rubles goes to finance national economy, 12,100,000,000 rubles in the State Budget — and if we include the appropriation in the local Budgets, 31,400,000,000 rubles—goes to finance measures of a social and cultural character and 27,000,000,000 rubles is designated for the People's Commissariat of Defence and the People's Commissariat of the Navy. Thus the amount of expenditure designated for these three purposes constitutes 105,600,000,000 rubles out of 115,300,000,000 rubles. The total increase of expenditure in the Unified State Budget for 1938 amounts to 21,380,000,000 rubles. The financing of national economy increases by 7,900,000,000 rubles, the financing of measures of a social and cultural character by 5,930,000,000 rubles, and the financing of the People's Commissariat of Defence and the People's Commissariat of the Navy by 9,600,000,000 rubles.

Thus, practically the entire increase of expenditure in the state Budget for this year goes to finance national economy, social and cultural services and the defence of the country.

The allocation of the expenditures in the Unified State Budget is entirely in line with the speech of Vyacheslav Mikhailovich Molotov, Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R., in which he pointed out the necessity of enhancing the defensive capacity of our country and creating a powerful navy worthy of our great Socialist state, and which met with unanimous approval at the First Session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. (*Loud applause.*)

The incessant provocations of the fascist aggressors serve to convince all the working people of our country of the need to assign for the purpose of defence all the funds that may be required in order to crush any of the enemies, each separately, or all of them combined, should they dare to encroach upon the borders of our great country. (*Loud applause.*)

That is why the Budget Commission of the Soviet of Nationalities considers that the expenditure on defence, fixed in the draft Budget at 27,044,000,000 rubles, should be singled out for particular approval in the decision to be adopted by the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. (*Applause.*)

The plan of capital development for 1938, fixed by the Government at 38,300,000,000 rubles, is financed from the Unified State Budget to the amount of 26,600,000,000 rubles. This imposes a great responsibility upon the People's Commissariat of Finance, as well as upon other People's Commissariats and their economic organizations.

Out of the total capital investments, about 50 per cent (17,460,000,000 rubles) is assigned to industry, 6,820,000,000 rubles to transport, 2,470,000,000 rubles to agriculture, 3,670,000,000 rubles for housing, municipal, cultural and general social purposes, and 4,680,000,000 rubles to other purposes (co-operatives, etc.). Out of the total investments in industry in 1938, about 80 per cent is assigned to heavy industry.

As a result of the consistent growth of the industrial enterprises, transport and communications, as a result of the improvement in their work, there has been an increase in the accumulations of these branches of industry and in the share of their own resources in capital investments. The resources of the Union and republican industries applied to capital investments amount to 12,457,000,000 rubles, or 71.5 per cent of the total investments. This sum includes 5,050,000,000 rubles provided for in the financial plan of industry, and 7,407,000,000 rubles in the form of budgetary financing out of the profits tax on industry.

This shows that our country's industry has grown to such an extent that it is able to invest large sums in its further development out of its own accumulations.

At the Fourth Congress of the Comintern Vladimir Ilyich Lenin said: "Heavy industry needs state subsidies. If we cannot provide them, then, as a civilized state—let alone as a Socialist state—we are doomed. In this respect we have taken a determined step. We have found the resour-

ces necessary for putting heavy industry on its feet. True, the sum we have been able to obtain up to now barely exceeds twenty million gold rubles; but at any rate we have this sum and it is intended exclusively for the purpose of reviving our heavy industry." (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Russ. ed., Vol. XXVII, p. 349.)

This is how Comrade Lenin posed the question of heavy industry in 1922. In the sixteen years which have elapsed since the date of Lenin's speech, our country, under the leadership of Lenin's greatest associate, Comrade Stalin, has made great strides in its advance. It has become a mighty industrial power. (*All rise. Loud applause.*)

Special mention should be made of the growth of the expenditure provided in the Budget for measures of a social and cultural character, the appropriations increasing to 31,386,000,000 rubles. The total investments in measures of a social and cultural character from budgetary and non-budgetary sources exceed 42,000,000,000 rubles, which is 5,938,000,000 rubles more than last year. This sum includes an increase of 3,421,000,000 rubles in appropriations for education, of 1,249,000,000 rubles in appropriations for health protection, and of 887,000,000 rubles in appropriations for social maintenance. For the construction of schools alone the Budget allocates 625,000,000 rubles, in addition to the resources derived from local voluntary taxes. This should ensure an increase of 2,781 in the number of schools by September 1, 1938. This number includes 2,698 part-grade intermediate schools. The number of children attending elementary and part-grade and full-grade intermediate schools increases by 3,387,000.

In 1913 the tsarist government expended 182,000,000 rubles on public education. Compared to our expenditures on public education—20,137,000,000 rubles—this is a paltry sum. The appropriations provided in the state Budget for public education in our country bear witness to the colossal development of the culture of the peoples of our Socialist fatherland.

The growth of the state Budget of the U.S.S.R. in the last 5-6 years furnishes striking proof of the ever-growing might and prosperity of the Soviet Union.

It is sufficient to state that the revenues in the Budget, which amounted to 40,000,000,000 rubles in 1933, and had grown to 83,700,000,000 rubles in 1936, total 116,800,000,000 rubles in 1938. This is nearly three times as much as in 1933. The growth of the Unified State Budget reflects the gigantic victories of Socialist construction, achieved by the peoples of the Soviet Union under the leadership of the Party of Lenin and Stalin. (*Loud applause.*)

During the period of the Second Five-Year Plan, about 350,000,000,000 rubles were expended through Budget channels on industrialization, the Socialist reconstruction of agriculture, the development of culture and the strengthening of the defensive power of our country. The state Budget of the U.S.S.R. has grown to 2.9 times the Budget of 1933. During the same period the Budgets of the Union republics have shown a 3.8-fold increase. In 1933, the Budget of the R.S.F.S.R., including the Kazakh and Kirghiz Republics, equalled 5,700,000,000 rubles; in 1938, the Budget of the R.S.F.S.R. is fixed at 21,400,000,000 rubles, of the Kazakh S.S.R. at 1,300,000,000 rubles, and of the Kirghiz S.S.R. at 340,000,000 rubles—a 305.1 per cent increase.

During this period the Budget of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic increased by 246.9 per cent, and of the Byelorussian Republic by 250.5 per cent. The Budget of the republics of the former Transcaucasian Federation increased from 689,000,000 rubles in 1933 to 916,000,000 rubles for the Azerbaidjan S.S.R., 1,065,000,000 rubles for the Georgian S.S.R., and 388,000,000 rubles for the Armenian S.S.R. in 1938, that is, an increase of 243.5 per cent. During the same period the Budget of the Turkmen S.S.R. increased by 204.1 per cent, of the Uzbek S.S.R. by 227.9 per cent, and of the Tadjik S.S.R. by 197.3 per cent. But even this growth of the Budgets of the Union republics does not fully reflect the changes that are taking place in their economic life. The appropriations for national economy provided for in the Union Budget are actually being utilized on the territories of the various Union republics, changing their aspect and enhancing the economic strength and the well-being of the working people.

Here are a few figures showing the volume of capital investments of Union organizations on the territory of the Union republics in 1936:

R.S.F.S.R.	
Budget for 1937	18,879,000,000 rubles
Capital Investments by Union Organizations in 1936	21,431,000,000 rubles
UKRAINIAN S.S.R.	
Budget for 1936	4,375,000,000 rubles
Capital Investments by Union Organizations in 1936	4,891,000,000 rubles
AZERBAIDJAN S.S.R.	
Budget for 1937	789,000,000 rubles
Capital Investments by Union Organizations in 1936	816,000,000 rubles
UZBEK S.S.R.	
Budget for 1936	913,000,000 rubles
Capital Investments by Union Organizations in 1936	839,000,000 rubles
TADJIK S.S.R.	
Budget for 1936	294,000,000 rubles
Capital Investments by Union Organizations in 1936	205,000,000 rubles
KAZAKH S.S.R.	
Budget for 1937	1,146,000,000 rubles
Capital Investments by Union Organizations in 1936	854,000,000 rubles

This is the situation in all the republics. Moreover, the figures for 1936 cited above represent only 75 per cent of all investments.

The figures showing the growth of total wages are extremely significant. Whereas in the Transcaucasian Federation total wages in 1929 amounted to 425,000,000 rubles, in 1937 in the Azerbaidjan S.S.R. alone they amounted to 1,450,000,000 rubles.

During the same period there has been an 8-fold increase in total wages in the Uzbek S.S.R., a 9-fold increase in the Turkmen S.S.R., a 16-fold increase in the Tadjik S.S.R., a 9-fold increase in the Kirghiz S.S.R., a 10-fold increase in the Kazakh S.S.R. and an 8.7-fold increase in the R.S.F.S.R. The growth of wages is indicative not only of the development of national economy in the Union republics, but also of the steady improvement in the well-being of the working people of these republics.

In addition to the growth of wages, in the years 1935-37 there was a reduction of retail prices on manufactured goods, totalling 11,500,000,000 rubles. This furnishes further vivid evidence of the growth of the material well-being of the peoples inhabiting the great Soviet Union.

The growth of expenditures on measures of a social and cultural character to be carried out in the Union republics in 1938 is exceptionally great. As compared with 1933, the expenditure on measures of a social and cultural character increases by 527.8 per cent in the R.S.F.S.R., by 450 per cent in the Ukrainian S.S.R., and by 432 per cent in the Byelorussian S.S.R. In the former Transcaucasian Federation the appropriations for measures of a social and cultural character amounted to 321,000,000 rubles in 1933; whereas this year the appropriations in the Azerbaidjan S.S.R. alone amount to 635,000,000 rubles. In the Turkmen S.S.R., the appropriations for measures of a social and cultural character have been increased by 434 per cent, in the Uzbek S.S.R. by 433 per cent, and in the Tadjik S.S.R. by 488.3 per cent.

In 1938, the number of pupils in all types of schools will amount to 33,247,000, whereas in tsarist Russia in 1914-15 only 7,800,000 pupils attended all schools. 20,500,000 pupils receive instruction in the schools of the R.S.F.S.R. at present, whereas in 1914-15 the number of pupils was 5,600,000. The number of pupils receiving instruction in the schools of the Ukrainian S.S.R. is 5,576,000, as against 1,600,000 in 1914-15. The number of pupils receiving instruction in the schools of the Byelorussian S.S.R. is 1,068,000, as against 294,000 before the revolution.

Before the Great October Revolution there were no higher educational establishments at all on the territory of the present Azerbaidjan, Armenian, Turkmen, Uzbek, Tadjik, Kazakh, Kirghiz and Byelorussian republics. In the current year 53,438 students are enrolled in the higher educational establishments of these republics: 13,204 in the Byelorussian S.S.R., 9,298 in the Azerbaidjan S.S.R., 4,651 in the Armenian S.S.R., 1,819 in the Turkmen S.S.R., 21,115 in the Uzbek S.S.R., 1,538 in the Tadjik S.S.R., 5,971 in the Kazakh S.S.R., and 802 in the Kirghiz S.S.R.

All these figures testify to the tempestuous development of the national economy of the Union republics, to the growth of their culture, national in form and Socialist in content, to the triumph of the wise national policy of Lenin and Stalin, which our Party and the Soviet Government are pursuing, destroying all enemies of the people and agents of Japanese and German fascism, who are trying to undermine the might of the Soviet Union and arrest the triumphant advance of Socialist construction. All these facts bear witness to the unshakable friendship existing between the peoples of the U.S.S.R., showing that they are united around the Party of Lenin and Stalin, around the leader of peoples, Comrade Stalin. *(Loud and prolonged applause and cheers.)*

In its study of the draft Unified State Budget of the U.S.S.R., the Budget Commission of the Soviet of Nationalities had the co-operation of representatives of the People's Commissariats and of the Union republics. As a result of its study, the Budget Commission considers that the draft Unified State Budget of the U.S.S.R. has been drawn up in accordance with the provisions of our Stalin Constitution and reflects the policy of our Party, directed towards the further development of Socialist economy, towards enhancing the defensive power of our country and improving the material well-being of the working people of the Soviet Union.

With a view to further improving the work in all branches of national economy, the Budget Commission finds it possible to propose the following amendments to the draft of the State Budget of the U.S.S.R. submitted by the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R.

With regard to revenues: to increase the revenue side of the Budget by 1,593,500,000 rubles. This is to include an increase in the turnover tax receipts amounting to 509,000,000 rubles from the People's Commissariat of the Food Industry, 75,000,000 rubles from the People's Commissariats of Local Industry, 2,500,000 rubles from the People's Commissariat of the Timber Industry, and 5,000,000 rubles from the Invalids' Co-operatives. The increase in receipts from the turnover tax will thus amount to 591,500,000 rubles.

To increase the receipts from the profits tax by 208,300,000 rubles. This sum is to include 179,400,000 rubles from the People's Commissariat of the Food Industry and 10,800,000 rubles from the People's Commissariat of Agricultural Stocks, while in the case of the People's Commissariat of the Timber Industry the tax should be reduced by 3,400,000 rubles. The receipts from the profits tax should be increased by 21,500,000 rubles in the case of the State Insurance Board.

To increase receipts from state loans by 321,500,000 rubles, namely, by 300,000,000 rubles from the state loan bonds purchased with savings banks funds, and 21,500,000 rubles from state loan bonds purchased with state insurance funds.

To increase the revenue from customs receipts by 250,000,000 rubles, and other revenues by 227,100,000 rubles.

To reduce the residue of Budget funds for the Turkmen S.S.R. by 13,000,000 rubles, for the Uzbek S.S.R. by 12,200,000 rubles, and for

the Byelorussian S.S.R. by 3,300,000 rubles, as incorrectly entered in the revenue column of the state Budget of these republics as of January 1, 1938.

Such are the changes which the Budget Commission proposes to introduce in the revenue side of the Unified State Budget submitted by the Council of People's Commissars.

On what basis does the Budget Commission consider it possible to increase the revenue side of the Unified State Budget?

In the first place, there are the corrections proposed by the Budget Commission in the case of wrong estimates of the People's Commissariat of Finance.

Secondly, there has been a growth of output in the case of quite a number of branches of economy, as shown in the reports for the first half of the year.

Thirdly, there are the changes which follow from the decisions of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. adopted by the latter after the draft of the Budget had been submitted to the Budget Commission for consideration.

In proposing these changes, the Budget Commission has based itself on the decisions adopted by the Council of People's Commissars with regard to individual People's Commissariats.

The following characteristic facts may be mentioned: in computing the turnover tax in the case of the Chief Canning Department, the People's Commissariat of Finance failed to take into account the actual balance—over 56,000,000 cans of goods. It is obvious that the realizable supplies increase by the amount disclosed, and, consequently, an additional income will be received. The People's Commissariat of Finance also failed to take into account the actual balance of sugar as of January 1, 1937. The unaccounted balance in the case of canned goods increases receipts by 38,000,000 rubles, and in the case of sugar by 15,000,000 rubles.

In the case of the enterprises of the People's Commissariat of the Food Industry, the Budget Commission has brought to light additional receipts to the amount of 345,500,000 rubles. At the same time the Budget Commission has found that the estimated revenue from the food industry wrongly includes a sum of 159,000,000 rubles representing taxes on profits in connection with re-calculations for previous years—profits which were actually non-existent. Therefore the Budget Commission proposes these changes and considers it possible to increase the revenue from the food industry by 179,400,000 rubles.

The increase of revenues from state loans is warranted by the actual realization of the plan with regard to deposits in savings banks for the first six and a half months. In the draft of the state Budget the revenue in the form of savings banks deposits is set at 1,300,000,000 rubles. For the first six and a half months the receipts accounted for by the increase in deposits in the savings banks amounted to 1,145,000,000 rubles. Thus the plan for the year had been practically realized in the first six and a half months.

Taking into consideration the various fluctuations with regard to the influx and withdrawal of deposits that are usual in the second half of the year, the Budget Commission has deemed it necessary and possible to increase this item by 300,000,000 rubles. It cannot be said that our savings banks have been working well. It was only this year that a considerable number of savings banks, which had been deliberately closed in previous years by the former wrecking leadership of the People's Commissariat of Finance of the U.S.S.R., were reopened by decision of the Government.

The Budget Commission is of the opinion that if the work of the savings banks improves and if, in addition, more attention is paid to the savings banks business by the Councils of People's Commissars of the Union and autonomous republics and by the executive committees of the regions and territories, this item of revenue can be considerably exceeded. We have all the opportunities to achieve this end. The well-being of the working people of our country is growing. Workers, collective farmers, employees and intellectuals in ever increasing numbers keep their savings in the savings banks.

The increase in customs revenues is consequent upon the decision of the Council of People's Commissars about changes in foreign trade accounts.

In the case of the other items of revenue, changes have in the main been introduced on the basis of more precise calculations for the various People's Commissariats, on account of the economy on social insurance in 1937, and by including the balance of the resources of the Workers' Inventions Bureau in connection with the Government decree.

These are the changes pertaining to revenues which the Budget Commission deems it possible and necessary to present for endorsement to the Soviet of Nationalities.

As regards the expenditure side, the Budget Commission proposes to increase expenditures by 109,400,000 rubles, while at the same time reducing expenditures in the case of certain items by 76,400,000 rubles. In connection with the increase of revenues in the local Budgets, a corresponding change, involving the sum of 18,000,000 rubles, should be made with regard to the funds that are transferred to the local Budgets. The total increase in expenditures will amount to 14,700,000 rubles. In the case of expenditures all the changes are suggested as a consequence of correcting and making more precise the calculations on which the People's Commissariat of Finance of the U.S.S.R. and the various People's Commissariats based themselves when drawing up the Budget. Thus, with regard to the People's Commissariat of Heavy Industry, the Budget Commission proposes to increase expenditures by 93,000,000 rubles, at the same time increasing also allocations for amortization, and on the strength of this reducing the total appropriations for capital development by 14,000,000 rubles. This will make it possible to add 79,000,000 rubles to the appropriation for financing the People's Commissariat of Heavy Industry.

With regard to the People's Commissariat of Agriculture, the Budget

Commission considers it necessary to increase the appropriations for the completion of land improvement operations by 30,000,000 rubles, and at the same time to reduce the appropriations covering the expenses on operating the All-Union Agricultural Exposition by 20,000,000 rubles, that is, to increase the expenditures allotted to the People's Commissariat of Agriculture by 10,000,000 rubles.

Comrades, you are all aware of the importance of the work connected with land improvement, particularly at the present time, when, on instructions of the Government, the collective farms and the local Soviets are resolutely undertaking correct crop rotation.

In the case of the People's Commissariat of Agricultural Stocks it is proposed to increase appropriations by 16,000,000 rubles for the purchase of horses for the needs of its organizations. This increase is consequent upon a decision of the Council of People's Commissars.

With regard to the People's Commissariat of the Food Industry, it is proposed to reduce the financing of capital investments from budgetary resources by 15,000,000 rubles. In this case an examination of the material by the Budget Commission elicited the fact that allocations for amortization had been incorrectly included by the People's Commissariat of Finance in the financial plan. The People's Commissariat of Finance overlooked a sum of 26,000,000 rubles, which we consider it necessary to add. But, in accordance with a decision of the Council of People's Commissars, 11,000,000 rubles out of this sum is left for capital repairs.

With regard to the Tadjik S.S.R. it is proposed to increase appropriations by 3,400,000 rubles, including 500,000 rubles for the work of reinforcing the river banks, and 2,900,000 rubles for replenishing the working capital of the Agricultural Supplies Service.

With regard to the Georgian S.S.R., to increase appropriations by 1,240,000 rubles for the teaching of Russian in non-Russian schools and for the maintenance of the Tbilisi Physical Culture Institute.

With regard to the Armenian S.S.R., it is proposed to increase appropriations for physical culture purposes by 250,000 rubles.

With regard to the Turkmen S.S.R., to increase appropriations for financing the press by 350,000 rubles.

It is proposed to reduce administrative expenses by 13,800,000 rubles in connection with the reorganization of the apparatus and because the staffs in a number of People's Commissariats have not been brought up to full complement. Other reductions in the expense schedules of the various People's Commissariats, totalling 48,400,000 rubles, are proposed on the basis of more precise calculations and the figures for the past half-year.

The Budget Commission considers that the proposed changes in the revenue and expenditure sides of the Budget, which were discussed jointly with the People's Commissariats and are corroborated by calculations, are realizable, and requests the Soviet of Nationalities to accept the proposed changes and approve the Budget in the sum of 126,777,693,000 rubles for revenues, and 125,277,693,000 rubles for expenditures, revenues exceeding expenditures by 1,500,000,000 rubles.

The Budget Commission also proposes that the additional revenue resources be used to increase the reserve fund of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R., bringing it up to 2,765,200,000 rubles, so that the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. may apply these resources for any increase in expenditures which necessity may require.

While studying the revenue and expenditure sides of the draft Unified State Budget, the Budget Commission necessarily had to examine production indices and reports, as well as the calculations that serve as a basis for the assignment of expenditures in the expense schedules of the various People's Commissariats. As a result the Budget Commission considers it necessary to make the following remarks with regard to the work of some of the People's Commissariats.

In the first place, it is our opinion that the People's Commissariat of Finance of the U.S.S.R. is not sufficiently acquainted with the financial affairs of the various republics. The work of the apparatus of the People's Commissariat of Finance still lacks precision, and a number of gross errors have been made by it in the draft Budgets of certain republics. In the case of the Uzbek and Turkmen republics there was a considerable overestimation of the residue of unused Budget resources as of January 1, 1938, which caused an extremely strained situation in the financial affairs of these republics.

The People's Commissariat of Finance included the residue in the revenue column of the Budget on the basis of material furnished by the State Bank. In turned out upon verification that the figures furnished by the State Bank were incorrect, and that is why we consider it necessary to propose the corresponding changes. It turns out that the State Bank, just like the People's Commissariat of Finance, lacks precision in carrying out its duties. The People's Commissariat of Finance of the U.S.S.R. has not been paying sufficient attention to the way Government decisions dealing with financial matters are being put into effect. For example, in the Uzbek Republic there exists, in addition to the reserve fund fixed by the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R., a concealed reserve fund of the local Budgets. This fund amounts to 23,600,000 rubles. If we add the fact that the People's Commissariat of Finance of the Uzbek Republic furnished wrong data about the balance as of January 1, 1938, which involved a sum of more than 11,000,000 rubles, we find that the People's Commissariat of Finance of the Uzbek Republic concealed from the People's Commissariat of Finance of the U.S.S.R. a sum of about 40,000,000 rubles.

The People's Commissariat of Finance of the U.S.S.R. must not allow such things to happen. In any event, such things must not take place.

The People's Commissariat of Finance of the U.S.S.R. displays an insufficiently serious attitude in executing some of the decisions of the Council of People's Commissars, particularly those that entail relatively small expenditures. Take, for instance, the decision of the Government about improving the work of the rural medical stations.

With regard to wages and laborataries, the People's Commissariat of Finance made the necessary provisions in the Budgets of the republics. But the People's Commissariat of Finance made no provisions for expenditures on the organization of travelling facilities and on municipal services to rural doctors. Moreover, the explanations which are given by the People's Commissariat of Finance are such as to prompt the local Soviets to violate Budget discipline.

The Budget Commission also sees no justification whatever for the impermissible reduction of expenditures on the introduction of the teaching of Russian in the non-Russian schools in the Georgian Republic. This is an omission—an expression of negligence, if you like—on the part of the central apparatus of the People's Commissariat of Finance. This aspect of the work should be looked into.

There is a decision of the Council of People's Commissars which provides for the covering of expenses entailed in the industrial practice of students of higher educational establishments from the budgetary funds of the institutions in question, *i.e.*, the higher educational establishments. In spite of this, there is no provision in the budgets of these institutions for such expenditures, and to this day the People's Commissariats and the administrations in charge of the educational establishments cannot get any definite decision from the leadership of the People's Commissariat of Finance. Even if these are relatively minor facts, they are none the less very significant.

In the apparatus of the People's Commisariat of Finance itself the work is incorrectly organized. As a result there is a lack of co-ordination between the various divisions and departments of the People's Commissariat of Finance, and it frequently happens that one department knows nothing of what another department is doing. This results in a number of deficiencies in the sphere of financial planning. Take, for instance, the norms of expenses on stationery and office supplies. You will find here anything but a discriminating approach on the part of the People's Commissariat of Finance. The whole matter resolves itself entirely into a mechanical endorsement of the calculations presented by the People's Commissariats, into a sanction of the sums which each People's Commissariat is able to contend for. The same applies to the norms of expenditure on postage and telegraph charges, on social and cultural services, etc. When we in the Budget Commission endeavoured to get to the bottom of this, to find the real cause of this situation, we could not get a clear answer from the workers of the People's Commissariat of Finance.

There is another aspect of the question, which also concerns the People's Commissariat of Finance. The People's Commissariat of Finance draws up plans for budgetary items that have not been approved by the Council of People's Commissars. Take the case of the state subsidy for the coal industry. It had been projected with a view to the introduction of new sales prices as of July 1, 1938. The amount of the subsidy to the Gold-Mining Supply Administration had been fixed tentatively, contingent on the introduction of new sales prices as of

October 1, 1938. Neither of these measures was endorsed by a decision of the Council of People's Commissars and we therefore consider it wrong to include such expenditures in the Budget.

A few words on the work of the People's Commissariat of Agricultural Stocks. The affairs of this People's Commissariat are in a very neglected state.

We almost entirely lack here the figures on the actual financing of capital development and on the expenditure of resources on the training of forces. Big sums are allotted for the training of forces—7,126,000,000 rubles. Of this sum, 567,000,000 rubles goes to the People's Commissariat of Agriculture, and 11,100,000 rubles to the People's Commissariat of Agricultural Stocks. But what is the situation with regard to the training of forces?

In the People's Commissariat of Agriculture the quotas provided in the plan for the higher educational establishments and for the training of forces in mass demand are not being fulfilled. The funds allotted for these purposes were not expended last year, nor are they being utilized to the full in the current year. Neither the People's Commissariat of Agricultural Stocks nor the People's Commissariat of Agriculture knows for whom it is training people; there are no data in these People's Commissariats as to what kind of specialists they are training. And you cannot train forces unless you know the requirements. It is necessary to draw the attention of the People's Commissariat of Agriculture and the People's Commissariat of Agricultural Stocks to the necessity of carrying out the plans for the training of forces, of properly placing these forces and retaining them in their organizations, otherwise this work will have been for nothing.

A few remarks concerning Uzbekistan. The People's Commissariat of Finance of Uzbekistan overstated the quota of students as per January 1, 1938, by 64,000, and this fact was concealed from the People's Commissariat of Finance of the U.S.S.R. Budget discipline and financial discipline must exist both in the People's Commissariats and in their economic organizations.

See what facts we get. Take the expenditure on wages. In the Kirov Works of the People's Commissariat of the Machine-Building Industry there was an overexpenditure on wages in the first half of the year amounting to 9,123,000 rubles; in the Chief Tractor Industry Department of the People's Commissariat of the Machine-Building Industry there was an overexpenditure of 4,600,000 rubles; in the Karl Liebknecht Works of the People's Commissariat of Heavy Industry there was an overexpenditure of 679,000 rubles; in the Viksun Works of the People's Commissariat of Heavy Industry there was an overexpenditure of 583,000 rubles. There are quite a number of such cases. We still have no strict control over the observance of the provisions for the expenditure on wages. The managers of enterprises allow the expenditure of resources at will. Thereby they allow a curtailment of the accumulations provided for in the plan.

It is also necessary to draw attention to the fact that working cap-

ital is used for capital investments without the sanction of the proper Government organizations. This constitutes a breach of financial discipline. For instance, in the Chief Transport Machinery Administration working capital to the amount of 616,000 rubles was unlawfully used in the first half of the year; in the Chief Tractor Industry Department 765,000 rubles were taken from the working capital and used for capital investments. We have received a communication from the accountant of the Magnitogorsk Iron and Steel Works complaining against a member of the Budget Commission of the Soviet of Nationalities, Comrade Korobov, director of the Magnitogorsk Works, who during the first half of the year expended working capital to the amount of 4,202,000 rubles on capital investments without the proper sanction. Comrade Korobov also permits the entry of expenses under incorrect headings in order to cover these overexpenditures.

The attention of both the People's Commissariats and the Council of People's Commissars must be drawn to these breaches of financial discipline.

The utilization of resources provided for in the Budgets for the current year, particularly for capital investments, is proceeding very slowly. Thus, in five months the plan for capital investments in heavy industry was fulfilled to the extent of only 20.7 per cent, in the People's Commissariat of the Machine-Building Industry 21.9 per cent, in the People's Commissariat of Light Industry 23.8 per cent, in the People's Commissariat of the Food Industry 22 per cent, and in the People's Commissariat of the Timber Industry also 22 per cent. The plan of the People's Commissariat of Light Industry of the U.S.S.R. for housing construction in 1938 calls for the completion of new houses with an aggregate living space of 328,000 sq. m. ready for occupancy; but actually houses with an aggregate of only 5,300 sq. m. were completed (in the first quarter of the year), in spite of the fact that there is a serious shortage of housing accommodation for the workers in our light industry. The People's Commissariat of Light Industry was not able to make proper use of the allocated resources for the purpose of fully realizing the plan of capital construction.

The People's Commissariats and the republics should take note of these remarks and correct these shortcomings in their practical work.

The Budget Commission of the Soviet of Nationalities deems it necessary also to introduce a number of proposals which, in our opinion, are of serious importance for our national economy.

The first is to revise the existing norms for working capital in industry, transport and agriculture. These norms were fixed in 1931, and they no longer correspond to the present technical equipment of national economy and to the changed conditions of supply, marketing and transportation. It will be sufficient to cite one example by way of illustration. In the V.V. Kuibyshev Works in Kolomna the norms include the sum of 46,000,000 rubles for uncompleted production. Since these norms were fixed, the production period has changed, the output of finished products has been accelerated; yet the norms remain

the same. This applies to a number of People's Commissariats. The question of regulating the norms of working capital must be settled in the shortest possible time.

The second proposal which, in our opinion, is an extremely serious matter is the inventory and valuation of the fixed capital of our People's Commissariats, in agriculture, etc.

As you know, the allocations for amortization are determined on the basis of the estimated value of the fixed capital. A valuation of fixed capital was made in 1926-27, pre-war estimates being taken as a basis with a certain co-efficient, and in 1932, with the subsequent addition of various valuations depending on the time when this capital was received and on its source.

Consequently, the inventory and valuation of the fixed capital and its amortization which we have at present do not correspond to their actual state and cause an underrating of allocations for amortization. For example, in the case of the People's Commissariat of Railways the allocations for amortization in the course of a number of years have been barely sufficient to take care of capital repairs. In some People's Commissariats these allocations for amortization are utilized through the central bodies, which, in our opinion, is not quite the correct procedure.

On behalf of the Budget Commission I move that an adjustment be effected in the accounts pertaining to the relations between the Budget and industry with regard to the profits tax. These relations have been regulated by the decision of the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R. of September 3, 1931. Actually this decision has not been put into effect in any of the subsequent years, and therefore no definite line is followed in this question. It should not require a long period of time to settle this question.

These are the conclusions, remarks and proposals which the Budget Commission deems it necessary to submit for discussion to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

The State Budget of the U.S.S.R. for 1938 vividly demonstrates the great victories of Socialism achieved by the peoples of the Soviet Union under the guidance of the Party of Lenin and Stalin, under the guidance of the brilliant leader of peoples, Comrade Stalin. (*Loud and prolonged applause.*)

Comrades, we have achieved historic victories. "This," as Comrade Stalin said at the Extraordinary Eighth Congress of Soviets of the U.S.S.R., "spiritually arms our working class, our peasantry, our working intelligentsia. It impels them forward and rouses a sense of legitimate pride. It increases confidence in our strength and mobilizes us for fresh struggles for new victories of Communism." (*Loud applause.*)

The Chairman: The first speaker on the list is Deputy Bulganin, Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic. (*Applause.*)

N. A. Bulganin (*Moscow City Area No. 1, R.S.F.S.R.*): Comrades, we have heard the detailed reports of the People's Commissar of Finance

and of the Budget Commission on the state Budget of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics for 1938.

The Budget of the U.S.S.R. reflects the economic development of the country and the prosperity of its citizens.

The sum total of state revenues in the Budget constitutes the national income, the fund that is the property of the whole of the people, the wherewithal to finance industry and agriculture, to defray the expenditures on education, public health and social maintenance, and also to strengthen the defence of our country.

The draft of the state Budget submitted to this Session for its approval completely ensures the financing of the measures indicated in the national economic plan for 1938 and consequently fully answers the interests of our state, the interests of the people.

Two figures stand out conspicuously in the Budget of the U.S.S.R. for this year: total revenues—125,184,000,000 rubles, total expenditures—123,684,000,000 rubles.

The 22.8 per cent growth of the Budget this year as compared with 1937 serves as an especially striking indication of the economic strength of our country.

Of the budgetary total of 125,184,000,000 rubles, over 47,000,000,000 rubles are being assigned for capital construction of new factories and plants, new railways, new machine and tractor stations and for other needs of our national economy.

In 1938 state budgetary appropriations for public education alone consume a greater sum than the whole of state budgetary expenditures in 1928. In 1938 over 20,000,000,000 rubles are being assigned for schools, kindergartens and other public educational purposes.

Expenditures on hospitals, maternity homes and other public health measures total over 8,000,000,000 rubles this year. Expenditures for social maintenance amount to over 3,000,000,000 rubles.

The annual growth of the Budget of the U.S.S.R. is accompanied by a similar growth of the Budgets of the Union republics.

The Budget of the R.S.F.S.R. comes to 21,407,000,000 rubles in 1938, an increase of 13.5 per cent over last year's Budget.

Comrades, if we examine the Budgets of the Russian Federation from year to year for the last five years, we shall find a most striking illustration of what the Government of the Soviet Union and the Party of Lenin-Stalin have done for the Union Republics, including the peoples of our own Russian Republic.

In 1934 the Budget of the Russian Federation came to only 7,572,000,000 rubles, in 1935—10,790,000,000 rubles, in 1936—15,488,000,000 rubles, in 1937—19,402,000,000 rubles, and for 1938 it is being set at 21,407,000,000 rubles.

The following growth in expenditures for education may be observed in our Russian Federation: in 1934 they constituted 2,800,000,000 rubles, in 1935—4,187,000,000 rubles, in 1936—6,592,000,000 rubles, in 1937—7,760,000,000 rubles and in 1938 they constitute

8,624,000,000 rubles; that is, these expenditures have more than tripled during these years.

Expenditure for public health in 1934 constituted 1,000,000,000 rubles, in 1935—2,384,000,000 rubles, in 1936—3,243,000,000 rubles, in 1937—3,814,000,000 rubles and in 1938—4,362,000,000 rubles—a more than fourfold increase during these years.

If the 1938 budgetary provisions of our Russian Federation be compared with those for 1937 by territories and regions, the Budgets of the newly formed territories and regions of the R.S.F.S.R. stand out with particular sharpness against the background of an average budgetary increase of 13.5 per cent for the republic as a whole. Thus, these comparative data disclose that the Budget of the newly formed Altai territory, for instance, is increasing by 37 per cent in 1938; the Budget of the new Chita Region by 25.6 per cent; that of the Ryazan Region by 19 per cent, of the Krasnodar Territory by 16.4 per cent, and so forth.

Comrades, as I have already said, expenditures on public education in 1938 in our republic alone constitute 8,624,000,000 rubles, and on public health—4,362,000,000 rubles.

With disbursements on social maintenance added to the above appropriations in the Budget of our republic alone, these expenditures will total 14,600,000,000 rubles, constituting an increase of 19.2 per cent over last year. Education, public health and social maintenance consume 68.2 per cent of the total Budget of our republic.

Our Budget cannot be compared with the Budgets of capitalist countries, for the structure of our Budget sharply differs from theirs. Nevertheless, if we glance at the Budgets of capitalist, and more particularly of fascist, countries, we find that outlays on education and public health are absolutely paltry. In Japan, for instance, appropriations for public education in 1937 formed only 2.6 per cent of total budgetary outgo, in Italy they formed 5 per cent, in Poland—7.5 per cent, in Great Britain—6.6 per cent, in France—7.7 per cent. In addition, expenditures on schools and public health are decreasing in these countries each year. In our country the Russian Republic alone annually spends several tens of billions of rubles on schools, hospitals, maternity homes, kindergartens, social maintenance and other measures for serving the needs of the population; and we are increasing these expenditures each year.

What does this mean in practice? It means that in the sphere of culture and public health we have achieved remarkable successes during these years, thanks to the leadership of the Government of the Soviet Union, thanks to the leadership of the Bolshevik Party.

In 1938 the number of pupils enrolled in the elementary and intermediate schools of the Russian Federation alone reaches a total of 20,000,000. During the years of Soviet power the number of pupils in full-grade and part-grade intermediate schools in our republic has grown practically 20-fold.

The years of our revolution have brought with them the realization of universal elementary education in the R.S.F.S.R., thus putting

into practice the principle established by the Soviet power of the free education of children irrespective of their origin and nationality.

The number of schools in rural districts has increased by half during the years of Soviet power, having reached approximately 98,000 in 1937.

During the last few years, in the rural localities of the R.S.F.S.R.—and I do not doubt that this is true also of the other Union republics—where in pre-revolutionary times the higher schools could practically be counted on one's fingers, 18,000 full-grade and part-grade intermediate schools had been opened by January 1, 1938.

What does this signify? It signifies that in the villages of the R.S.F.S.R. alone, 18,000 intermediate schools, that is, *gymnasia*, have been opened.

The number of pupils attending the rural schools of the R.S.F.S.R. has increased 3-fold in comparison with pre-revolutionary times, having reached 13,150,000 in 1937, as against 4,285,000 in 1913-15.

The number of teachers engaged in the rural schools of the Russian Republic has increased 3.5-fold in comparison with pre-revolutionary times. They now total 385,000, as against 110,000 before the revolution.

Comrades, we know that thousands of new schools have been built during these years. Since 1933, that is, during the last five years, over 11,000 schools have been built in the R.S.F.S.R. alone, accommodating 3,000,000 pupils, 2,097 of these new schools having been constructed in cities and about 9,000 in the countryside.

If we take the appropriations for public health, we find the following: before the revolution the number of beds in hospitals and other medical institutions on the territory of what is now the R.S.F.S.R. was 120,000, with 13,000 doctors.

By 1937 the number of hospital beds in the R.S.F.S.R. had increased to 416,000, and instead of 13,000 doctors about 100,000 are now working in our hospitals, dispensaries and polyclinics. In 1938 alone the medical universities under the People's Commissariat of Public Health of the R.S.F.S.R. and the U.S.S.R. will graduate 12,300 new doctors.

In 1936, 136 nurseries were built, in 1937—697.

45 maternity homes were built in 1936 and 225 in 1937.

Comrades, not only these but all other recent social and economic changes in our country are reflected with particular force in the state Budget of the Soviet Union.

In comparison with the first year of the First Five-Year Plan, that is, 1928, the state Budget now submitted for approval to the Session of the Supreme Soviet has grown practically 15-fold.

Unlike capitalist countries, our Soviet land uses all these appropriations for the expansion of Socialist industry, which was amply dealt with here in the report, for Socialist agriculture, for the further improvement of the material and cultural welfare of the working people and for the consolidation of the defensive power of the country.

Comrades, to ensure the execution of so gigantic a plan in 1938, to

ensure the complete financing of our industry, whether under Union, republican or local control, to ensure the complete financing of agriculture, of expenditures on education and public health, it is absolutely necessary that the provisions of the revenue side of the state Budget be carried out in full.

We know from the report that our finance workers have not yet done everything necessary to assure such fulfilment. We have heard from the Chairman of the Budget Commission of the Soviet of Nationalities that the bodies of the People's Commissariat of Finance and the bodies of the industrial and other People's Commissariats, still have a great deal to do to execute the instructions and directions of the Party and the Government in the sphere of finance.

Many finance bodies, as also a number of regional and territorial executive committees and Councils of People's Commissars of autonomous republics of our Russian Federation, have left much undone in the matter of collecting taxes and levies, and of fulfilling the financial plan; the functioning of some of them is highly unsatisfactory.

At a recent sitting of the Council of People's Commissars of the R.S.F.S.R., acting on the instructions of the Economic Council attached to the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R., we checked the work of our territorial and regional executive committees in collecting monetary taxes from the population. We established the fact that quite a number of executive committees and Councils of People's Commissars of autonomous republics are functioning very poorly. In the decision of the Council of People's Commissars we made particular mention of the poor work of the Kalinin and Kursk regional executive committees and the Tambov organizational committee of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, and demanded that they improve the situation within the next few days. We hope that with the help of the Council of People's Commissars of the R.S.F.S.R. we shall shortly rectify this defect and be able to report to the Economic Council attached to the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. that the work of these regional executive committees has improved.

Comrades, the Chairman of the Budget Commission has just criticized the work of the People's Commissariat of Finance of the U.S.S.R., pointing out that it does not yet display the decision demanded in the conduct of its work of regulating and controlling the execution of the revenue and expenditure provisions of our Budget.

This applies not only to the all-Union People's Commissariat of Finance. It is also quite true of the People's Commissariat of Finance of our republic and the People's Commissariats of Finance of the autonomous republics, as well as of the finance departments of the territorial and regional executive committees.

Finance workers must properly organize the control over the fulfilment of financial plans by the People's Commissariats and their various departments. This will ensure the fulfilment of the plans, the revenue and expenditure sides of which are being submitted today to the Session of the Supreme Soviet for its approval.

Comrades, the figures of the state Budget bring out very clearly the main line of development of the national economy. The figures mentioned on this platform have been brought home to every member of the Supreme Soviet present here. The figures of our state Budget are comprehensible and clear to every one of us members of the Supreme Soviet, they are comprehensible and dear to the workers, collective farmers, office employees and scientists, they are comprehensible to the men and commanders of our Workers' and Peasants' Red Army, comprehensible because our whole Budget is an important factor in the realization of the general line of the Party of Lenin and Stalin. (*Applause.*)

Comrades, nowhere in the whole world is there another Budget like this, nowhere in the world is there another country like this, where the state spends such huge sums for the cause of the people. Nowhere in the world outside the U.S.S.R. will you find a Budget that provides such huge expenditures for public education; nowhere else is there a Budget which carries such huge appropriations for public health and social maintenance.

There is only one country that has such a Budget. That country is our mighty Soviet Union, which year by year ascends to ever loftier heights under the leadership of our Bolshevik Party. (*Applause.*)

The capitalist, and especially the fascist countries—Germany, Italy, Japan and some of their obedient servitors—would be only too glad if in any way they could put a spoke in the wheel of progress of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

We know that they do not let this craving rest at that. We know that they are trying to realize their schemes. This is borne out by the base subversive activities of their agents—the Trotskyite-Bukharinite and bourgeois-nationalist packs of spies, diversionists and assassins, who are being destroyed by our glorious intelligence service.

We cannot overlook these facts, just as we cannot overlook the dispatches from the Far East, where the Japanese militarists have lately made a number of provocatory attacks on Soviet territory.

Many of our electors have put themselves on record on this question. At numerous meetings our electors—the millions of workers, collective farmers, employees and Soviet intellectuals—have expressed their heartfelt approval of the action taken by our First (Maritime) Army in the Far East. (*Loud and prolonged applause.*) In obedience to the demands of our electors, presented to us at manifold meetings, it is our duty to convey to the government of the U.S.S.R. and to its head—Comrade Molotov—their unanimous mandate: to continue to pursue a firm and resolute policy in regard to the Japanese militarists. (*Loud and prolonged applause.*)

Comrades, in his reply to the Young Communist League member, Ivanov, Comrade Stalin wrote:

"It would be ridiculous and stupid to close our eyes to the fact that there is a capitalist encirclement and to think that our external enemies—the fascists, for example—will not, if the opportunity arises,

make an attempt at a military attack upon the U.S.S.R. Only blind braggarts or masked enemies who desire to lull the vigilance of our people can think like that."

In this same letter Comrade Stalin points out: "Our Red Army, Red Navy, Red Air Force, and the Chemical and Air Defence Society must be increased and strengthened to the utmost. The whole of our people must be kept in a state of mobilization and preparedness in the face of the danger of a military attack, so that no 'accident' and no tricks on the part of our external enemies may take us by surprise."

Expressing the will and the sentiments of my electors, I declare to our Government and believe I may do so on behalf of the whole chamber of the Soviet of Nationalities, that we fully support the Budget appropriations for consolidating the might of our Workers' and Peasants' Red Army and Navy, and ask the Government of the U.S.S.R. to take all measures necessary to strengthen still more the defensive power of our fatherland, to increase the might of our Workers' and Peasants' Red Army, Navy and Air Force. (*Loud and prolonged applause.*)

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, is steadfastly climbing to ever loftier heights. In his speech at the Conference of Higher Educational Workers last May, Comrade Molotov graphically depicted the decided improvement taking place in the work of our industry. He vividly showed how the new leading personnel in industry and other branches of the national economy are bringing improvement into all our work for the good of the country. In this speech Comrade Molotov said: "We have emerged from the struggle against the enemies of the people by no means weakened. On the contrary, we have become still stronger and still more confident of the complete triumph of our cause."

"In 1937," said Comrade Molotov, "as a result of the exposure of wrecking activities, we have had to make considerable changes in our industrial cadres. Many 'Communists' who used to plume themselves overmuch on their long experience, while in reality they had become politically degenerate and enmeshed in wrecking activities, as well as numerous engineering specialists, had to be replaced during the last few months, largely by promoting new people, taken primarily from among formerly unknown workers with practical experience and young specialists.

"Do our present economic staffs cope with their tasks?" Comrade Molotov asked, and replied: "Let us compare the industrial output in January 1938 with that of last year. It appears that we had an increase in production of 5.5 per cent for January. We were going ahead, but this increase in comparison with last year was still comparatively small. February 1938 showed a 9 per cent increase in industrial output in comparison with February 1937. This was a further step forward. Comparing the industrial output for the months of March, this year and last, we already observe an increase of 12 per cent. This gives a sufficiently clear picture of the growing rate of industrial development. Now we also have data for the month of April. Industrial output in April increased by 15 per cent in comparison with April 1937."

Comrade Molotov said this in May. May brought an increase in industrial output of 16.2 per cent, June—of 17.8 per cent in comparison with June 1937.

Comrades, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is making rapid headway. The facts that portray our growth are just so many blows on the heads of our enemies, who tried to obstruct our victorious development. The actual conditions obtaining in our country proclaim the Bolshevik Party, the Lenin-Stalin Central Committee, invincible. Under its leadership, under the guidance of our great leader and teacher, Comrade Stalin, the working people of the Soviet Union will march onward to the final victory of Communism. (*Loud and prolonged applause.*)

The Chairman: Comrades, I have received a motion to adjourn for ten minutes. Are there any objections?

Voices: No.

The Chairman: Adjournment for ten minutes.

(*Adjournment.*)

The Chairman: I call upon Deputy Khoshtaria.

S. G. Khoshtaria (*Gagry Area, Abkhazian A.S.S.R.*): Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. The draft Unified State Budget of the U.S.S.R. for 1938, endorsed by the Council of People's Commissars of the Union and presented to the Session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. for its consideration and approval, is a document that fully reflects our victories and achievements. This Budget provides for the application of the resources of the Socialist state to the realization of the great program for the first year of the Third Stalin Five-Year Plan—the program for the further development of Socialist national economy, for the flourishing of culture and the improvement of the well-being of the working people. This Budget serves to further consolidate the might of our great Socialist fatherland.

I think that I will express the opinion of all the deputies and of the entire Soviet people if I declare that it is with a feeling of great satisfaction that we accept the proposal of the workers' and peasants' Government calling for the appropriation of 27,000,000,000 rubles for expenditure on the further consolidation of the defensive power of our great and mighty Socialist state. (*Loud applause.*)

We must adopt this proposal and express our particular approval of it, for it conforms to the wishes of the whole of the Soviet people.

The Japanese fascists have been provoking us for a long time; they want to draw the Soviet Union into a war. Recently the Japanese military clique perpetrated a provocation on a large scale by marching regular troops with artillery into Soviet territory.

Our heroic Red Army, which is vigilantly guarding the frontiers of the Socialist fatherland, administered a crushing rebuff to the Japanese military clique and hurled the arrogant provocateurs back beyond the Soviet border line. The Japanese fascists got what they deserved. (*Applause.*)

We deputies fully approve of the measures taken by the Government for the preservation of peace. We want no war, but at the same time we fully approve of the measures taken by the Soviet Government in order not to permit the enemy to remain even for a single minute on the territory of our Socialist fatherland, in order to guard the inviolability of the sacred borders of the Land of Socialism.

Let it be remembered by all fascist rulers that the Soviet people is firm and resolute in its decision. It is unswervingly guided by the wise words of our great Stalin: "We stand for peace and champion the cause of peace. But we are not afraid of threats and are prepared to answer the instigators of war blow for blow."

We will fight with all our strength for the final victory of Communism in our country. We will achieve this aim, for we are guided by the great Party of Lenin and Stalin, and are led from victory to victory by our own beloved leader and teacher of all working people, of all progressive humanity, Comrade Stalin. (*Loud and prolonged applause.*)

Comrades, the draft Budget for 1938, endorsed by the Council of People's Commissars of the Union and submitted for approval to the Second Session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., fully reflects the great principles of the national policy of Lenin and Stalin and ensures the further growth of all branches of economy and culture in all the Union and autonomous republics.

Yesterday the People's Commissar of Finance of the U.S.S.R. cited in his report striking examples showing the further flourishing of the Union republics.

The Budget of the Georgian S.S.R. is more than four times the Budget of 1933. Investments in the national economy of the Georgian S.S.R. this year will amount to nearly as much as was invested in 1933 in all the three republics of the former Transcaucasian Federation. Expenditures on social and cultural services this year are scheduled to exceed those of 1937 by nearly 20 per cent, and will amount to six times as much as in 1933.

But even these figures do not fully reflect the investments that will be made in the national economy of our republic in 1938. A number of the most important branches of economy are financed directly through the channels of the Union Budget. Among these are the manganese industry, the coal industry, the incipient oil industry of the Georgian Oil Trust, the automobile and locomotive repair works and the district electric power plants.

The Second Five-Year Plan called for investments in the national economy of Georgia to the amount of 2,023,000,000 rubles. Actual investments amounted to 2,240,800,000 rubles, investments in 1937 alone amounting to 385,500,000 rubles (not including investments in enterprises of the People's Commissariat of Heavy Industry and the People's Commissariat of the Machine-Building Industry of the U.S.S.R.).

The 1938 plan provides for a gross output of industry to the amount of 423,000,000 rubles. This refers only to the enterprises under republican and district control.

There has been a considerable growth in the output of Socialist agriculture. In Georgia, as in the rest of the Soviet Union, the collective farm system has scored the final victory. Approximately 80 per cent of all peasant farms are united in collective farms. The collective farms of Georgia are the principal producers of tea, tobacco, grain, beets and other industrial and special crops. The income of the collective farms and the prosperity of the collective farmers have been growing from year to year. Today we already have scores of millionaire collective farms in Georgia.

The Georgian Republic has been specializing more than other republics in highly valuable industrial and special crops. The area under tea plantations has been extended to 43,743 hectares in 1938. The yield of green tea leaf has considerably increased. While in 1936 the yield per hectare was 1,620 kg. of leaf, we gathered 2,115 kg. per hectare in 1937, and expect to gather at least 2,150 kg. per hectare in 1938. This year Georgia will deliver to the state 35,000 tons of green tea leaf, as against 20,000 tons in 1936.

Comrade Stalin's suggestion, and the decision of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. and of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. (B.), on the development of citrus fruit growing is being successfully carried out. This year an additional area of 4,000 hectares was planted to citrus fruits. Today our citrus plantations cover an area of 9,672 hectares. The area under vineyards has also been considerably extended.

The yield of tobacco and various fruits has been increasing from year to year. In 1937 the increase in the output of the principal crops, as compared with 1936, was as follows: tea—38.5 per cent, citrus fruits—61.5 per cent, and tobacco—6.6 per cent.

The antediluvian wooden plough has been replaced by tractors, of which there are more than 2,500 cultivating the collective farm fields of Georgia, in addition to 350 harvester combines and hundreds of other complex agricultural machines.

Thanks to the enormous and constantly growing appropriations for social and cultural services, education and learning have been developing in Georgia at a tempestuous rate, and literature and art have been flourishing. Georgia has taken its place among the advanced cultured republics.

There has been an extraordinary improvement in the material well-being of the working people. Whereas in the republics of the former Transcaucasian Federation total wages in 1929 amounted to 425,400,000 rubles, in 1938 total wages in the Georgian Republic alone will amount to 1,335,400,000 rubles.

Investments in housing construction, which amounted to 51,300,000 rubles during the period of the First Five-Year Plan, reached 160,700,000 rubles during the period of the Second Five-Year Plan. Investments in municipal development, which totalled 26,000,000 rubles during the period of the First Five-Year Plan, amounted to 201,500,000 rubles during the period of the Second Five-Year Plan. Investments in construction for cultural purposes and the improvement of living conditions, which totalled 134,900,000 rubles in the period of the First Five-Year Plan, amounted to 690,500,000 rubles in the period of the Second Five-Year Plan.

The fascist hirelings—the Trotskyite, Bukharinite and bourgeois-nationalist gang of agents of foreign intelligence services, spies, diversionists and wreckers—tried to halt the victorious advance of the happy Georgian people. But the traitors to their country had sorely miscalculated. The Communist Party of Georgia carried out Comrade Stalin's wise instructions about intensifying Bolshevik vigilance, and, unanimously supported by the Georgian people, it exposed, broke up and destroyed the principal enemy nests.

These tremendous successes have been achieved by the working people of Georgia under the leadership of the great Party of Lenin and Stalin, thanks to the fact that the Bolshevik Communist Party of Georgia has been undeviatingly carrying out the directives of the Stalin Central Committee and of Comrade Stalin personally. These achievements are the result of the constant help we have been receiving from the Union Government of our great Socialist state.

Comrades, I have demonstrated before you the triumph of the wise national policy of Lenin and Stalin by citing some facts concerning the Georgian Republic. The achievements in the other Soviet Socialist Union Republics are no less great. As you see by the draft Unified State Budget of the U.S.S.R. submitted by the Council of People's Commissars to the Second Session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., the Party and the Government are invariably displaying particular concern for the development of the national republics and the flourishing of their economy and culture.

I should like to fix the attention of the members of the Supreme Soviet on some questions which came to light during the consideration of the draft Unified State Budget in the Budget Commission of the Soviet of Nationalities. I fully agree with Deputy Khokhlov, who has subjected the work of the People's Commissariat of Finance of the U.S.S.R. to severe criticism.

I am referring to the question of training forces. Every year the State provides large appropriations for the training of forces. There is no need to prove the necessity of these appropriations. The draft Budget for the current year provides for appropriations amounting to over 7,000,000,000 rubles, or 25.7 per cent more than in 1937. The Party and the Government show great concern for the training of forces. However, there are still some People's Commissariats and central bodies in which proper attention is not being paid to the training of forces. Thus, for instance, the quota of students in workers' colleges under the People's Commissariat of Agriculture of the U.S.S.R. for January 1, 1938, was 850. Actually, however, there were only 715 students. In the training colleges the respective figures were 2,755 and 2,121. Nor has the People's Commissariat of Agriculture of the U.S.S.R. been fulfilling its plan of training candidates for fellowship. The People's Commissariat of Agriculture of the U.S.S.R. has not been paying sufficient attention to the organization of courses for the training of forces

in mass demand. In 1938 the People's Commissariat of Agriculture of the U.S.S.R. was supposed to train 40,000 harvester-combine operators, but only 34,348 have been trained. Instead of 11,500 mechanics for the machine and tractor stations, only 7,000 have been trained. Instead of 5,000 harvester-combine mechanics only 2,958 have been trained. Instead of 25,000 tractor-brigade leaders, only 11,900 have been trained. In 1937 the sum of 1,495,000 rubles was appropriated for the organization of courses by the People's Commissariat of Agricultural Stocks, then the Committee on Agricultural Stocks. The actual amount expended was 943,000 rubles. The sums appropriated for these purposes in 1938 are also being utilized unsatisfactorily. The representatives of the People's Commissariat of Agricultural Stocks who appeared before the Budget Commission even demanded that the appropriations for the organization of courses be cut and the sums thus released assigned to other purposes, in spite of the fact that the People's Commissariat of Agricultural Stocks, in connection with the reorganization of its lower network, has been taking on a great number of new workers who need additional training.

A similar situation with regard to the training of forces in mass demand obtains in the People's Commissariat of Light Industry. It must be noted that, except for the People's Commissariat of Railways, none of the People's Commissariats has a plan for training forces in the main trades. I assume that the People's Commissariats in question will take our remarks to heart, and that they will work out the measures which will ensure the fulfilment of the plan for the training of forces in the current year.

Permit me now to dwell on the preparations for the new school year. One of the most important tasks is to complete the building of schools on time. However, the data for July 1, 1938, show that by that date the plan for the financing of school building construction had been fulfilled throughout the Union only to the extent of 48.8 per cent; in the R.S.F.S.R. the plan had been fulfilled 52.9 per cent, in the Ukraine 42.7 per cent, in Byelorussia 47.9 per cent. The percentage of fulfilment was about the same in the other republics.

According to the data of the People's Commissariat of Education of the R.S.F.S.R., by July 10 of this year the schools under construction in the cities had been completed only to the extent of 46.3 per cent of the plan. Out of 379 schools under construction, only 102 schools had been completed.

As for the rural districts, out of 1,500 schools under construction not a single one had been completed. Construction on new schools in the rural districts had been completed to the extent of not more than 9 per cent; and construction carried over from last year to the extent of 55-56 per cent.

In 175 districts in the R.S.F.S.R. in which an investigation was carried out capital repairs were supposed to be made in 1,522 schools. But by July 1 repairs had been completed in only 70 schools. The plan of current repairs had been fulfilled to the extent of 14 per cent.

The printing of text-books has also been proceeding unsatisfactorily. By August 1, 1938, only 76,000,000 copies of text-books had been issued, as against 107,000,000 copies called for by the plan. The publication of text-books in the languages of the nationalities for the autonomous republics of the R.S.F.S.R. had not even begun by then. The plan for creating a reserve of exercise-books has been set at naught; instead of 160,000,000 exercise-books as planned, only 11,000,000 had been stored up by August 1, 1938.

I assume that the People's Commissariat of Education of the R.S.F.S.R. and the People's Commissariats of Education of the other Union Republics will take these remarks to heart, and that they will do everything to prepare properly for the new school year.

Comrades, the realization of the colossal Budget worthy of our great Socialist state requires much strenuous work on the part of all of us. It is beyond doubt that the Soviet people, guided by the wise leader of the working people of the whole world, our friend and teacher, Comrade Stalin, will successfully carry out the program of the first year of the Third Five-Year Plan—for the good of our Socialist fatherland, and to the dismay of the enemies of Socialism.

Comrades, I move that we approve the draft unified state Budget submitted by the Council of People's Commissars to the Second Session of the Supreme Soviet, with the amendments proposed by the Budget Commission of the Soviet of Nationalities. (*Applause.*)

The Chairman: Deputy Kulagin.

M. V. Kulagin (*Slutsk City Electoral Area, Byelorussian S.S.R.*): After hearing the report of the People's Commissar of Finance of the U.S.S.R., Comrade Zverev, the co-report of the Chairman of the Budget Commission of the Soviet of Nationalities, Comrade Khokhlov, and the speech of the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the R.S.F.S.R., Comrade Bulganin, one feels like saying that the Budget submitted to the Session of the Supreme Soviet reflects as in a mirror all the principal questions of our economic and cultural development, the questions of the further improvement of the well-being of the Soviet people, and the question of enhancing the defensive power of our country.

When we analyse the items of the Budget, we see quite clearly that the draft Budget submitted for consideration to the Session substantiates over and over again the unparalleled victories of Socialism. Every Soviet ruble of our Budget is designated to be expended with a view to satisfying the fundamental requirements of the masses of the working people, to serving the interests of consolidating our industry and agriculture, and to the improvement of the cultural and living conditions of the working people in all the republics of our country.

Our Budget has never had, nor will it ever have, anything in common with the purposes and ends of the Budgets of capitalist countries. In the capitalist countries, the Budgets reflect the most unrestrained spoliation of the workers and peasants for the sake of the interests of finance capital, for the sake of new wars. Stated more precisely, it means that the Budgets of the capitalist countries, particularly of the fascist states, are Budgets of popular impoverishment; for their revenues accrue from rob-

bing the people by means of taxes, and their expenditures go to enrich the capitalists, to prepare for new wars, for the conquest of colonies, for the extermination of defenceless people.

I should like, comrades, to say a few words about the Budget of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic for 1938.

When the question of revenues and expenditures was discussed, the Council of People's Commissars of Byelorussia did not agree with some of the material in the draft of the People's Commissariat of Finance of the U.S.S.R. The Council of People's Commissars of Byelorussia submitted its objections and proposals to the Budget Commission. Our objections and proposals have been considered and in part accepted.

The Budget of the Byelorussian Republic for 1938 has been drawn up in the amount of 1,167,210,000 rubles. In connection with this Budget which has been submitted to the Session for its consideration and approval, I should like to say a few words about the changes that have taken place during these years in all the branches of the national economy of Byelorussia.

Take, for instance, local industry. Under tsarism local industry was of practically no account in Byelorussia. In the period of the two Stalin Five-Year Plans, however, the output of local industry has increased tenfold. New branches of industry, such as peat extraction, chemical, phosphorite mining, and the production of fancy goods and notions, have been created.

While in 1927 the local industries of Byelorussia comprised 36 enterprises, we have today 83 enterprises of local industry in the republic. The gross output of local industry, which in 1927 amounted to 17,417,000 rubles, had reached 161,295,000 rubles in 1937. At the same time the value of the plant in the enterprises has increased scores of times over. There has been a considerable growth in the number of workers, and an increase in the power equipment and mechanization of the enterprises.

During the years of the Stalin Five-Year Plans, the industry of local building materials has made great progress in Byelorussia. In 1937 this branch of industry comprised 37 enterprises with a gross output of 16,000,000 rubles, as against 15 enterprises with a gross output amounting to 1,500,000 rubles in 1927. In this branch of industry, mechanization of labour processes has also been widely introduced, and the production of new kinds of building materials from local raw materials has been mastered.

The Soviet Government, the Party and Comrade Stalin have been lending daily assistance to the Byelorussian people. Today our Soviet Byelorussia is a rich republic. Today we have in Byelorussia our peat industry, our metal-working industry, our industry of local building materials, our mining-chemical and chemical industries, our fancy goods and notions industry, our printing trades; we produce musical instruments, agricultural machinery, building mechanisms, machines for peat extraction, equipment for municipal services, and machine tools; we have mastered the production of rolled metals and sheet iron.

We have our light industry in Byelorussia: 14 enterprises of the clothing industry, 14 leather and shoe factories, 71 flax-treatment factories, 8 textile mills, glass works, etc.

We have built up our food industry in Soviet Byelorussia. During the years of the two Stalin Five-Year Plans a sum of 140,000,000 rubles was invested in the building of new enterprises and the reconstruction of old ones. Our food industry now comprises more than 25 branches of production, namely: fish products, meat-packing, bone products, baking, oil, perfumes, confectionery, macaroni, fruit and vegetable products, makhorka, starch and treacle, brewing, yeast, fats, chemicals, etc.

The Budget of the Byelorussian Republic for 1938 provides for the expenditure of 66,000,000 rubles on industry. This will serve to further develop the industry of Byelorussia and will create all the conditions for the achievement of new victories in the current year.

I should like to say a few words about agriculture. The enemies of the people, the traitors to our country, the Polish hirelings, did a lot of damage in agriculture. Our Bolshevik Party, Comrade Stalin, the Soviet Government, and the organs of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs, headed by Comrade Yezhov, helped the Byelorussian people to destroy the enemies and lent us great assistance in the work of reconstructing agriculture.

In place of 838,400 scattered individual peasant farms we now have in Byelorussia 10,000 collective farms tilling 96.4 per cent of the whole cultivated area. 215 machine and tractor stations, with 8,100 tractors, a thousand harvester combines, about 4,000 threshing machines, about 4,000 motor trucks and 1,200 flax pullers, now help the Byelorussian people to cultivate the fields along scientific lines, raising the yield from year to year, increasing the number of head of cattle, raising from year to year the incomes and the value of the workday.

Preliminary data for 1938 hold out the promise of a harvest the like of which has never been known before in most of the districts and collective farms of Byelorussia.

In connection with these achievements in the sphere of agriculture, we also have a growth of agricultural forces. Today we have in Byelorussia 19,000 tractor drivers, 2,000 tractor-brigade leaders, 1,400 harvester-combine operators, 500 mechanics, 3,000 machinists, more than 3,000 chauffeurs, etc.

We have hundreds of foremost people in the republic who have achieved high, Stakhanovite rates of output, a high standard of productivity of labour. There are hundreds of foremost Stakhanovites whose concrete work, as seen during the spring sowing and now during the harvest, is their response to the solicitude and help shown the Byelorussian people by our Party, by the Soviet Government, and by Comrade Stalin.

The appropriation of 36,465,000 rubles for agriculture, as planned in the draft Budget for 1938, opens up new prospects in our fight to realize Comrade Stalin's slogan of 7,000,000,000-8,000,000,000 poods of grain, in our fight for Bolshevik collective farms and for a life of prosperity and culture for the collective farmers.

Mention should be made of the sums which are provided in the draft

Unified State Budget for social and cultural services in Byelorussia: as against 685,000,000 rubles in 1937, 830,000,000 rubles in 1938—an increase of 21.2 per cent. These figures furnish a most striking illustration of the Stalin solicitude for the individual, of the profound concern for woman, mother and child, and of the great assistance given to the Byelorussian people in the fight for a new flourishing of culture, art, health, social maintenance, etc.

Let us recall, comrades, what we had in Byelorussia in tsarist times. There were no children's consultation dispensaries, no health stations at enterprises, no rural medical stations. There were no hospital accommodations whatever in the rural districts; nor were there any obstetrical stations, dispensaries, maternity homes, infants' homes, milk stations and the like. There were whole villages in which not a single person could read or write. Cinema, radio, telephone—all these things were unknown to the Byelorussian peasant under tsarism.

Today, as I have already said, the Budget of the Republic provides for an expenditure of 830,000,000 rubles on social and cultural services. At present we have in Byelorussia 129 children's consultation dispensaries, 602 health stations and rural medical stations, 8,014 doctors, medical attendants and midwives, 331 obstetrical stations, 59 dispensaries, 302 milk stations, and maternity homes accommodating 3,010 women. All women in the cities, and 70 per cent of them in the villages, receive medical assistance in childbirth. We have built hundreds of kindergartens, children's nurseries and camps, sanatoriums, rest homes, new hospitals and dispensaries.

We have in Byelorussia at present 7,069 schools, 32,050 teachers, 23 higher educational establishments and 98 training colleges, with an attendance of 1,061,870.

In 1914, expenditures on public health in Byelorussia totalled 800,000 rubles, while in 1938 they amount to 250,000,000 rubles. In 1914, the expenditure on public education per capita of the population was 60 kopecks; in the school year 1937-38 they amount to 101 rubles per capita of the population.

Since the promulgation of the law providing for assistance to mothers of large families, 55,212,000 rubles has been paid out in such state assistance in Byelorussia. For 1938 the expenditure on social maintenance in Byelorussia will reach 32,322,000 rubles.

That, comrades, is why the draft Budget corresponds to the requirements and interests of the Byelorussian Republic. That, comrades, is why at all meetings, as well as in personal conversations, workers, peasants, office employees, intellectuals loudly declare for the whole world to hear: "Long live our Stalin Constitution! Long live our great and beloved Comrade Stalin, and may he enjoy many and many years of good health in his work for the happiness of the working people of the whole world!" *(Prolonged applause. All rise.)*

The People's Commissar of Finance, Comrade Zverev, in speaking in his report on the revenues in taxes and levies on the population, rightly pointed out that the finance bodies were not sufficiently energetic in

collecting taxes from the rural population. His reference to the Byelorussian Republic as one of the republics that are lagging behind in this respect is absolutely justified. And it is not only the workers in the local finance bodies, but the leading people in the village Soviets, and in the district executive committees, as well as the Council of People's Commissars of Byelorussia, that are unquestionably guilty of unlawful practices in that they failed to collect arrears due from individual peasants on the agricultural tax to the amount of more than 3,000,000 rubles, and on the levy for cultural purposes to the amount of 8,000,000 rubles.

The workers in charge in Byelorussia will unquestionably have this in mind in their practical work, and will fully make up for this impermissible deficiency in the near future.

I must draw the attention of the workers of the People's Commissariat of Finance of the U.S.S.R. and of Comrade Zverev personally to the unsatisfactory state of the work in the apparatus of the People's Commissariat of Finance of the U.S.S.R. with regard to compiling the materials pertaining to the Budget.

Here are some concrete facts. To this day there is no clarity on the question as to how to make good the shortage of 6,000,000 rubles in the working capital of the People's Commissariat of Local Industry of the Byelorussian S.S.R. When the financial plan of the People's Commissariat of the Timber Industry was drawn up, the People's Commissariat of Finance of the U.S.S.R. crossed out the sum of 4,622,000 rubles which is due to the Byelorussian Timber Trust as a refund on the profits tax for 1937. The People's Commissariat of Finance has admitted this mistake, but has failed to correct it.

There was also an inaccuracy in the computation of the residue in the special banks on the accounts of unutilized capital investments for the year 1937, which amounts to more than 4,000,000 rubles. To this day this inaccuracy has not been corrected either.

The People's Commissariat of Finance of the U.S.S.R. sharply reduced the percentage of students receiving stipends in most of the higher educational establishments, training colleges and workers' colleges in the Byelorussian S.S.R., as compared with 1937 and the actual number of students on January 1, 1938. To this day this question has not been settled either.

Neither have we obtained a clear reply to certain objections concerning allocations from the turnover tax or with regard to administrative expenses in connection with the organization of five new regions in the republic.

It would also be necessary to point out a number of other serious omissions in the drafting of the budget by the apparatus of the People's Commissariat of Finance of the U.S.S.R. But it seems to me that the facts enumerated are sufficient to prompt the apparatus of the People's Commissariat of Finance of the U.S.S.R. and Comrade Zverev personally to settle within the next few days all the questions which the People's Commissariat of Finance and the Council of People's Commissars of the B.S.S.R. raised when the Budget was being drawn up.

Comrades, as you see there is every ground to endorse the Unified State Budget of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics as presented for consideration to the Session of the Supreme Soviet, with some amendments on the basis of the remarks made here.

I am convinced, comrades, that in voting for this Budget we shall be carrying out the mandates and wishes of our electors.

We deputies well remember Comrade Stalin's words about the capitalist encirclement, his words about the necessity for constant mobilization and preparedness.

Neither will the deputies of the Byelorussian people ever forget the mandates of their electors with regard to enhancing the defensive power of our country and the fortification of its borders.

That is why we will all, to a man, vote in favour of the appropriation of 27,000,000,000 rubles provided in the draft of the Budget for the needs of the People's Commissariat of Defence and the People's Commissariat of the Navy.

By voting for the approval of this expenditure on the People's Commissariat of Defence and the People's Commissariat of the Navy, we shall be voting for the consolidation of the might of our country, for our invincible and valiant Workers' and Peasants' Red Army and Red Navy, which have always stood, and will continue to stand, on guard of the great achievements of the working people.

In approving the Budget, we are certain that we are going to carry out its provisions in an organized, Bolshevik manner. The pledge of this is the fact that our work and our fight are directed by the Bolshevik Party, our Lenin-Stalin Central Committee, our great and beloved Comrade Stalin! (*Loud and prolonged applause. All rise.*)

The Chairman: Deputy Arushanyan.

S. M. Arushanyan (*Mikoyan Area, Armenian S.S.R.*): Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. In his comprehensive report on the Unified State Budget of the U.S.S.R. for 1938, the People's Commissar of Finance of the U.S.S.R., Comrade Zverev, dealt in sufficient detail with the economic and cultural development of the national republics of the great Soviet Union.

During the period of the two Stalin Five-Year Plans the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic has achieved enormous success in the work of Socialist construction.

Under tsarism and in the period of Dashnak rule, Armenia was a land of poverty, of starvation, of orphans.

Eighteen years ago the Armenian people, marching under the banner of the Great October Socialist Revolution, and led by the Party of Lenin and Stalin, smashed the Dashnaks and formed their own workers' and peasants' government. For eighteen years now the Armenian people have been victoriously building up their culture, national in form and Socialist in content.

It was only under Soviet power that the people of the Armenian Socialist Republic obtained genuine freedom. It was only thanks to the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat that our people

obtained wide opportunities for creating thriving centres of Socialist industry and Socialist agriculture, for developing public education. In the years of the two Stalin Five-Year Plans, Socialist industry and Socialist agriculture have developed in our republic at a tempestuous pace. The well-being of the masses of the people has been improving from day to day.

New branches of industry, such as the chemical, textile, meat-packing, clothing, tobacco and building materials industries, have grown up and developed in the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic. The copper industry of the republic has been reconstructed; a large plant for the production of synthetic rubber and the Kanakir hydroelectric power plant, with a capacity of 88,000 hp., are under construction.

During the period of the two Stalin Five-Year Plans, investments in industrial construction amounted to 550,000,000 rubles. Towards the end of 1937, the proportion of industrial output in the total output of national economy of the republic had reached 72 per cent. The Kirovakan chemical works, the Davalu cement mill, the Leninakan textile mills, the Yerevan canneries and many other enterprises were built during the period of the Stalin Five-Year Plans.

The Armenian S.S.R. has scored great successes in the sphere of the Socialist reconstruction of agriculture as well. According to data for July 1, 1938, 90 per cent of all peasant farms are united in collective farms. 96 per cent of the entire cultivated area of the republic is being tilled by collective and state farms. The Socialist collective farm fields are cultivated with the aid of thousands of complex agricultural machines, such as tractors, harvester combines, threshing machines, and many others which were unknown in the agriculture of the republic before the revolution.

The appropriations provided for in the draft Budget for 1938 will ensure the further growth of Socialist agriculture. We will be able more quickly to remove the effects of the wreckers' activities and raise the yield of industrial crops. We have obtained the possibilities for an even more rapid development of vineyards and orchards, particularly in the highlands. These branches of agriculture are of great importance in Armenia. They ensure the supply of the necessary raw materials for the canning industry of the republic.

The budgetary appropriations for 1938 also ensure a further rapid advance and development of Socialist stock-raising.

In the period of the two Five-Year Plans the state Budget of the Armenian S.S.R. has increased considerably. At the beginning of the period of the First Five-Year Plan the Budget of the republic totalled 23,000,000 rubles; in 1937 it equalled 327,000,000 rubles, and in the current year the state Budget of Armenia has grown to 388,000,000 rubles.

During the years of the First and Second Five-Year Plans investments in capital development amounted to 1,270,000,000 rubles. These include 250,000,000 rubles expended on the mechanization of agriculture, 65,000,000 rubles on public education and art, 47,000,000 rubles on

public health, 110,000,000 rubles on municipal improvements and housing construction, and 38,000,000 rubles on transport.

Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet, the Armenian people have attained these great successes as a result of the undeviating realization of the national policy of Lenin and Stalin pursued by our Party, and with the fraternal help of the peoples of the U.S.S.R.

Under the brilliant leadership of Comrade Stalin, and with the direct assistance of Anastas Ivanovich Mikoyan, the people of Armenia have smashed the counter-revolutionary remnants of the Dashnaks and the Trotskyite and Bukharinite agents of fascism. We are confidently building and consolidating our Socialist Armenia.

Comrades, I must draw your attention to some questions which have found no reflection in the draft Budget for 1938.

In my opinion, it is incumbent upon the People's Commissariat of Heavy Industry to settle the question of a more rational utilization of the age-old resources of Lake Sevan. We must bear in mind the necessity of building the Gyumush hydroelectric power plant. It is also necessary to utilize the well-developed carbides industry by organizing the production of automobiles and of rayon. The vast resources of Pirdoudan should be utilized and the mining of molybdenum and copper organized.

No funds have been provided in 1938 for the extension and reconstruction of the Leninakan stockings-knitting factory and the Yerevan leather works. The People's Commissariat of Light Industry of the Union must have this in mind. The question of building the Oktemberyan cannery, for which flourishing orchards have been planted on formerly desert land, has remained unsettled for a number of years now. The developing food industry produces a great demand for glass containers. The Yerevan cannery alone turned out 18,000,000 cans of goods in 1937. In order to ensure the supply of glass containers for all the canneries of the republic, it is necessary to provide for the building of a large glass works in Armenia.

Attention must also be paid to the development of the local fuels industry. We must organize the extraction of peat to serve the needs of Socialist agriculture.

The People's Commissariat of Agriculture of the Union ought to continue and accelerate its work on irrigation development, which is of tremendous importance for raising the yield of the collective farm and state farm fields of the Armenian Republic. It is necessary to complete the ramparting of the Zanga River before the Kanakir hydroelectric power plant begins to operate at full capacity.

The most backward sector in the Armenian S.S.R. is housing construction and municipal development. The questions of municipal development in Yerevan, Leninakan and eleven new districts of Armenia must be fully taken into consideration. The necessary funds must be appropriated to ensure municipal improvements in the cities of the republic.

Comrades, the unified state Budget of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics for 1938, which we are considering, is of great economic and political significance. It conforms to the aims of further developing Socialist industry and agriculture, developing public education, further improving the material well-being of the Soviet people, and further enhancing the defensive power of our magnificent Socialist fatherland.

Comrades, the Budget of the great Soviet Union for 1938 enhances the might of our country and thereby deals a blow at the fascist aggressors who are organizing provocations against the U.S.S.R. Together with all the people of our Socialist fatherland, the Armenian people are ready, at the first call of the Bolshevik Party, of the Soviet Government and of the great leader of peoples, Comrade Stalin, to rise to the defence of our Socialist fatherland. The Japanese and other aggressors will do well to remember that the 170,000,000 Soviet people are united as never before around the Lenin-Stalin Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.(B.) and the Soviet Government, around their own, beloved, brilliant leader, Comrade Stalin. Under his wise leadership the Soviet people will never yield to anyone a single inch of their territory.

We members of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. will vote unanimously for the Budget of our invincible state, which ensures the solution of the tasks set by the Party of Lenin and Stalin and the Soviet Government, by our great and wise leader, Comrade Stalin. (*Applause.*)

The Chairman: Deputy Dinmukhametov.

G. A. Dinmukhametov (*Novo-Sheshminsk Area, Tatar A.S.S.R.*): Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet. Yesterday, at the joint sitting of the two Chambers of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, we heard the report on the Unified State Budget of the U.S.S.R. for 1938.

The material submitted to the Second Session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. and the report of Comrade Zverev on the Unified State Budget of the U.S.S.R. reflect our remarkable successes. We have achieved these successes as a result of the guidance given by the Bolshevik Party, by the great leader and friend of all peoples, Comrade Stalin. (*Applause.*)

The national policy of Lenin and Stalin is being victoriously realized in a ruthless struggle against the enemies of the people, the Trotskyite, Bukharinite and bourgeois-nationalist hirelings of fascism. The peoples of our country, amalgamated in a powerful state—the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics—have forever wiped out national oppression and disfranchisement.

Sixteen years ago Comrade Stalin characterized the day on which the U.S.S.R. was formed as "a day which marks the triumph of the new Russia over the old Russia, the Russia which was the gendarme of Europe and the hangman of Asia." "Today," Comrade Stalin said, "is a day of triumph for the new Russia, which has smashed the chains of national oppression, organized victory over capital, created a dictatorship of the proletariat, awakened the peoples of the East, inspired the workers of the West, transformed the red flag from a party banner into a state

banner, and rallied around that banner the peoples of the Soviet republics in order to unite them into a single state, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the prototype of the future World Soviet Socialist Republic.

Comrades, today, when we are discussing the draft Unified State Budget, our first thought and our first words are directed to the great colleague and friend of our great Lenin—to the wise teacher and leader of peoples, Comrade Stalin. (*Applause.*)

Unbearable oppression and the burden of disfranchisement was the lot of the peoples under tsarism. The tsarist colonizers of all stripes and the local national bourgeoisie, which was on excellent terms with them, kept the Tatars, Bashkirs, Chuvashes, Mordovians and other peoples in deep submission and obedience. Fortresses and prisons, churches and mosques were built so as to ruthlessly exploit and oppress the toilers. With the cross and the Koran in their hands, the minions of the tsar pictured the peoples as loyal subjects of the tsar and the princes who "enjoyed the grace of god and Allah."

In the rich folklore of the Tatar people, in the legends of the past, we find reflected the brutal punishment meted out to the working people, their age-long oppression by the tsarist colonizers and the local national bourgeoisie. One of these folk-tales of the Tatar people says:

"To the aoul five hundred soldiers came:
A punitive band with villainous aim;
Hundreds of our Balychkin folk
They bound in a row with a lengthy chain.
The aoul moaned, the aoul cried,
The governor sped with rapid stride,
Nazir-the-wealthy cringed and bowed,
Nazir the bloody butcher spied—
Nazir for poor men had only contempt—
Up to the governor he went
To beg that on the naked poor
The punitive band their wrath should vent."

Comrades, the Tatar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic recently celebrated its eighteenth anniversary. Under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet Government, in a struggle against the enemies of the people, the counter-revolutionary Sultan-Galiyev and Sagidulov groups and the Trotskyite and Bukharinite hirelings of fascism, the Tatar A.S.S.R. has achieved remarkable successes in these eighteen years.

The appearance of the former Kazan Province has radically changed. The national policy of Lenin and Stalin has ensured the development of its economic life at a tempestuous pace.

In the course of the period of the First and Second Five-Year Plans, 45 factories and mills were built in the Tatar A.S.S.R., including two large electric power plants, a large machinery construction works, and seven fur factories.

Since 1928 the sum of 432,000,000 rubles has been invested in the Socialist industry of Tataria. The gross output of industry has increased 29-fold as compared with pre-revolutionary times; in the last year it amounted to 770,000,000 rubles. Today the proportion of industry in the economy of Tataria equals 70 per cent.

In the eighteen years of its existence, the Tatar Republic, under the direct leadership of the Bolshevik Party and the Government of the Union, achieved a fundamental reconstruction of its agriculture. The formerly scattered and poverty-stricken individual peasant farms united in large-scale mechanized Socialist farms. By May 1 of the current year, 91.5 per cent of all peasant farms had been collectivized. In the past ten years the budgetary investments in agriculture increased from 900,000 rubles to 8,400,000 rubles. The Socialist fields of the Tatar Republic are cultivated with the aid of 6,885 tractors, 2,871 harvester combines, 2,500 complex threshing machines, and 2,149 motor trucks. Our collective farms are served by 91 machine and tractor stations. We now have the people to take care of the machines—chauffeurs, mechanics, etc. This large army, together with the whole collective farm peasantry, is successfully fighting for the realization of Comrade Stalin's slogan about the production of 7,000,000,000-8,000,000,000 poods of grain. Sufficient to state that in 1937 the average yield of our fields had already reached 13.5 centners per hectare, as against 8.2 centners in the best harvest years in pre-revolutionary Russia.

The state Budget is the best index of the condition of the national economy of a country. In our Socialist state, in which there is no private capital, the state Budget is of particularly great importance. It is like a mirror, reflecting the condition of all branches of national economy, it indicates the successful growth of our industry, agriculture, transport, communications, municipal economy, culture, etc.

Incontrovertible proof of the improvement in the well-being of the working people is furnished by the growth of the Budget of the Tatar A.S.S.R. Since 1923 the state Budget of Tataria has increased 60-fold, and in 1938 it amounts to 364,200,000 rubles. It is worth noting that out of this sum, 273,200,000 rubles, or 72 per cent of the total expenditures in the Budget, goes for social and cultural services, including education.

The Budget of the Tatar A.S.S.R. may be described as a budget of social and cultural services.

At present we have in Tataria 3,385 elementary and part-grade and full-grade intermediate schools, in which 507,000 children are receiving instruction. It is worth while noting that before the revolution there were only 35 Tatar schools, or 1.9 per cent of the total, whereas at present we have 1,648 Tatar schools, or 48.6 per cent of the total. In 1913-14, there were only nine training colleges in the former Kazan Province; at present we have 54 training colleges in Tataria, and more than 50 per cent of the students in these colleges are Tatars. Whereas before the revolution there were only three higher educational establishments, we have at present 13 higher educational establishments in Tataria, and an equal number of scientific research institutes. In 1920, only 24.9 per

cent of the population of Tataria could read or write. Among the Tatars only 18.1 per cent of the total could read or write. In the current year 91 per cent of the population are literate.

In 1913, in the former Kazan Province, there were only 88 hospitals with accommodations for 3,345 patients. At present we have 119 hospitals with accommodations for 6,659 patients. We have at present 180 dispensaries in Tataria, as against 75 in 1913.

Any worker's or collective farmer's family furnishes an example of the extent to which in our country solicitude is shown for the individual. Sufficient to state that, after the promulgation of the decree of the Government prohibiting abortions, providing for an increase of material assistance to women in childbirth and establishing state assistance to mothers of large families, up to May 1, 1938, the sum of 37,864,000 rubles had been paid out to mothers of large families in Tataria.

Like the working people of the whole Soviet Union, the working people of the Tatar A.S.S.R. are proud of the great victories which they have achieved under the leadership of Comrade Stalin. They are happy to live in a country in which the fundamental law—the Stalin Constitution—accords all citizens the right to work and to education, the right to rest and to material security in old age.

That, comrades, is why, like all the peoples of the Soviet Union, the people of the Tatar A.S.S.R. will vigilantly safeguard and fight to their last drop of blood to defend the Stalin Constitution and the inviolability of the Soviet borders.

Comrades, I move that we approve the appropriations provided in the state Budget for the defence of the country, and that we endorse the draft Unified State Budget with the amendments proposed by the Chairman of the Budget Commission of the Soviet of Nationalities. *(Applause.)*

The Chairman: Before adjourning the sitting of the Session, we must decide on the next sitting of the Session of the Soviet of Nationalities. There is a motion to have no sitting of the Session tomorrow, and to call the next sitting for 6 p.m. on August 13. Are there any other motions or suggestions?

Voices: Adopt.

The Chairman: There is a motion to adopt. Permit me to adjourn until 6 p.m. on August 13.

THIRD SITTING

August 13, 1938

N. M. Shvernik, Chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities, and C. A. Aslanova, Vice-Chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities, take their seats on the dais and the members of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. and the leaders of the Party and the Government enter the boxes. They are greeted with loud and prolonged applause. All rise.

N. M. Shvernik *(in the chair)*: I hereby open the sitting of the Second Session of the Soviet of Nationalities. We shall continue the debate on the Unified State Budget of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics for 1938.

I call upon Deputy Burmistenko.

M. A. Burmistenko *(Maikop Rural Area, Krasnodar Territory)*: Comrades, I agree with the proposals of the deputies who have spoken here in approval of the draft of the Unified State Budget of the U.S.S.R. for 1938. I agree with what these comrades have said, because the draft of the Unified State Budget here submitted is a document of struggle for the further advance of the Soviet Union to the summit of Communism.

The state Budget for 1938, drafted in accordance with the Stalin Constitution, will be unanimously approved by our people as well as by us members of the Supreme Soviet. This draft expresses the will of the 170,000,000 people of our great Socialist country. The mighty Soviet state's Budget of 125,184,200,000 rubles serves the interests of the Soviet people; it will lead to an even greater expansion of Socialist economy and greater progress in cultural development, and will further increase the strength and the defensive capacity of our great Socialist power. The Budget of the mighty Soviet Union ensures the further economic and political progress of all the Union Republics and makes the Stalin bond of friendship of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. faster than ever.

The Budget of the U.S.S.R. is being considered at a time when the parliaments in capitalist countries have, in effect, been deprived of all control of the Budget. Our Budget is being considered at a moment when in bourgeois countries colossal sums of money are being extorted from the people in preparation for a new world war and for the predatory

wars already being waged by the fascist countries, and are being spent without any control whatever.

Only in the Socialist state, the state of the workers and peasants, are funds expended in conformity with the needs of the national economy.

In his speech at the First Session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., V. M. Molotov, the head of the Soviet Government, said: "The state Budget and the financial transactions of the State Bank are like a mirror in which what is happening in the Soviet Union is reflected in the shape of simple figures—although really substantial, really impressive, really authoritative figures."

The Budget submitted to the attention of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. reflects the greatness of the Stalin era, the grand scope of construction in all spheres of our economy, such as no capitalist country will ever know.

The Unified State Budget of the U.S.S.R. for 1938 adopted by the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. and submitted to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. consists of 125,184,000,000 rubles revenues (as against 96,600,000,000 rubles in 1937) and 123,684,000,000 rubles expenditures; *i. e.*, revenues exceed expenditures by 1,500,000,000 rubles. In the period between 1913 and 1937 the national income has increased from 21,000,000,000 rubles (in fixed prices of 1926-27) to 96,300,000,000 rubles, *i.e.*, 4.6 times. The average annual increment is about 15 per cent. During the period of the two Stalin Five-Year Plans—from 1929 to 1937—the average annual increment of the national economy was 29 per cent.

The rapid growth of the state Budget and the republican and local Budgets has brought about a rapid expansion of our Socialist economy and our cultural development and has further improved the standard of living of the working people on this basis.

The growth of the Budget and the national income is a result of the historic victory of the working class over the exploiters. The liquidation of the parasitic classes, as Comrade Stalin says, has led to the disappearance of the exploitation of man by man. The labour of the workers and peasants has been emancipated from exploitation. The income which the exploiters used to get by battening on the people's labour now remains in the hands of the working people and is utilized partly for the expansion of production and the industrial training of new armies of labour, partly for directly increasing the income of the workers and peasants.

The rapid growth of the national economy of the Soviet Union has made the economy and Socialist culture of the Union republics flourish as never before. This growth has materialized in the Budgets of the Union republics.

The Budget of Socialist Ukraine—an inseparable part of the great Soviet Union—speaks eloquently for the vast progress of Socialist construction in the Ukrainian S.S.R.

In 1928-29 the state Budget of Soviet Ukraine, with her local Budgets, amounted to 724,500,000 rubles, while in 1938 the total is 5,977,218,000

rubles. During the Stalin Five-Year Plans alone, the Budget of Soviet Ukraine increased 8-fold.

The Socialist industry of the Ukraine has grown and is still growing at an unprecedented rate. In the Ukraine 18.5 times more electric power is generated, over 3 times more coal is mined and 3 times more iron is smelted than before the war.

The foundries of the Stalino region alone smelt 13,364 tons of metal daily. This is more than was smelted by all the foundries of tsarist Russia.

In the Ukraine a new large-scale Socialist industry has been created, including the construction of heavy machinery; new plants have been built and new ore mines and collieries opened. The Ukraine now has 27,344 collective farms and 597 state farms. In Soviet Ukraine there are 998 machine and tractor stations, 88,000 tractors and 27,000 harvester combines. The collective farms, amalgamating over 96 per cent of all peasant holdings, and the state farms of the Ukraine have 66,000 motor-trucks. This year mechanized agriculture has yielded the Ukrainian people a bumper harvest. That is the Ukraine, Socialist Ukraine, as we know her today. But what was the situation before the revolution?

Capitalists and landowners were the masters in the Ukraine. The capitalists and landowners squandered and gophered her enormous natural resources, her fertile lands, her inexhaustible mines of ore, coal, and so forth. The workers and peasants were under a double yoke. The working people of the Ukraine were oppressed, benighted and illiterate.

Before the revolution there was not a single Ukrainian school in the Ukraine. The Polish *pans*, the German Junkers, the landlords and kulaks, battening on the blood of the working peasantry, made a happy hunting ground of her fertile lands. About 22,000,000 hectares, *i.e.*, over one half of the Ukraine, was in the hands of the landlords and kulaks.

It was only the Great October Socialist Revolution, only the Party of Lenin and Stalin, that brought the Ukrainian people, like the other peoples formerly oppressed by tsarism, a free, happy and prosperous life.

In these years of Soviet rule the Ukraine has become a prosperous republic, a republic with an up-to-date Socialist industry, with highly developed coal, metallurgical, power, machine building and chemical industries, a republic of mechanized Socialist agriculture, a country of plenty and culture where the working people live in happiness and prosperity.

The Ukrainian people owe all these victories and their happy and joyous life to the great Party of Lenin and Stalin, the wise Lenin-Stalin national policy, the leader of the working people, the leader of the Ukrainian and all the Soviet people, our great Stalin. *(Loud and prolonged applause. All rise.)*

The Ukrainian people have known civil war only too well; they will never forget those years. In those years Lenin and Stalin organized the assistance which the Russian working class gave the Ukrainian people in their heroic fight against the invaders—the German imperialists, the

bandit armies of the Polish *pans* and their lackeys: Petliura's henchmen and the bourgeois nationalists, who tried to restore capitalism in the Ukraine and sever the fraternal ties of the Ukrainian people with the great Russian people.

Under the leadership of Comrade Stalin, with the help of the renowned and heroic Soviet intelligence service, led by Nikolai Ivanovich Yezhov, the Stalinite People's Commissar, the Ukrainian people have destroyed the main hostile nests of Trotskyite, Bukharinite and bourgeois-nationalist fascist traitors, spies of foreign intelligence services. (*Loud applause.*)

Formidable indeed is the people's anger against these despicable enemies! Great and infinite is the people's love for the Party of Lenin and Stalin, for our great Stalin, the father and friend of the working people! *(Loud and prolonged applause.)*

Comrades, the funds assigned in the draft of the Unified State Budget provide the material basis for the rights of citizens of the U.S.S.R.—to work, to education, to rest, and to material security in old age—inscribed in the Stalin Constitution.

The right to work "is ensured by the Socialist organization of the national economy, the steady growth of the productive forces of Soviet society, the preclusion of the possibility of economic crises and the abolition of unemployment."

In full conformity with the principles of the Stalin Constitution, the principal assignments of the Soviet Budget—47,200,000,000 rubles—go to finance the national economy. The draft Budget provides for a 20 per cent increase of expenditure on the financing of the national economy over last year. In 1938 capital investments increase by 30 per cent over last year. Greater productivity of labour, increased industrial and agricultural output, and larger trade turnover ensure a further improvement in the standard of living of the working people.

In 1938 the total wages of the workers and other employees amounts to 94,000,000,000 rubles, as against 82,000,000,000 rubles in 1937. There is a great increase in the number of workers, clerical employees, engineers and other technical personnel in all branches of the national economy.

The Budget assignments for financing the national economy, for capital investments in wage increases are striking proof of the Soviet Government's guarantee of its citizens' right to work.

The picture in capitalist countries is quite different. The most dismal poverty is rife in fascist Poland, over half a million workers have been thrown on the street. In capitalist states unemployment is becoming more and more monstrous. In 1929, according to the official statistics of 1932, there were 6,000,000 unemployed, while in 1936 there were 20,500,000 unemployed.

Now there is an even greater number of unemployed in the capitalist countries. According to rough estimates, about 60,000,000 people, workers and their families, are bearing the burden of unemployment.

This number does not include the tens of millions of unemployed in the colonies.

The Stalin Constitution proclaims the right of citizens of the U.S.S.R. to education. "This right is ensured by universal, compulsory elementary education; by the fact that education, including higher education, is free of charge; by the system of state scholarships for the overwhelming majority of students in the higher educational establishments; by instruction in schools being conducted in the native language, and by the organization of free vocational, technical and agronomic training for the toilers in the factories, state farms, machine and tractor stations and collective farms."

The Government's assignments to popular education ensure the performance of Stalin's instructions concerning popular education and make material provision for the right of citizens of the U.S.S.R. to education.

Expenditure on social and cultural development is increasing year by year. During the two Stalin Five-Year Plans state expenditures on education and public health totalled 84,000,000,000 rubles. The sums allocated in the republican and local Budgets for social and cultural services in 1938 amount to 31,400,000,000 rubles, as against 25,500,000,000 rubles in 1937.

In 1938 the expenditure on education in the Unified State Budget is set at 20,100,000,000 rubles, as against 16,300,000,000 rubles in 1937. Expenditure on education for 1938 in the republican and local Budgets is 15,059,000,000 rubles, as against 12,804,000,000 rubles in 1937.

Only in our country, the land of victorious Socialism, are such huge assignments for popular education possible. The state Budget and local Budgets of the Ukrainian S.S.R. assigned 170,000,000 rubles for education in 1928-29, 786,000,000 rubles in 1933, and 2,409,000,000 rubles in 1937, while the assignment for 1938 is 2,856,000,000 rubles—almost a 16-fold increase against 1928-29. In 1938 the sum of 4,474,000,000 rubles was assigned for the development of social and cultural services in the Ukraine, *i.e.*, 18 times as much as in 1928-29.

This speaks for the remarkable interest displayed by the Soviet Government, the Lenin-Stalin Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party and the far-seeing leader of peoples, Comrade Stalin, for the welfare of the working people of our great country.

In fascist countries, on the other hand, the funds assigned for popular education are shrinking steadily, year after year. Poland's expenditure on education is being drastically reduced. In recent years the Polish Budget assignments for education have fallen by 50 per cent. The German fascists, those apostles of obscurantism and the knout, are destroying even what bourgeois-democratic Germany had in the past. In 1932 there were 145,000 students in Germany, while in 1936 the number of students had been cut down to 75,000.

In spite of the wrecking activities of the enemies of the people—the Trotskyites, Bukharinites and bourgeois nationalists—the working

people of Soviet Ukraine have achieved great progress under the leadership of Comrade Stalin in the development of culture, national in form and Socialist in content.

Under Soviet rule, the Ukraine has become a republic with a highly developed Socialist culture. In the past 3 years alone, 1,343 schools have been built in the Ukraine. In the Ukrainian S.S.R. there are now 21,656 elementary, part-grade intermediate and full-grade intermediate schools. These schools are attended by 5,600,000 children. In 1914 there were only 19 higher educational establishments in the Ukraine. Now, in 1938, Soviet Ukraine has 117 higher educational establishments and 476 training colleges, attended by 253,000 students. In 1928-29 the scholarship fund amounted to 13,000,000 rubles, while now, in 1938, this fund has been increased to 108,000,000 rubles.

In the Ukraine, as throughout the Soviet Union, universal, compulsory elementary education has become a fact. The Soviet Ukraine is a hundred-per-cent literate republic.

If we compare all these extraordinary achievements in popular education which Soviet Ukraine has to her credit with what is happening in Poland, we shall see a vast difference.

In Poland over 5,500,000 people, that is, more than 23 per cent of the population, are illiterate. In Western Ukraine, according to official Polish statistics, which unquestionably understate the facts, 60 per cent of the Ukrainians, under the yoke of fascist Poland, are illiterate. The percentage of illiterates among the population of Western Ukraine, pining in capitalist slavery under the yoke of the Poland of the *pans*, is increasing year by year. This is obvious enough even from the official Polish statistics, according to which only 77 per cent of West-Ukrainian children between 7 and 13 years of age were being given school education in 1932-33. What "education" is worth in the Polish fascist schools has long been common knowledge, and there is no need to dwell upon the subject. But even this percentage of school attendance, according to Polish statistics, does not give an exact idea of the dire conditions of the population of Western Ukraine. The number of scholars is declining year by year. Thus, in 1934-35 the proportion of children between 7 and 13 years of age attending school declined to 75 per cent, and in 1935-36 it dropped again to 70 per cent. These are the official figures given by the Polish bureaucrats, and they are unquestionably understated. In actual fact the majority of the children in Western Ukraine get no schooling at all and are doomed to ignorance.

Institutes of scientific research, theatres, cinemas, radio entertainment and the fine arts have been widely developed in Soviet Ukraine, and their flourishing state demonstrates the triumph of the national policy of Lenin and Stalin.

In 1938 the Unified State Budget assigns 8,076,000,000 rubles for public health, as against 6,827,000,000 rubles in 1937. Thanks to the growth of the Budget, we are able to increase expenditure on public health year by year. In Soviet Ukraine expenditure on public health

totalled 52,000,000 rubles in 1928-29, while in 1938 the total is 1,284,000,000 rubles—nearly 25 times as much.

The Budget of the Ukrainian S.S.R. provides huge funds for the financing of the scientific research institutes of the Ukrainian Academy of Science. Here, too, we feel the keen interest of the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet Government in the further development and progress of Socialist culture, science and art.

Comrades, the draft Budget submitted by the Government of the U.S.S.R. makes comprehensive provision for the needs of the national economy and the requirements of all the Union republics.

I should like to draw your attention to certain questions of great import to the national economy of the Ukraine.

The first is the question of the reclamation schemes. The significance of reclamation schemes for agriculture is common knowledge. To increase the scale and scope of these works not only increases the area of arable land for the collective farms and state farms, but increases the fertility of our Socialist fields. There are vast expanses of land in need of reclamation all over the U.S.S.R. and in our country, the Ukraine. These spaces must and can be brought under cultivation if reclamation schemes are put through. That is why I ask that the Unified State Budget should provide for an increase in assignments for reclamation schemes in the Ukrainian S.S.R.

The second is the question of the condition of automobile-repair works and tyre-repair works now in operation and the construction of new ones. During the Stalin Five-Year Plan Periods, fleets of trucks serving all branches of the national economy have been formed in our country, the Ukraine, as throughout the Soviet Union. The collective farms and state farms of the Ukraine have 66,000 trucks. Motor-vehicles, as you know, need repairs. However, motor repairs in the Ukraine are poorly organized. The same applies to the repairing and reconditioning of tyres. The capacity of the small-scale vulcanizing shops is about 25 per cent of what is required. Additional motor-repair works must be built, and large scale tyre-repair works organized. On these grounds I request that the Union Budget provide assignments for the construction of additional motor-repair and tyre-repair works in the Ukrainian S.S.R.

The third is the question of the water supply of Kiev, the capital of the Ukraine. The population of Kiev is increasing rapidly. In view of this, to increase the water supply is an urgent problem. Of late, especially in the past half-year, much has been done to reconstruct the water-supply system in Kiev. The enlarged and reconstructed water-supply system will soon come into operation. But even then the requirements of the population will not be fully provided for. Further extensions are needed in the water-supply system of Kiev. I request that assignments for this purpose be provided for in the Union Budget.

The Budget submitted to the Session provides a successful solution for the economic and political problems set before the country by Comrade Stalin, the leader of the Party and the people.

The Budget of 1938 vividly confirms the gigantic advances of Socialism.

Comrade Stalin, the great leader of our Party, teaches us not to rest on our laurels. We, as well as the whole personnel of the financial system, must fight with even greater energy to liquidate the consequences of the destructive work committed by our enemies, who tried to weaken the country's finances.

In 1938 the Unified State Budget of the U.S.S.R. assigns 27,000,000,000 rubles for the defences of our country, as against 17,500,000,000 rubles in 1937. We members of the Supreme Soviet are all moved with a keen feeling of approval and satisfaction at the actions of our Government in making these assignments to the People's Commissariat of Defence and the People's Commissariat of the Navy.

The peoples of the great multi-national Soviet Union unanimously approve all the steps taken by the Government of the U.S.S.R., because they are directed towards making our country still more powerful and capable of defence. It will be with a feeling of complete satisfaction and pride in our prosperous country and the Government of the Union, led by Vyacheslav Mikhailovich Molotov (*loud and prolonged applause; all rise*), that the people will meet the decision of the Supreme Soviet to assign 27,000,000,000 rubles for the country's defences.

Let the fascist aggressors, the instigators of war against the Soviet Union, derive food for thought from this figure. Let the Japanese *samurai*, the German and Polish fascists be advised that if their bandit armies attack the Soviet Union, all of the huge Budget of the great Soviet Union, every ounce of the determination of our heroic Soviet people will be exerted to one aim: the complete destruction and annihilation of the enemies. (*Prolonged applause.*)

The fascists of Germany, the *samurai* of Japan, the Polish *pans* are making war preparations against the Soviet Union. The Budgets of the fascist countries—Japan, Germany, Italy and Poland—are Budgets that plunder the workers and peasants, Budgets of preparation for war. In 1937-38 fascist Germany is spending more than two thirds of the whole Budget on the needs of war. Fascist Italy is spending over 42 per cent of her Budget on the needs of the war Ministries and on her cut-throat intervention in Spain.

In 1937-38 the Japanese militarists are spending 79 per cent of the total Budget on their cut-throat war against the great Chinese people and new wars, while on education the Japanese *samurai*, who profess to represent civilization, spend only 1.8 per cent of their Budget.

The brazen Japanese militarists are doing everything in their power to involve the U.S.S.R. in war. But the provocations of the Japanese imperialists in the Far East have met a crushing rebuff from our valiant Red Army. Yesterday we learned from the published communique that hostilities had ceased in the Lake Hassan district.

This is a result of the firmness and inflexibility of the Soviet Government. This is a result of the readiness of our people to defend the cause of peace and crush the war-mongers if they attempt to invade Soviet soil.

Our people tell the Japanese *samurai* and all war-mongers: we do not want war, but we warn you that we are ready for war. Led by the great Stalin, the guiding genius of the working people, the whole Soviet people, with the full force of our great Socialist country, will fall like a thunderbolt upon any enemy that ventures to attack the Land of Socialism; they will destroy the enemy outright and leave none to tell the tale.

Under the leadership of the great Stalin, our far-seeing leader and teacher, the peoples of the Soviet Union are marching firmly and confidently to new victories of Communism. (*Loud applause.*)

The Chairman: I call upon Deputy Aziz Aliyev.

A. M. K. Aliyev (*Julfa Area, Nakhichevan A.S.S.R.*): Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet. We have heard the report of Comrade Zverev and the co-report of Deputy Khokhlov on the unified state Budget of the U.S.S.R. I wholeheartedly support the motion of the other deputies to approve the Unified State Budget submitted to the Session.

The draft Budget submitted to the Second Session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. is striking confirmation of the great achievements and victories which we have gained in all spheres of Socialist construction under the leadership of the Communist Party of Lenin and Stalin, under the leadership of our beloved leader and teacher, our great Stalin. (*Loud applause.*)

In our country the national income is increasing year by year. The accumulations of Socialist industry and agriculture are increasing. The draft Budget brought before the attention of the deputies at this Session provides for a further augmentation of the national wealth, a steady advance in the standard of living of the working people, a wide extension of social and cultural services and the strengthening of the defences of our country.

We adopt with a sense of absolute satisfaction the proposal to assign 27,000,000,000 rubles to strengthen the defences of our great Socialist country.

Comrades, the triumph of the Lenin-Stalin national policy of the Bolshevik Party is brilliantly confirmed by the steady progress of our Azerbaidjan Soviet Socialist Republic—an inseparable part of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. For ages and ages Azerbaidjan was an arena of colonial conquest and bloody national strife. For many years the people of Azerbaidjan pined under the rule and yoke of tsarism. The tsarist autocracy, the bais, khans, capitalists, landowners, kulaks and mullahs inhumanly exploited and oppressed the people of Azerbaidjan, pumping them dry and destroying a culture that it had taken ages to create.

Driven to desperation under the rule of the Mussavatist traitors, the people of Azerbaidjan freed themselves of age-old oppression thanks only to the Great October Socialist Revolution, under the Soviet flag, under

the leadership of the heroic Party of Lenin and Stalin, with the help of the great Russian people.

Under the leadership of Comrade Stalin, as soon as Soviet power was established, the working people of Azerbaidjan raised a struggle for the advancement of the country's economy and culture, for fraternal, international friendship among the peoples, and for the complete destruction of the enemies of the people of Azerbaidjan. As a result of the application of the Lenin-Stalin national policy, the Azerbaidjan Soviet Socialist Republic has become a prosperous, happy country with a highly developed industry and up-to-date agriculture. The national economy of Soviet Azerbaidjan is gaining in strength and scope year by year, and her Socialist culture is becoming more and more developed.

The 1938 Budget of the Azerbaidjan Republic provides for considerable investments in the national economy and in the development of social and cultural services. While in 1933 the assignments of the Azerbaidjan Budget totalled 228,400,000 rubles, in 1938 they have increased to 915,700,000 rubles, in other words to 401.3 per cent. In comparison with 1933, expenditure on the development of the national economy in 1938 has increased to 344 per cent, investments in industries under republican control having increased to 261 per cent, and in agriculture to 389 per cent.

An especially noteworthy feature is the increase in assignments for the development of social and cultural services. While in 1933 there was an expenditure of 107,500,000 rubles on these services, in 1938 the expenditure is 636,000,000 rubles—591.6 per cent. In five years assignments to popular education have increased to 506 per cent, and to public health services—to 828 per cent. In Azerbaidjan there are now 3,333 schools of all types, with an attendance of 577,756. Of the 339,557 Azerbaidjanian pupils, 205,036 are boys and 134,521 are girls. While there was not a single higher educational establishment in Azerbaidjan before Soviet power was established, there are now 10 higher educational establishments in our republic, with a total attendance of 9,728, including 5,671 Azerbaidjanians of both sexes.

A wide network of special schools and training colleges has been developed, with an attendance of 36,000. Thus in Azerbaidjan over 600,000 people are receiving tuition. In the past three years alone, 87 schools have been built in Baku. In 1938, 109 schools are being built in Baku and the rural districts of Azerbaidjan.

Under Soviet rule a number of quite new branches of industry have been opened in the republic—textiles, clothing, knit-goods, silk-reeling, food products, leather, etc. Over 90 per cent of the industrial output of the Azerbaidjan Republic (exclusive of oil) is provided by new industrial enterprises, built by the Soviets. The natural resources of the republic have been opened up and pressed into the service of Socialist economy. New industrial cities have sprung up—Kirovabad, Nukha, Stepanakert.

Exclusive of oil, the gross output of the industries of Azerbaidjan amounts to 685,000,000 rubles. During the years of the two Stalin Five-

Year Plans over 4,000,000,000 rubles were invested in the national economy of Azerbaidjan.

Ever since Soviet government was established, the workers of Baku and the working people of the Azerbaidjan Republic have waged a heroic struggle, under the leadership of the Bolshevik Communist Party, for the development of a new, powerful oil industry. From the inception of Soviet rule in Azerbaidjan, these efforts were directed by Sergo Ordjonikidze and Sergei Mironovich Kirov, pupils and close associates of our great Stalin. It is our great Stalin who directed and is still directing these efforts towards the development of the oil industry.

Thanks to the constant daily care of Comrade Stalin, new oil fields are being developed in Baku year by year. With the constant daily leadership of the Stalin People's Commissar, Lazar Moiseyevich Kaganovich, our country's positions on the oil front have been consolidated to an extraordinary degree and have become a formidable and daunting force to our enemies, for oil is synonymous with a country's defences and power. New oil districts, equipped with up-to-date machinery, have been developed. Hundreds and thousands of Stakhanovites infinitely devoted to our Socialist fatherland are setting examples of Bolshevik work in the oil fields.

The achievements of the people of Azerbaidjan in agriculture are immense. The collective farm system has been completely victorious. In place of hundreds of thousands of small, scattered peasant farms, in which the main implement of cultivation was the primitive wooden *khysh*, we now have strong collective farms and state farms. During the Second Five-Year Plan period, the collective farms of Azerbaidjan, like the collective farms of the U.S.S.R. generally, watched over and cared for by the Soviet Government, received great material and financial support from the state. In a space of five years, 497,900,000 rubles were invested in agriculture in Azerbaidjan.

By January 1, 1933, 45.4 per cent of the peasant farms were collectivized, and by January 1, 1938—87.3 per cent.

Our collective farmers live a prosperous, happy and cultured life. At the present time we have about 150 millionaire collective farms. The main branches of agriculture have been mechanized.

In compliance with the directions of Comrade Stalin, Soviet Azerbaidjan has made enormous progress in the development of new branches of agriculture. Azerbaidjan has become the Soviet Union's second source of supply of cotton.

In the last few years tens and hundreds of Party and non-Party Bolsheviks, exemplary exponents of the Socialist organization of labour, have come to the fore in the collective farms of Azerbaidjan.

Thanks to the unstinted attention of the Party and the Government to the health of the working people, Azerbaidjan now has a wide network of hospitals, dispensaries, specialized clinics, scientific research institutes, mother and child welfare institutions, maternity homes, nurseries, consultation dispensaries, etc.

About 9,000 people are studying in the medical colleges of Azer-

baidjan. The Azerbaidjan Medical Institute alone has trained and graduated about 3,000 doctors under Soviet rule, and half of this number are Azerbaidjanians, including 500 women. At the present time we have about 40 professors of medicine, half of them Azerbaidjanians.

The sum of 29,500,000 rubles has been paid out in state benefits to mothers of large families.

In Azerbaidjan there is a wide network of scientific research institutes working on fundamental problems of the national economy. There is a large number of theatres and cinemas. Great progress has been made by the Azerbaidjanian arts, as was noted at the recent ten-day festival of Azerbaidjanian art in Moscow, and honoured with a high award from the Soviet Government and the Communist Party.

Thousands of people: engineers, teachers, doctors, agronomists, scientists, architects, artists, writers, composers—foremost figures in highly-developed Socialist culture—have come forward in Soviet Azerbaidjan.

The working people of Azerbaidjan, staunchly applying the principles of the Lenin-Stalin national policy, have wrought a flourishing culture, national in form and Socialist in content.

One of the greatest achievements of the Socialist revolution in Azerbaidjan is the emancipation of the Azerbaidjan women. Enjoying full rights, having cast off the accursed veil, the women of Azerbaidjan are actively participating in Socialist construction, hand in hand with the men. Hundreds and thousands of outstanding Azerbaidjan women have been promoted to responsible work and leadership. The women of Azerbaidjan—aviators, teachers, doctors, scientists, tractor drivers, responsible executives in state and public organizations—are all setting examples of the Socialist attitude to labour. Quite a number of them have been honoured with high awards.

All these achievements are to be noted in our autonomous republics and regions as well: the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic and the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region. In 1933 the Budget of the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic amounted to 7,800,000 rubles; now, in 1938, it amounts to 27,400,000 rubles. The Budget of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region amounted to 8,000,000 rubles in 1933; now, in 1938, it amounts to 30,000,000 rubles.

It is an incontestable fact that in our country a vast proportion of the resources is expended on the needs of the national economy and culture. Our Budget reflects the gigantic victories of Socialism which have been won by the workers and peasants under the leadership of the Party of Lenin and Stalin. These achievements, among the greatest in history, have been inscribed in the Stalin Constitution, that remarkable document of mankind.

Those enemies of the people, the Trotskyite, Bukharinite and bourgeois-nationalist agents of fascism, have done quite a lot of wrecking in all spheres of Socialist construction, including the sphere of financial policy and the complete and timely utilization of the funds assigned in the Budget. As a result, the utilization of state funds allocated to several branches of the national economy and to the development of

cultural and social services in Azerbaidjan has been considerably underfulfilled.

The enemies of the people of Azerbaidjan planned to sever Soviet Azerbaidjan from the great Soviet Union and give our republic in slavery to the fascist beasts of prey. Those despicable enemies of the people, the Trotskyite, Bukharinite and bourgeois-nationalist hirelings of fascism, did everything to impede the development and promotion of young talent infinitely devoted to our Socialist country.

Under the leadership of the Communist Party, the people of Azerbaidjan have made and will continue to make havoc of all the enemies of Socialism, the despicable fascist hirelings—the Trotskyite, Bukharinite, bourgeois-nationalist, Mussavatist, Dashnak and other traitors, who planned to make sunny Azerbaidjan a colony to imperialism.

By mobilizing the masses to liquidate the consequences of wrecking activities and destroying the surviving enemies, and also by improving defence work, the people of Azerbaidjan are making their Order-winning Socialist republic an iron-clad outpost of our great country on the Near-Eastern borders.

However, it should be said that we are still making poor headway in the liquidation of the consequences of the wreckers' activities and are making but feeble efforts to fulfil the plan for the mobilization of resources. We have still to display the proper efficiency in the utilization of state-assigned funds; we are not yet fulfilling our Budget obligations. The funds assigned to capital development are being utilized in an absolutely inadmissible manner. The funds assigned to the construction of teachers' colleges have not been utilized. The construction of children's homes has not yet been started. We are also making a pretty bad job of the utilization of funds assigned to housing construction. In 1937 there were gross violations of Budget discipline; the margins for management expenses were exceeded.

Furthermore, it should be pointed out that the Union organizations whose function it is to approve the technical projects and estimates of large-scale construction often take too long in examining projects and estimates.

Part of the blame for the non-fulfilment of the plans for the utilization of funds rests on the supply organizations, who do not deliver building materials and timber to the site on time. According to estimates, our republic requires 41,000 cu. m. of sawn timber this year. For the first three quarters only 16,000 cu. m. have been allocated to us, and the People's Commissariat of the Timber Industry of the U.S.S.R. has only delivered 10,000 cu.m.

The situation is no better with regard to the transportation of timber. In seven months the Kaganovich Railway has delivered only 383 carloads of the 1,447 promised in the plan, that is, 26 per cent.

The People's Commissariat of Trade of the U.S.S.R. plans the shipment and sale of goods without studying the market and the demands of the population. For instance, while the Soviet Union has sufficient stocks of washing soap, the People's Commissariat of Trade plans obviously

inadequate stocks for Azerbaidjan. The stock of soap assigned to Azerbaidjan for the second quarter was overdrawn by 100 tons. However, far from increasing the planned supply for the third quarter, the People's Commissariat of Trade of the U.S.S.R. deducted the 100 tons which were sold and overdrawn in the second quarter. Our demand for tea has been met only to the extent of 70-75 per cent. Instead of 2,000 tons of rice per quarter, the People's Commissariat of Trade allocates us only 600 tons, and so on and so forth.

Something must be said of the inadmissible attitude of the People's Commissariat of Agriculture of the U.S.S.R. and particularly the cotton department to the financial status of the system under the latter's control. The finances of the state plantations of Azerbaidjan are in a bad way: wages are very much in arrears. In spite of repeated appeals to the People's Commissariat of Agriculture of the U.S.S.R., this question has not been settled to this day. Yet we have entered the crucial period in the cultivation of cotton, and financial derangements might disrupt this most important campaign.

A few remarks on the work of the People's Commissariat of Agricultural Stocks. It is obvious that this People's Commissariat is giving inadequate leadership to its representatives in their work. Its representatives never visit the local districts, and all the management is done just by circulars.

To this day the People's Commissariat of Agricultural Stocks has not taken a complete inventory of equipment in the flour mills, and as a result some mills get assignments below their capacity. The training of personnel in the system of the People's Commissariat of Agricultural Stocks is not going well either. The funds assigned for this purpose are not being utilized. The People's Commissariat of Agricultural Stocks has not provided the local branches with transport facilities, so that the fulfilment of the collection plan is greatly impeded all round.

The work of the People's Commissariat of Finance should be mentioned as well. The main shortcoming in the work of the People's Commissariat of Finance of the Azerbaidjan Republic is their lack of control over the expenditure of state funds. As a result, financial and budgetary discipline is violated, the margins of management costs allotted to the People's Commissariats are exceeded, and sums budgeted for expenditure in 1937 were utilized unsatisfactorily.

The staff of the People's Commissariat of Finance of the U.S.S.R. are isolated from the local branches and lax in their control over the latter's observance of financial discipline.

One can see by the example of our Azerbaidjan Republic that the People's Commissariat of Finance of the U.S.S.R. is not doing much to train new forces either. A capable young man was recently promoted People's Commissar of Finance of the Azerbaidjan S.S.R. It was the duty of the People's Commissariat of Finance of the U.S.S.R. to give him practical assistance from day to day. But it failed to do so.

It is the duty of the People's Commissariat of Finance of the U.S.S.R. to pay more attention to the People's Commissariats of Finance in the republics and not confine itself to auditing alone.

I think that the People's Commissariat of Finance of the U.S.S.R. and the other organizations will bear our comments in mind and take all necessary steps to rectify their faulty work without delay.

Comrades, the brilliant victory of the Stalin Communist and non-Party bloc at the elections to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. and to the Supreme Soviet of the Union and autonomous republics was a striking demonstration of the boundless confidence of the millions of Soviet people in the Bolshevik, Communist Party and their boundless devotion and loyalty to Comrade Stalin, the great genius of mankind, the leader and friend of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. and the working people of the whole world. (*Loud and prolonged applause. All rise.*)

The Second Session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. is meeting at a crucial moment, when the Japanese militarists have ventured on the most brazen provocations.

Our glorious, valiant Red Army has given the Japanese *samurai* a stunning rebuff and has pitched them out of our Socialist territory neck and crop.

Great indeed is the power of the Land of Soviets with its valiant Red Army, Navy and Air Force, which are backed by the Soviet people in their multi-national millions, utterly devoted to their Socialist country.

A wave of profound indignation swept over the vast territory of the U.S.S.R. at the news of the new provocations of the warmongers in the Far East.

The Soviet people have declared in one voice that they are ready to defend their fatherland at any moment. In reply to the provocative actions of the Japanese militarists we shall make the defences of our Socialist fatherland stronger than ever. We do not want war, but we are ready for war. No fascist provocations can shake the ranks of the Soviet people, ranged around the Party of Lenin and Stalin, around our great leader and teacher—Comrade Stalin. (*Applause.*)

The mighty Soviet people are ready to defend the great gains of Socialism at any moment. In serried array around the Stalin Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, around the beloved leader of the Soviet people, Comrade Stalin, the working people of the Soviet Union will deal a crushing blow to any enemy who dares to encroach on the borders of our country.

Comrades, the Soviet people are infinitely devoted to the Party of Lenin and Stalin, infinitely devoted to the Stalin Central Committee, infinitely devoted to the leader of peoples, the great continuator of Lenin's cause, our great Stalin. (*Loud and prolonged applause. All rise.*)

The Chairman: I call upon Comrade Smagina.

A. G. Smagina (*Stalinabad City Area, Tadjik S.S.R.*): Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet. The state Budget of the U.S.S.R. for 1938 submitted to the Session displays in bold relief the growing might of our Socialist country.

Our Budget is evidence of tremendous victories in all spheres of Socialist construction. The Soviet people have won these victories under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party and our beloved leader, Comrade Stalin. (*Applause.*)

We are discussing the state Budget at a tense moment in the international situation. The fascists are becoming more brazen every day. The Japanese militarists are striving with might and main to involve Japan in a war with the Soviet Union. But the Japanese *samurai* have made a big mistake.

Our heroic Workers' and Peasants' Red Army has taught them a good lesson. Our mighty Red Army is battle-tried, it defends the vital interests of the working people. It is invincible because it was formed and reared by the great leaders, Lenin and Stalin. (*Loud and prolonged applause.*)

Let the fascists and their hirelings be advised that our Red Army, led by one of Comrade Stalin's closest colleagues, by the First Marshal of the Soviet Union, Klim Voroshilov (*loud applause*), will make havoc of the enemy on his own territory.

Comrades, I am working as an aviatrix in the civil air service. At the first summons of the Party and the Government I am ready together with the whole Soviet people to go to the defence of our country, and am prepared at any moment to change over to a war plane for the defence of the Soviet Union. (*Prolonged applause.*)

The moral and political unity of the Soviet people was made particularly evident to the world during the elections to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. and the Supreme Soviets of the Union and autonomous republics. Let the fascists and their hirelings be advised that all the Soviet people are united as never before around the Bolshevik Party and are infinitely devoted to Comrade Stalin, their leader and teacher. (*Loud and prolonged applause.*)

In the Budget, as is quite right, great attention is given to questions of the defences of our country. There is no doubt that the Soviet of Nationalities will unanimously approve and sanction the 27,000,000,000 rubles which the Budget provides for the defences of the Land of Socialism.

Comrades, before the Great Socialist Revolution, the working people of Tadjikistan were ruthlessly oppressed by the tsarist government and the Emir of Bokhara. The people of Tadjikistan lived under a double yoke, in bondage and poverty. The working population of Tadjikistan were prey to extortion and tyranny. Only one half of one per cent of the population could read and write. Tadjikistan has been completely transformed in the two Stalin Five-Year Plans. Scores of universities and intermediate schools have been opened. The republic has a total of 4,000 schools, attended by over 200,000 children. Over 250,000 adults are studying too, in the republic. Now 70 per cent of the population of Tadjikistan have become literate. Expenditure on public education has increased from 34,000,000 rubles in 1932 to 219,000,000 rubles in the 1938 assignment.

There was only one hospital in Tadjikistan before the revolution, and even that was accessible only to *bais*, landowners and mullahs.

Now the republic has over 100 hospitals, and over 400 dispensaries for out-patients.

In the past Tadjikistan had no industries or railways at all.

Under the two Stalin Five-Year Plans industrial development has made great headway in Soviet Tadjikistan. I need only mention enterprises such as the "KIM" and "Nefteabad" oil fields, the Shurab collieries, the silk-reeling mills, a giant cannery and many other industrial enterprises.

Stalinabad, the capital of the republic, is being built up on a wide scale.

The population of our towns is growing continually. For instance, since 1929 the population of Stalinabad has increased from 5,000 to 70,000.

I should like to draw your attention to the great victories Socialist agriculture has won in our republic. The peasantry of the Tadjik S.S.R. has taken the path of collective farming once and for all. 92 per cent of all peasant holdings in the republic have been collectivized. Agricultural machines have superseded the antediluvian *omach* and *ketmen* on the fields of Tadjikistan.

The collective farmers of Tadjikistan have made great progress in cotton cultivation.

In 1937 the collective farmers picked 16 centners of cotton per hectare, whereas in 1934 the yield was 6.2 centners per hectare.

On the basis of these economic achievements, the collective farmers have attained a cultured, prosperous life.

The friendship of the peoples of the whole Soviet Union is unbreakable. All our victories are due to a resolute application of the national policy of Lenin and Stalin; we have won them in a ruthless struggle against the Trotskyite, Bukharinite and bourgeois-nationalist fascist spies, diversionists and wreckers, who tried to thwart our victorious advance. The splendid men of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs, led by the Stalin People's Commissar, N. I. Yezhov (*applause*), discovered the enemies' dastardly plans in time and destroyed them.

Under the leadership of the Party of Lenin and Stalin, under the leadership of the Soviet Government and Vyacheslav Mikhailovich Molotov (*applause*) and Mikhail Ivanovich Kalinin personally (*applause*), with the help of the great Russian people, Tadjikistan has become a prosperous Socialist republic. The working people of Tadjikistan have attained this happy and prosperous life as a result of the masterly leadership and constant care of Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin, the leader of peoples. (*Loud applause. All rise.*)

Comrades, conditions in Tadjikistan are such that arterial roads are of great importance to the republic's economic life. In this year's Budget, the People's Commissariat of Finance of the U.S.S.R. has made no provision even for repairs to the existing roads. Therefore I ask that in the operation of the Budget, the People's Commissariat of Fi-

nance should find the necessary funds for repairs to arterial roads and for the construction of new roads, especially in the mountains and frontier districts of our republic.

Comrades, the Budget of the Soviet Union, the Budget of all her republics, speaks eloquently for the soundness of the national policy of the Party of Lenin and Stalin, and for the further economic and cultural progress of the peoples of the Soviet Union.

Under the leadership of Comrade Stalin (*applause*), the great strategist and tactician of the proletarian revolution, the leader of the working people, we shall go on boldly and confidently to new victories for Communism. (*Applause.*)

The Chairman: I call upon Deputy Ibraimov.

M. I. Ibraimov (*Bakhchisarai Area, Crimean A.S.S.R.*): Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. I fully support the other speakers' motion to approve the Budget of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics for 1938 with the changes introduced by the Budget Commission of the Soviet of Nationalities.

The purpose of the state Budget of the U.S.S.R. is to further strengthen the financial power of the Soviet Union for Socialist construction.

The Budget of the U.S.S.R. for 1938 submitted to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. has been drawn up in full conformity with the state plan for the development of the national economy of the U.S.S.R.

The state Budget of the U.S.S.R. for 1938 assures us success in the fulfilment of our grand-scale construction program, new heights of prosperity for our Socialist country and a further reinforcement of her defences. The state Budget will ensure an expansion of industry, agriculture and trade, and a further rise in the standard of living of the Soviet masses.

The budgeted increase of the wage fund from 82,000,000,000 rubles in 1937 to 94,000,000,000 rubles in 1938 is a striking confirmation of this fact.

The Budget also provides for considerable state expenditure on the development of social and cultural services. The state and local Budgets provide for an expenditure of 31,400,000,000 rubles on this item, as against 25,500,000,000 rubles in 1937.

There is also provision for increased expenditure on universities, training colleges, schools, nurseries, kindergartens, hospitals, maternity homes and other institutions of social and cultural service. The Budget assigns 900,000,000 rubles for benefits to mothers of large families. Under the draft Budget of the U.S.S.R. for 1938, the sum of 2,196,000,000 rubles is to be expended on disability pensions, as against 1,254,000,000 in 1937. The total expenditure on state social insurance for 1938 is projected at 5,900,000,000 rubles, ear-marked chiefly for temporary disability benefits, maternity benefits, child welfare, the construction and upkeep of rest homes, sanatoriums, health resorts, etc.

The wage increases to workers and employees generally, the incomes of the collective farm peasantry, the increase in the cultural and social service funds speak for the eagerness of our Party, the Government and Comrade Stalin to improve the material and cultural standards of the people of the Soviet Union.

The Unified State Budget for 1938 is an epitome of all that the Soviet people have achieved under the leadership of the Party of Lenin and Stalin and the great leader of peoples—Comrade Stalin. (*Applause.*)

The figures cited by Comrade Zverev in his report as People's Commissar of Finance of the U.S.S.R. show the tremendous growth of the Budgets of our Union and autonomous republics.

This growth is likewise a feature of the Crimean Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic. Under the leadership of the Party of Lenin and Stalin, the Order-of-Lenin Crimean Republic has, under Soviet rule, become one of the prosperous autonomous republics of the Russian Federation.

Our gigantic achievements are a result of the victorious application of the wise national policy of Lenin and Stalin.

After the liberation of the Crimea, the last stronghold of the white-guards, and the formation of the Crimean Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, the working people of the Crimea set to work with a will to restore industry and agriculture, reduced to ruins during the Imperialist War and the Civil War. Factories and plants quickly revived, and work was resumed in field, orchard and vineyard.

In the Crimean Autonomous Republic, the working people of all nationalities are living a life of joy and happiness under the sunny rays of the Stalin Constitution, in close fraternal fellowship. There is plenty of everything in our Crimean Republic now.

With your permission, I shall cite a few figures to show the progress of our republic: while in 1935 the Budget of the Crimean A.S.S.R. totalled 105,461,000 rubles, by 1937 it had increased to 200,227,000 rubles.

In 1938 the Budget of the Crimean A.S.S.R. works out at 238,106,000 rubles. As you see from these figures, the Budget of the Crimean A.S.S.R. is now over twice as big as it was only three years ago. The bulk of the expenditure in the Budget of our autonomous republic—64 per cent—goes for public education and health service. In 1935, the sum of 35,765,000 rubles was assigned for education, in 1937 the sum of 81,460,000 rubles, and in 1938 the sum of 89,936,000 rubles is assigned. The increase for the last three years is 150 per cent.

Public health was assigned 27,250,000 rubles in 1935, and 48,937,000 rubles in 1937. The 1938 assignment is 62,046,000 rubles. In the last three years alone assignments for public health have increased more than 100 per cent.

Social maintenance was assigned 1,083,000 rubles in 1935 and 9,693,000 rubles in 1937. The 1938 assignment is 15,677,000 rubles.

In the accursed days of tsarism the working people of the Crimea did not even dare to dream of civilized housing conditions, or of theatres, clubs, libraries, nurseries and social insurance, any more than the working people of our other border republics. These amenities have come into the hands of the masses only in our Socialist country.

Universal elementary education has become a fact in the Crimea, universal seven-year education has been introduced. At the present time the republic has 1,256 schools, attended by 202,619 scholars—four times more than before the Great October Revolution.

In the past 3 years, 20 new schools have been built in the chief towns of the Crimean Republic, and at least 25 schools have been built in the rural districts. Under the rule of the Soviets in the Crimea, 37 training colleges have been opened for the intermediate professions. There are 10 workers' colleges, attended by over 8,000 students.

Before the Great October Revolution there was not a single higher educational establishment in the Crimea. In Simferopol, the capital of the republic, there are now three higher educational establishments—a medical, an agricultural and a pedagogical institute. 2,472 students are now being trained in these institutes. There are 1,433 women among the undergraduates.

The Crimea now has considerable numbers of Soviet-trained scientists. Scientific research is being widely developed. There are about 600 scientists and 40 professors working in the research institutes of the Crimean A.S.S.R. The Crimea has 862 clubs and village reading-rooms, 709 circulating libraries, 22 museums, and 410 cinemas, of which over 50 per cent have sound installations. This year 60 newspapers with a daily circulation of 160,000-170,000 copies are being printed in the Crimea.

Public health services in our republic have been greatly extended. The working people of the Crimean A.S.S.R. have 77 hospitals, clinics and maternity homes, and 207 dispensaries, apart from the sanatoriums and rest homes under Union jurisdiction. At the present time, 1,600 doctors and 2,523 medical attendants are employed in our public medical service.

A very extensive network of child welfare institutions—nurseries and kindergartens—has been formed. A large number of dining rooms have been opened. The Crimea is rich in natural resources — ore deposits and raw materials for the chemical industry. We have coal and marble, and raw materials for the cement industry. However, this wealth was left unmined and unutilized under capitalism. The Black Sea and the Sea of Azov, whose waters wash the Crimean Peninsula, abound in all kinds of fish.

Before the Great October Revolution, the Crimea was an agricultural region. Now industry holds the paramount place in the Crimean Republic. By the beginning of 1937, industrial output amounted to 77.9 per cent in the economic life of the Crimea, while the agricultural output was 22.1 per cent. In 1937, the output of the plants and factories of the Crimea was approximately 10 times more than in 1920 and 1921.

The total capital investments for 1938 in industries under the control of the Crimean A.S.S.R., will amount to 35,556,000 rubles. The Crimean A.S.S.R. has been assigned large capital investments through the Union People's Commissariats, mainly those of heavy industry and the food industry.

Three quarters of our republic's output comes from plants reconstructed or built under the Soviets. 52 enterprises have been built in our republic during the two Stalin Five-Year Plans. The Kerch foundries have been reconstructed throughout. In 1913 these foundries had only one blast furnace and smelted only 10,000 tons of pig-iron. Now the Kerch foundries produce as much in one week. Among the new enterprises which have been built are the Kamysh-Burun iron-ore yards, an automobile-repair works, a plant producing machinery for the food industry, several motor-repair and tractor-repair works, 5 canneries, a leather and shoe factory, a footwear factory and a knit-goods factory.

In 1913 the combined canneries of the Crimea had an output less than the present output of the Simferopol "Hammer and Sickle" cannery alone. The handicraft industries have also developed considerably.

The development of the electric power supply has been nothing short of extraordinary. Built under the Stalin Five-Year Plans we have the Crimean No 1. Hydroelectric Power Station, the Sevastopol Northern Station, a hydroelectric power station at the foundry, and the hydroelectric power station at the Kamysh-Burun iron-ore yards. In comparison with 1917, the output of electric power has increased 18 times over.

Under the Stalin Five-Year Plans the number of workers in the Crimean A.S.S.R. has increased by 200 per cent.

Socialist agriculture in the Crimea is developing rapidly thanks to the assistance of the Union Government. On the territory of the Crimea there are 87 state farms equipped with modern machinery. They farm an area of about 600,000 hectares. In our republic 78,000 peasant households have been amalgamated into 1,149 collective farms. The sown area of the collective farms is 778,500 hectares. The collective farm peasants of the Crimea have received over 1,500,000 hectares of land for free use in perpetuity.

In 1931 there were 1,544 tractors in the machine and tractor stations and state farms of the Crimea. Now the fields of the collective farms and state farms are cultivated by 3,750 tractors. This year 1,900 combine harvesters are at work. All collective farms in the Crimea are provided with machine and tractor service—from 47 stations. Machine and tractor stations have been organized in the special industrial crop districts. In 1932, our republic began to grow cotton. This year the planted area is 50,000 hectares.

At the present time there are 354 agronomists, 138 mechanics, 121 veterinary surgeons and 100 stock breeders in the service of the Crimean collective farms and machine and tractor stations.

In our republic there are over 4,500 tractor-drivers and about 2,000 harvester combine operators, upwards of 1,500 chauffeurs, 1,149 collective farm chairmen, about 5,000 brigade-leaders and tens of thousands of charge-hands.

Honest collective farm labour and superior cultivation by the methods of up-to-date agronomical science ensure a good, steady harvest.

This year 48,000,000 poods of grain were gathered from our fields.

The average yield is about 100 poods per hectare. This we achieved thanks to the never-failing assistance which we receive from the Central Committee of our Party and the Government of the U.S.S.R. in the mechanization of agriculture.

The government of the U.S.S.R. yearly assigns hundreds of thousands of rubles for chemical fertilizers for our collective farm fields. The task set by Stalin—7,000,000,000-8,000,000,000 poods of grain a year—is being carried out with success as far as our republic is concerned. The yield of other crops—cotton, grapes, tobacco—is on the increase too.

Fair progress has been made in stock-breeding as well. Under the two Stalin Five-Year Plans, the number of cattle has doubled, and the number of pigs and sheep has increased by 150 per cent.

The Crimea is rightly called the sanatorium of the Soviet Union. Every year over 400,000 working people, including collective farmers, go to Crimea's health resorts for treatment and recuperation. In 1913 there was sanatorium and rest-home accommodation only for 1,550 people, now there is accommodation for 50,000 people at a time. The Soviet Government annually spends tens of millions of rubles on health resort developments. In 1935 alone, the sum of 20,000,000 rubles was expended on the renovation and construction of sanatoriums and rest homes. Stalin's care for the individual and his solicitude for all are to be felt in all measures adopted by the Party and the Soviet government.

The Crimean republic owes her achievements to the wise policy of the Party of Lenin and Stalin, to the fact that we are led by the great leader of the Socialist revolution, the great continuator of the cause of Lenin, our dear leader and teacher—Comrade Stalin. (*Loud and prolonged applause.*)

The Stalin Five-Year Plans have produced a new type of people, loyal to the cause of the Party of Lenin and Stalin, capable of directing our factories, foundries, state farms, collective farms. Now promoted to leading posts, they are coping successfully with their duties.

The mighty power of Socialism is to be felt in every nook and corner of our multi-national republic. Socialism has become part of the everyday life of the working people.

Our achievements would have been still greater but for the wrecking committed with such villainy and low cunning by the enemies of the people, who had wormed their way into a number of important departments of the national economy.

Comrades, the Soviet people unanimously endorse the resolute policy which our Government has taken in view of the provocative actions of the Japanese militarists on the Far-Eastern frontiers of the Soviet Union. There is no doubt that the assignment of 27,000,000,000 rubles for our country's defences will be approved by all the people.

We champion the cause of peace, but let it be known to our enemies, from whatever fascist camp, that they will never despoil the peoples of the Soviet Union of what we have won and have inscribed in the great Stalin Constitution.

The Soviet people are united as never before around the Communist

Party and Comrade Stalin, the great leader of peoples. This solidarity of the Soviet people was demonstrated once more by the working people during the elections to the Supreme Soviets of the Union and autonomous republics.

The working people of the U.S.S.R. are true patriots of their country and understand that our Budget subserves the further advancement of our industries, of Socialist culture and the improvement of the standard of living of the working people.

We also understand perfectly well, that by reinforcing the defences of our country we are safeguarding our gains, which the peoples of the U.S.S.R. owe to the leadership of the Party of Lenin and Stalin, to the leadership of Comrade Stalin, the far-seeing leader of labouring mankind. (*Loud applause.*)

Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet. Our task now is to fulfil the revenue and expenditure sides of the Budget of our Socialist state. We have every opportunity to do so, and we shall rise to the occasion.

I am sure of this because our people are the Soviet people, infinitely devoted to the cause of Lenin and Stalin, to the Central Committee of our Party and to the Soviet Government and ready at any moment to take up arms and defend their country from the provocative attempts of the instigators of war.

I am sure of this, because our leader is the far-seeing Stalin, our dear comrade, the genius of mankind. (*Prolonged and loud applause.*)

I am sure of this, because we have a Stalin Government, at the head of which stands Vyacheslav Mikhailovich Molotov. (*Loud cheers. All rise.*)

The Chairman: There is a motion to adjourn for 15 minutes. Are there any objections?

Voices from the floor: No.

The Chairman: We shall adjourn for 15 minutes.

(Adjournment.)

The Chairman: The sitting is resumed. I call upon Deputy Yuldashev.

M. Yuldashev (*Tashkent Kirov City Area Uzbek, S.S.R.*): Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet. The Unified State Budget of the U.S.S.R. for 1938 submitted to the Supreme Soviet by the Council of People's Commissars reflects the steady growth of our country, the further development of her national economy, an improvement in the cultural and material standards of the working people of the U.S.S.R. and an increase in the power and efficiency of our Red Army and Navy.

As it includes the Budgets of all the Union republics, the unified Budget of the U.S.S.R. shows how these republics are gaining strength and progressing year by year, and how the national policy of Lenin and Stalin is being applied in practice.

Take the Budget of Uzbekistan. This year the total expenditure provided for in the state Budget and the local Budgets reaches the huge sum of 1,325,000,000 rubles. To give some idea of the rapid growth of this Budget, it will suffice to say that the Budget of Uzbekistan has increased $9^1/_2$ times over since 1932.

The Budget of the Uzbek S.S.R. for 1938 assigns the sum of 946,000,000 rubles for the development of cultural and social services (education, public health, physical culture and social maintenance). The sum of 253,000,000 rubles is assigned for the development of industry, agriculture, municipal and housing construction and other branches of the national economy of the republic, while 126,000,000 rubles are assigned for administrative and other expenses. All these assignments subserve the solution of the problems which are set by the Uzbekistan national economic plan for 1938.

But, big as they are, I must say that these sums do not tell the whole story of the construction now proceeding in Uzbekistan, particularly in the sphere of industry and agriculture, because the Budget of Uzbekistan, as of all other Union republics, is composed of two parts of the unified Budget of the U.S.S.R.—firstly, the republican Budget, which finances the branches of economy under republican and local jurisdiction, and, secondly, the Union Budget, which finances such developments in Uzbekistan as are of general import to the whole Union. And, while the republican and local Budgets assign 245,000,000 rubles for capital expenditure in 1938, the Union Budget provides for the investment of about 500,000,000 rubles in the economy of Uzbekistan.

Moreover, the Union Budget also allocates funds for the training of personnel: it finances the Union-controlled higher educational establishments on the territory of the Uzbek S.S.R.

The assignments of the republican and Union Budgets to Uzbekistan show how this happy republic of the Soviet East is advancing along the road of Socialist development under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, under the leadership of the Lenin-Stalin Central Committee, headed by Comrade Stalin! (*Loud applause.*)

Comrades, you will find in the figures of the Uzbek Budget a reflection of the extraordinary achievements of Socialist construction in all spheres of the national economy and culture of Uzbekistan. You will see that in this once backward, agrarian country, which had scarcely any industry, huge sums are now being expended on the further expansion of industrial enterprises, built up during the two Stalin Five-Year Plans, and on the construction of new enterprises. New factories and plants are continually being added to our industrial apparatus. Under the direct leadership of Comrade Stalin and thanks to his personal interest, with the constant assistance of the Union Government, headed by Comrade Molotov, a powerful industry has been built up in Uzbekistan and equipped with up-to-date machinery. The Ferghana textile mills have been built, the Ferghana oil mill, the Katta-Kurgan oil mill (the largest in the U.S.S.R.), the Voroshilov agricultural machinery works, the Kadrin and Burdjara power stations, and a number of clothing factories and silk-reeling mills.

Special mention should be made of two giants. The first is the Tashkent textile mill, which is being built on the personal initiative of Comrade Stalin. The first section of this mill is already in operation, with 112,000 spindles and 3,246 frames working. On the completion

of the second section, the Tashkent textile mill will have 211,000 spindles and 6,952 frames.

The second giant is the Chirchik electro-chemical works. Its immense hydroelectric power stations with their capacity of 270,000 kw. will supply cheap current to the industries of Tashkent as well as the nitrate plant, which will supply hundreds of thousands of tons of fertilizer for the cotton fields of Uzbekistan, and increase crops considerably.

288,000,000 rubles were invested in the construction of industrial enterprises in the Uzbek S.S.R. under the First Five-Year Plan, and 1,085,000,000 rubles under the Second. This year about 35,000,000 rubles are being invested in the construction of the second section of the Tashkent textile mill and 150,000,000 rubles in the Chirchik electro-chemical works.

The net result is that this formerly backward, agrarian country has become an agrarian-industrial country. In 1913 the industrial output of Uzbekistan was 32.6 per cent, while the agricultural was 67.4 per cent of the total output of the economy of the country. This year the proportion is reversed: industrial output is 67.1 per cent, and agricultural—32.9 per cent.

Another indication of the rapid growth of the industry of Uzbekistan is to be seen in her great power stations and her consumption of electric power.

In 1913, the capacity of the power stations was only 3,000 kw., and in all 3,300,000 kwh. were generated. By 1937 the capacity of the power stations had increased to 80,000 kw., and 240,000,000 kwh. of electricity were generated.

A large working class has arisen as a result of the rapid development of industry in Uzbekistan, and has rallied all the dekhkans of Uzbekistan and the whole Uzbek nation around the Bolshevik Party and Comrade Stalin. (*Loud applause.*)

Great achievements are to be noted in the agriculture of Ubekistan, especially in the leading branch—cotton. The area planted is now twice the pre-war area, and in comparison with the pre-war level, the output of raw cotton has trebled, amounting to over 1,500,000 tons in 1937.

Uzbekistan is now the main cotton centre of the Soviet Union and supplies about two thirds of the whole output. This growth in crops is due to the extension of the planted area, and particularly to intensified cultivation. The yield of cotton increased from 8.1 centners per hectare in 1932 to 16.3 centners per hectare in 1937, which is the highest yield of cotton in the world. Some collective farms and collective farmers have made amazing records in cotton cultivation. The whole of the U.S.S.R. knows the names of Ibrahim Rakhmatov and Babarakhim Abdurakhimov, who gave us 140 centners per hectare in 1937.

The mechanization of agriculture in Uzbekistan was of decisive effect in increasing the yield of cotton. There are now 172 machine and tractor stations in Uzbekistan; the fields of the republic are farmed by

over 20,000 tractors, about, 1,500 combine harvesters, and other machinery.

It must particularly be emphasized that Uzbekistan farming, so parcelled in the past, is now almost wholly collectivized. 95.5 per cent of the peasant holdings have been collectivized.

Besides these factors, a great part in the prosperous development of agriculture has been and is still being played by the financial assistance which the state gives to agriculture. I have only to mention that the state has invested 750,000,000 rubles in irrigation schemes, which mean so much to Uzbekistan. This year the Uzbek Budget assigns 125,000,000 rubles for agriculture. Furthermore, the Union Budget assigns huge sums for large-scale irrigation schemes.

This year 51,000,000 rubles are assigned for municipal development and housing construction. I must say that this sum can hardly be called adequate when we come to think of the great tasks which confront us in municipal development and housing construction in Uzbekistan, and the great requirements of the working people in this respect. This applies particularly to Tashkent, the capital of Uzbekistan, which is the largest city in Central Asia and has a population of 600,000.

As the member for the Kirov electoral area of Tashkent, I must draw the attention of the Supreme Soviet to the fact that the national economic plan and the Budget of the republic do not provide for all that this city needs in respect of housing and municipal development. The needs are very great, and while the allocated funds may be substantial, they are not sufficient by a long way. We are confronted with big tasks in the matter of reconstructing Tashkent, especially the old city, giving the citizens better housing conditions and improving the city—paving, power supply, reconstruction of the tramways, etc. I would like these needs to be provided for in future assignments.

I shall presume to dwell on some figures which show the improvement in the material and cultural standards of the working people of Uzbekistan. In this country, where there was not a single higher educational establishment before the revolution, the Budget now finances the maintenance of 33 higher educational estabishments, 82 training colleges and 3,715 schools.

In 1913 the tsarist government's expenditure on education in what is now Uzbekistan amounted to 22 kopecks per head. By 1937 the per capita expenditure was 98.58 rubles, and the plan for 1938 is 108.53 rubles.

While not a single native of Uzbekistan had a higher education before the revolution, the higher education establishments of Uzbekistan will turn out 2,054 young specialists in 1938 alone. The network of cultural and educational institutions (theatres, cinemas, clubs, etc.) is very wide. In Uzbekistan, where theatres were unknown before the revolution, there are now 68 theatres, 770 cinemas, 1,147 clubs and 1,292 libraries.

There was only one newspaper in the native tongue in Uzbekistan before the revolution; now there are 168, with a circulation of 1,070,000.

The improvement in the standard of living of the working people of Uzbekistan may be seen from the workers' wages, which have more than doubled just in the last four years. The wages of the leading Stakhanovites have increased five and six times over.

The incomes of the collective farms and the collective farmers are soaring. The cash income of the collective farms grew from 344,000,000 rubles in 1933 to 2,190,000,000 rubles in 1937, in the same interval the cash earnings per workday increased from 70 kopecks to 4.13 rubles, and some collective farms in 1937 paid about 40 rubles per workday. The average cash income per collective farm household increased from 242 rubles to 2,303 rubles.

The improvement in the standard of living of the working people of Azerbaidjan may also be judged by the trade turnover of the republic. Under the Second Five-Year Plan, the volume of trade in Uzbekistan increased by 273 per cent. In 1937 the volume of trade was 4,384,000,000 rubles. According to the 1938 plan, the volume of trade will be about 4,900,000,000 rubles.

Comrades, these figures speak for the gigantic victories of Socialism in Uzbekistan. On the basis of the national policy of Lenin and Stalin, under the leadership of the Communist Party, thanks to the unflagging interest of our great leader and teacher, our dear Comrade Stalin (*loud applause*), thanks to the continuous assistance of the great Russian people, the people of Uzbekistan have radically changed the aspect of their country, the tsarist colony that was. Socialism is entrenched in the domestic and social life of the Uzbek people, and the victorious march of Uzbekistan on the road of Socialism cannot be hindered, whatever the enemy's wiles, whatever the vile subversive activities of the Bukharinite, Trotskyite and bourgeois-nationalist fascist curs. The greatly intensified political activity of the masses, their vigilance, the leadership of the Lenin-Stalin Central Committee of the Party and the splendid service of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs, headed by Comrade N. I. Yezhov (*applause*) have resulted in the destruction of the people's enemies of all descriptions. (*Applause.*)

I know that the other fraternal republics have achievements similar to those I have mentioned. Uzbekistan is one of these republics. Uzbekistan is the cotton republic. "But, comrades," our great Stalin said, "there is something more valuable than cotton—and that is the amity of the peoples of our country." And in this amity, comrades, lies the strength of Uzbekistan and the strength of all the fraternal Soviet republics.

The Unified State Budget is the material expression of the amity of all the people in our country. The extraordinary unity of the great Soviet people around the Party of Lenin and Stalin is a source of invincible power and imperishable strength to the Soviet Union. Boldly and confidently, the peoples of the U.S.S.R. are marching on under the leadership of Comrade Stalin, our teacher and guide, to scale the heights of Communism. (*Loud applause and cheers. Cries of greeting to Comrade Stalin in the national languages.*)

The Chairman: I call upon deputy Ibrahimov.

R. K. Ibrahimov (*Meleuz Area, Bashkir A.S.S.R.*): Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet. The Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. has submitted to the Session for its consideration and approval the Unified State Budget of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics for 1938, amounting to 125,184,200,000 rubles. This Budget deserves the keenest attention, the unconditional approval and sanction of the Session, because it mirrors the growing strength of our Soviet power.

Under the leadership of the glorious Communist Party, under the unerring guidance of our great Stalin, our mighty country is going from victory to victory. Unparalleled progress has been achieved in every branch of Socialist construction. This progress is particulary conspicuous in the rapid advance of the national republics, whose peoples, in days gone by, pined under a double yoke. Under tsarism the peoples inhabiting the national border regions were dying out from hunger, poverty and ignorance. The Great Socialist Revolution, the glorious Russian proletariat under the leadership of the Party of Lenin and Stalin, led all the peoples of the Soviet Union out on to the highroad of Socialist construction, delivering them once and for all from age-long tyranny, want and the iron heel.

The Unified State Budget under our consideration is an extreme contrast to the Budget of any capitalist country. The resources of our Budget are so distributed as to achieve further victories in the field of Socialist construction, improve the material and cultural standards of the people of our country, reinforce the defences of our glorious homeland, while the Budgets of the capitalist countries are adapted only to the interests of the capitalists, landlords and bankers.

When we study the revenue side of our Budget, we see clearly that the main source of revenue is our Socialist national economy, and only a small part of the revenue is made up of taxes and levies on the population. An acquaintance with any capitalist Budget reveals that the main sources of revenues are cudgelled out of the working people.

Comrades, I should like to take our Bashkir Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic as an example and show the great historic gains achieved by our country in bitter strife with those enemies of the people and dastardly traitors to our country—the Trotskyites, Bukharinites and bourgeois nationalists.

Under the leadership of the great Bolshevik Party, under the personal leadership of Stalin, our dear father and teacher, Bashkiria has become a happy, prosperous republic where culture thrives. Her aspect has changed beyond recognition in these years of Socialist construction. Industry has grown by leaps and bounds, Socialist agriculture is making rapid headway, the culture of the Bashkirian people is flourishing. Up to the October Socialist Revolution, the people of Bashkiria languished under the yoke of the colonial tyranny of the capitalists and were dying off from the inhuman conditions of a life of subjection. Although the country had vast stretches of arable land, the overwhelming majority of

the people of Bashkiria were landless, because the tsarist government, the landlords and the capitalists despoiled them of their land, their meadows and pastures. That reminds me how land used to be "bought" from the Bashkirs: a merchant by the name of Zhuginin "bought" 400 desyatins of land from Bashkirs for 400 rubles. The owner of the Avzyan-Petrovsky factory "bought" a piece of Bashkir land extending "30 versts in all directions from the factory, for 30 rubles"—a kopeck per desyatin. One deed of purchase read: "This land shall be the perpetual property of the factory-owners and their heirs. It shall be theirs for wood-cutting and mowing at their pleasure. The Bashkirs and their heirs shall forever lose all title to these lands with the forests and fields thereof, and shall not set foot thereon."

But the capitalists and landowners miscalculated. Like the working people of the whole of our vast country, the working people of Bashkiria were restored by the Great Socialist Revolution and the Party of Lenin and Stalin to possession of the lands and forests, meadows, and pastures, which are being utilized so fruitfully towards Socialist construction in our country.

It is not possible to cite here all the figures characterizing the prosperous development of Bashkiria. It need only be said that over 350,000,000 rubles are to be invested in capital construction in 1938. That, comrades, is scores of times more than what was invested before the revolution.

Large-scale industrial enterprises have been built in Bashkiria under the Stalin Five-Year Plans: giants like the Ufa motor works, the Ufa cracking plant, the Ishimbayevo and Tuimazin oil fields. The Beloretsk iron and steel works has been re-equipped, while the Ufa railway shops have become a large-scale locomotive-repair works, employing several thousand workers.

A few words about agriculture. By Stalin's statutes of the agricultural artel, 7,000,000 hectares of land have been allotted to the collective farms, for their use in perpetuity. The extension of the sown area and the employment of a large number of agricultural machines has improved harvests. The collective farm peasantry of Order-winning Bashkiria have begun to live a well-to-do life. I should like to bring out one example here. In the Dyurtyulin district of the Bashkir A.S.S.R. there is a village called Minishty. In 1913 this village was one of the poorest. Of 160 households, 25 had neither horse nor cow, and 35 households were even without small livestock. The majority of the people of this village were illiterate and lived in terrible poverty. In 1931, the poor peasants of this village combined into a collective farm, which by 1935 had become a millionaire farm. Now the collective farm has a power station, a mill, a club, an elementary and part-grade intermediate school, a stud farm, a pig farm, a substantially built stable and cow-shed. This village now lives a happy, well-to-do life. Many examples of this kind could be cited.

No less commensurate with victorious Socialist construction in the republic is the unparalleled growth of the Budget of Bashkiria, which

totals 337,000,000 rubles this year, as against 6,875,000 rubles in 1924. This is nearly 50 times as much. Assignments for the development of industry grow larger and larger every year. In 1938, assignments for industry total 10,500,000 rubles, as against 117,000 rubles in 1929. There is a growth in assignments for the needs of agriculture, approaching 11,000,000 rubles in 1938, as against 2,000,000 rubles in 1928. The increase of assignments is particularly marked in the case of public education. This year alone, 180,000,000 rubles are ear-marked for public education in Bashkiria. About 600,000 children of working people are attending school, whereas before the revolution, only the children of *bais*, landlords, capitalists and government officials had the opportunity to go to school

Comrades, I should like to draw your attention to the following questions in your consideration of the Unified State Budget.

The first is the question of municipal improvements in district centres. The enemies of the people left nothing undone to sabotage municipal improvements in our district centres. The funds assigned for this purpose were not utilized for their proper purpose. Funds were frittered away, construction was held up.

The urgent requirements of the population of the district centres were simply ignored. There was a deliberate policy of holding up the construction of social and cultural amenities and municipal enterprises.

Under the plan of capital investments for 1938, municipal improvements in district centres are assigned 1,675,000 rubles, and 200,000 rubles are assigned for the completion of district executive committee premises already begun, which is quite inadequate for the completion of these items. No provision is made at all for investments in housing construction. If 1938 is to see the district centres made respectable and their population provided with housing and water, there must be additional assignments to the sum of 4,968,000 rubles.

Therefore in the near future the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. must take up the question of municipal improvements in the district centres, and we local executives must utilize all opportunities to help the district centres in this field.

The second question I should like to dwell upon is the development of locally-controlled industries. The Bashkir A.S.S.R. possesses colossal resources of raw material for the all-round development of these industries. But all too sparing use is being made of them.

The Bashkir A.S.S.R. must be given the facilities to develop locally-controlled industries.

I have every confidence that the Session will approve and sanction the Unified State Budget submitted by the Government. I am also firmly convinced that we shall operate this Budget to the full.

The 1,400,000 electors of Bashkiria have instructed us to consider throughout the proceedings of the Session the need for strengthening the defences of our country to the utmost. It is our electors' will that we approve and sanction the 27,000,000,000 rubles assigned here for the defence of the country.

The working people of Bashkiria have instructed us to convey a hearty fraternal greeting to all deputies present at the Second Session of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and render a hearty vote of Bolshevik thanks to our splendid Government and our dear, great Comrade Stalin for a prosperous, happy and joyous life. (*Loud and prolonged applause. All rise.*)

The Chairman: I call upon Deputy Takhtarov.

A. Takhtarov (*Makhach-Kala City Area, Daghestan A.S.S.R.*): Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet. We have heard the report of the People's Commissar of Finance on the Unified State Budget of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics for 1938. The capital investments in industry, agriculture, education, public health and transport, the funds assigned to cover the estimates of the People's Commissariat of Defence and the People's Commissariat of the Navy, speak eloquently for the efforts being made to make the country even more prosperous and strengthen her defences. Year by year, month by month, day by day the collective labour of the multi-national Soviet people is bringing ever new victories in all spheres of our life.

All this is a result of the fact that our Party, headed by our dear Comrade Stalin and our Government, are studious of the people's welfare, are anxious to make life better and happier yet.

The Budget of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics for 1938 is drafted at 125,184,000,000 rubles revenue and 123,684,000,000 rubles expenditure. The sum of 47,212,000,000 rubles is to be invested in the national economy. The sum of 27,000,000,000 rubles is assigned to our country's defences. This expenditure on the country's defence is entirely the will of the multi-national Soviet people.

I think I shall voice the opinion of all the deputies when I say that if this expenditure should need increasing to a sum several times larger, we can confidently do so. And, if need be, we shall give all our resources to defend our country against any enemy, from whatever quarter.

The growth of the whole national economy, the growth of the Soviet Union, is attended by the development and growing strength of the autonomous republics. Daghestan, which used to be a tsarist colony, whose peoples dwelt in poverty and hunger, is now living a prosperous and happy life thanks to the national policy of Lenin and Stalin.

Measured in prices of 1926-27, the gross output of the industries of Daghestan has increased 15-fold compared with 1920, and reached 114,000,000 rubles in 1937. For the first half-year of 1938, as compared with the first half-year of 1937, the increment of output was 27.5 per cent.

Before Soviet rule, Daghestan had no more than a dozen schools, and these were attended by the children of landlords, nobles, princelings and government officials.

Now we have 968 elementary schools, 951 of them in the aouls and rural districts; 206 part-grade intermediate schools, 190 of them in the aouls and rural districts; and 18 full-grade intermediate schools, 7 of

them in the mountain and rural districts. In all, Daghestan has 1,192 schools, attended by 148,000 children of working people.

Before the Great October Revolution there were no higher educational establishments, training colleges or workers' colleges in Daghestan. Now we have 4 higher educational establishments, attended by 1,700 students; 22 training colleges, attended by 3,375 students; and 3 workers' colleges with an attendance of 625.

There were practically no hospitals in Daghestan in pre-revolutionary days. Now we have 57 hospitals, with a total of 2,100 beds. There were absolutely no consultation dispensaries, out-clinics, dispensaries, malaria stations, maternity homes, kindergartens and nurseries in Daghestan before the Great October Revolution. Now there are 104 out-clinics, 20 consultation dispensaries, 18 maternity homes, 117 nurseries and kindergartens.

There were practically no industries in Daghestan before the revolution. At the present time our republic has large-scale fish and vegetable canneries, a large-scale mechanized glass works, a chemical works, a large-scale engineering works and an oil industry.

550 tractors and 115 harvester combines driven by men and women Stakhanovites are now at work in the fields of Daghestan, where even ploughs were unknown before the revolution. About 90 per cent of the peasant households have been amalgamated into collective farms, of which there are 1,115.

Between 1935 and 1938 the collective farms of Daghestan have increased their stock by the following percentages: cattle by 218 per cent, sheep by 267.6 per cent, goats by 575 per cent, and pigs by 267 per cent.

The enemies of the people, the Trotskyites, Bukharinites, Rykovites, bourgeois nationalists and other fascist riff-raff, tried all in vain to turn our country back to capitalism and precipitate the Soviet people into bondage and want. They made the mistake of their lives. The dastardly fascist spies and wreckers were unmasked and wiped out by our splendid Soviet intelligence service, led by the Stalinite People's Commissar, Comrade Nikolai Ivanovich Yezhov. (*Loud applause.*)

The Party, headed by Comrade Stalin, the great leader of peoples, and the Soviet Government are displaying the utmost anxiety to improve the material conditions of the working people of our country.

I consider, comrades, that we must approve and ratify the Unified State Budget for 1938 submitted to the Second Session.

Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet. In 1920, during the civil war, at the height of the counter-revolutionary insurrection in the mountains of Daghestan, Comrade Stalin came to Temir-Khan-Shuru, now the town of Buinaksk, and there at a congress of the peoples of Daghestan he declared the autonomy of Soviet Daghestan. Comrade Stalin stated emphatically at that time that the Soviet Government was hoping to deliver the peoples of Daghestan from the benightedness and poverty to which they had been reduced by the tsarist government. Great Stalin's words have come true. This is attested by the number of schools attended by mountain folk of both sexes. Under Soviet rule hundreds

of mountain folk of both sexes have been trained as engineers, doctors, technical experts, teachers and agronomists.

The peoples of Daghestan assure the great Communist Party, the Soviet Government and Comrade Stalin, the leader of peoples, that we mountain folk, men and women, are ready as one at the first call to saddle our fleet mountain ponies and help the valiant Red Army to make havoc of any enemy on his own territory. (*Applause.*)

Long live the fast friendship of the peoples of the Soviet Union!

Long live the valiant, invincible Red Army, led by Comrade Voroshilov, First Marshal of the Soviet Union!

Long live the Soviet Government and its head, Comrade Molotov!

Long live our Communist Party and its leader, Comrade Stalin! Hurrah!

(*Loud cheers. Loud and prolonged applause. All rise. Cries from the floor*: "*Long live our valiant Red Army! Hurrah!*")

The Chairman: I call upon Deputy Atliyev.

S. Atliyev (*Chardjou Rural Area, Turkmen S.S.R.*): Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet. The main purpose of the Unified state Budget for 1938, the first year of the third Five-Year Plan, submitted for approval to the Second Session of the Supreme Soviet of the U. S. S.R. is to further strengthen the financial power of the Soviet state and successfully promote the work of Socialist construction in our mighty country.

I beg to associate myself with the opinion of the previous speakers who have proposed the endorsement of the draft Unified State Budget of the U.S.S.R. for 1938 submitted by the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. The Budget for 1938 fully coincides with the plan for the development of the national economy and is in complete accord with the national policy of Lenin and Stalin. The Budget provides for a further advance of all branches of the national economy of our prosperous country in 1938. It need only be said that the volume of capital investments in 1938 is 30 per cent larger than in 1937. In comparison with 1937, capital investments in heavy industry and machinery construction increase by more than 50 per cent. The utilization of the proposed capital investments will make it possible to put 40,000,000,000 rubles' worth of new enterprises and buildings into operation in 1938.

Under the plan for 1938 over 11,000,000,000 rubles are to be invested in agriculture, which is an increase of 24.5 per cent over 1937.

Expenditure on the development of social and cultural services has a special place in the 1938 Budget. The expenditure so designed under the state Budget and local Budgets is to increase from 25,400,000,000 rubles in 1937 to 31,400,000,000 rubles in 1938. This shows the eagerness of our Party, the Government of the U.S.S.R. and our great Stalin to provide for the cultural and social requirements of the Soviet people.

The 1938 Budget is a result of the great things which have been achieved in our country under the leadership of the Party of Lenin and

Stalin, in struggle against the enemies of the people—the Trotskyites, Bukharinites, the bourgeois nationalists—the agents of fascism.

In order to finance all the items in the Budget fully and without delay, greater efforts must be made to collect the budgeted revenues and find new sources of revenue. The People's Commissariat of Finance of the U.S.S.R. and a number of its local bodies—the People's Commissariat of Finance of the Turkmen S.S.R. for one—have yet to strive with sufficient energy for the fulfilment of the revenue plan outlined in the Budget. The People's Commissariat of Finance of the U.S.S.R. and the local bodies are not striving sufficiently for a strict observance of budgetary discipline. A grave fault in the work of the People's Commissariat of Finance of the U.S.S.R. is that it makes but a shallow study of the state of finances in the republics.

Deputy Khokhlov has already noted that the Turkmen Republic experienced budgetary difficulties for several months as a result of the incorrect computation of the residue of budgetary resources on January 1, 1938.

In 1938 the People's Commissariat of Finance of the U.S.S.R. must so organize its work as to ensure that no funds shall be lacking for the fulfilment of our vast plan of Socialist construction.

In the past, Turkmenia was a tsarist colony. She was held under the yoke of the tsarist autocracy, the khans, *bais* and mullahs. Under Soviet rule, thanks to the constant daily assistance and solicitude of our Party, Comrade Stalin and the Government of the U.S.S.R., thanks to the unswerving application of the national policy of Lenin and Stalin, Turkmenia is no longer a backward country, but has become a prosperous industrial-agrarian republic. This is attested by the following figures: during the period of the two Stalin Five-Year Plans the Budget of the Turkmen Republic increased from 36,300,000 rubles in 1927 to 395,000,000 rubles in 1937. In 1938 the Budget of the Turkmen S. S. R. totals 441,000,000 rubles. In the period of the Second Five-Year Plan alone, Turkmenia's Budget totalled 1,236,600,000 rubles.

In 1938, the Budget provides for an expenditure of 21,700,000 rubles on industry, as against 13,900,000 rubles in 1937. As a result of these vast investments, new branches of industry have been founded in Turkmenia; oil, chemical, printing, food products and others. Under the two Stalin Five-Year Plans over 30 new industrial enterprises have been built in Turkmenia.

The development of industry has increased the number of skilled workers, Turkmenians especially. The workers' material and cultural standards of living have considerably improved.

Agriculture in Turkmenia has made extraordinary progress. As a result of the assistance of the Stalin Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. (B.) and the U.S.S.R. Government, 40,000,000 rubles were allocated in 1937 for the advancement of agriculture in Turkmenia. In 1938, the Budget provides for the investment of 42,000,000 rubles. The Turkmen S.S.R. has been given great help in the form of machines.

Under tsarism, the dekhkans never laid hands on any farming implement other than the *omach* (shallow-cut wooden plough). Those dark days have gone, never to return! In Soviet Turkmenia there are 1,689 collective farms, amalgamating 96 per cent of all dekhkan households. The collective farms have at their service 51 machine and tractor stations equipped with 3,715 tractors, 3,349 complex farm-machines and other agricultural implements. As a result of the mechanization of agriculture, the cotton yield has increased from 8.1 centners per hectare in 1934 to 11.9 centners per hectare in 1937. The collective farmers' income has increased. From 63,000,000 rubles in 1934, the income of the collective farms of Turkmenia rose to 274,000,000 rubles in 1937. There are quite a number of millionaire collective farms in Turkmenia.

Increased harvest and incomes have made the collective farmers more cultured and prosperous. In the past three years the collective farms of Turkmenia have acquired 435 automobiles. In 1937, the collective farmers spent tens of millions of rubles on cultural wares.

The enormous investments in the economy of the Turkmen S.S.R., the routing of those enemies of the people—the Trotskyites, Bukharinites and bourgeois nationalists—made it possible to finish the cotton sowing 20 days earlier in 1938 than in 1937. This year the plan of cocoon deliveries has been fulfilled by 106 per cent. The collective farms have gathered an excellent harvest of grain crops. The cultivation of the cotton plantations has been much better than last year. The cotton outlook is better now than in 1937.

An outstanding feature of our republican Budget is the financing of the development of social and cultural services. Assignments for these purposes in Turkmenia have increased from 59,000,000 rubles in 1932 to 246,000,000 rubles in 1937. The 1938 Budget provides for an expenditure of 289,000,000 rubles on social and cultural needs—16.5 per cent more than in 1937.

Before the revolution there were no places of entertainment and enlightenment in Turkmenia. Under the rule of the Soviets, led by the Party of Lenin and Stalin, the people of Turkmenia have created a culture and art of their own, national in form and Socialist in content. In 1937 the sum of 174,000,000 rubles was expended on public education in Turkmenia. In the Turkmen S.S.R. there are 4 institutes of higher education, 38 workers' colleges and training colleges, 1,377 schools—elementary, part-grade intermediate and full-grade intermediate—attended in all by 206,000 persons. The 1938 Budget provides for an expenditure of 202,000,000 rubles on education. As a result, we shall be able to build 46 new schools this year, 15 of them intermediate schools.

The Turkmen Soviet intelligentsia is continually gaining new forces. A great deal of work is being done to abolish illiteracy among the adult population. A network of cultural institutions has developed in the towns and especially in the aouls. At the present time Turkmenia has 5 republican theatres, 6 state farm and collective farm theatres, 22 cinemas, 606 clubs and village reading-rooms, 529 general circulating libraries and 117 touring cinemas. The republic has a cinema studio.

Before the revolution, the working people of Turkmenia were entirely without medical assistance. There were no medical institutions of any kind in the aouls. In Turkmenia before the revolution there were altogether 9 doctors, and they attended only the tsarist officials, the *bais* and the priesthood.

In Soviet Turkmenia there are 60 hospitals, 55 dispensaries, 29 malaria stations and 191 substations, 12 eye hospitals and 149 eye dispensaries, 6 skin hospitals, and 295 permanent nurseries. The hospitals have a total of 2,263 beds, 867 of them in the aouls. The people of Turkmenia have 516 doctors to give them medical aid.

The assignment for public health is being increased from 68,000,000 rubles in 1937 to 72,000,000 rubles in 1938.

Under the leadership of the Communist Party and Comrade Stalin, its leader, the people of Turkmenia have routed those enemies of the people—the Trotskyites, Bukharinites and bourgeois nationalists—and are continuing to root out the survivors of these fascist hirelings. (*Applause.*)

Together with the glorious Soviet intelligence service—the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs, led by the Stalinite Commissar Nikolai Ivanovich Yezhov (*applause*)—the people of Turkmenia will root out the last survivors of that fascist agency, the Trotskyites, Bukharinites, and bourgeois nationalists.

The elections to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. and the Supreme Soviet of the Turkmen S.S.R. have increased the political activity of the masses. Thousands of new efficient organizers, people who have proved themselves in the struggle against the enemies of the people, have been promoted to leading posts in the Soviets and in economic life.

The elections to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. and the Supreme Soviet of the Turkmen S.S.R. were a striking demonstration of the invincibility of the Stalin Communist and non-Party bloc, a demonstration of the permanence of the political and moral unity of the whole multi-national Soviet people.

The elections demonstrated the loyalty of the people of Turkmenia to the Bolshevik Party and the dear leader and father of the peoples of the Soviet Union—Comrade Stalin. (*Loud applause.*) The results of the elections demonstrated the unbreakable bond between the people of Turkmenia and all other peoples of the Soviet Union.

Under the leadership of the Party and our leader, Comrade Stalin, we have enormous achievements to our credit. This is best proved by the might of the Soviet Union, which is increasing year by year, by the Unified State Budget of the U.S.S.R. for 1938, now under our consideration.

However, in spite of all the victories, the people of Turkmenia are ever mindful of Comrade Stalin's warning that we are surrounded by capitalist states, that spies and wreckers are despatched to the Soviet Union by bourgeois countries. The people of Turkmenia remember all that Comrade Stalin has said about the harmfulness of conceit and

self-complacency, and they will carry out Comrade Stalin's directions to the letter as regards the tightening of Bolshevik vigilance.

By tightening Bolshevik vigilance in all spheres of work, in all branches of the national economy, by the complete fulfilment of the national economic plan by every factory and collective farm, we shall make even greater headway in strengthening the Soviet Union and her defences.

The people of Turkmenia unanimously approve the measures which the Government has taken for the defence of our country. These measures will make the Soviet state stronger than ever. I am convinced that the Session will endorse the assignment of 27,000,000,000 rubles for the reinforcement of the defences of our country.

At their meetings the people of Turkmenia have been voicing their indignation at the Japanese militarists' provocative attacks on the Soviet Union. Let it be known to the Japanese *samurai* and other fascist aggressors provoking the Soviet Union to war, that shoulder to shoulder with all the other peoples of the multi-national Soviet Union, the people of Turkmenia will rise with one accord at the first call of our Party, the Government and Comrade Stalin, the dear leader of peoples, to defend their beloved country, to defend the gains of the Great October Socialist Revolution. (*Applause.*)

The Chairman: According to standing orders, the time has expired. We shall adjourn until 6 p.m., August 14.

FOURTH SITTING

August 14, 1938

N. M. Shvernik, Chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities, and C. A. Aslanova, Vice-Chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities, take their seats on the dais, and the members of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. and the leaders of the Party and the Government enter the boxes. They are greeted with loud and prolonged applause. All rise.

N. M. Shvernik (*in the chair*): The sitting of the Second Session of the Soviet of Nationalities is resumed. We shall continue the debate on the Unified State Budget of the U.S.S.R. for 1938. I call upon Deputy Krasnov.

P. D. Krasnov (*Tsivilsk Area, Chuvash A.S.S.R.*): Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet. The Unified State Budget of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, presented by the Council of People's Commissars of the Union to the Second Session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. for its consideration and approval, reflects the tremendous social and economic changes that have taken place in the Land of Soviets.

The draft Unified State Budget cogently proves the steady growth of the might of the Soviet Union, the further improvement in the well-being of the masses of the working people, and the strengthening of the defensive power of our fatherland.

As compared with 1937, investments in capital development in 1938 increase by 30 per cent. The gross output of the Union and republican controlled industries increases by 21 per cent, the trade turnover by 12.4 per cent. This is possible only in the Land of Soviets, in which the workers and peasants, guided by the Bolshevik Party and the wise and great leader and teacher of peoples, Comrade Stalin, are building Socialism.

It is with a feeling of great satisfaction that we welcome the proposal of the Council of People's Commissars of the Union to appropriate 27,000,000,000 rubles for the further strengthening of the defensive power of our Soviet country.

Let it known to the fascists and their despicable hirelings that our country is strengthening its defensive power. We will spare nothing

to make the Soviet Union impregnable to fascist bayonets and guns. Let them remember that the Land of Soviets is led by the great leader, Comrade Stalin. (*Applause.*)

I have no doubt that the Session will unanimously approve and endorse the draft Unified State Budget submitted by the Council of People's Commissars of the Union, with the corrections suggested by the Budget Commission and by the deputies who have spoken here.

The deputies have quite correctly pointed out the necessity for improving day-to-day concrete leadership on the part of the People's Commissariat of Finance, and the necessity of putting more life into audit and control work. Attention was rightly centred here on the questions of strengthening financial discipline in the Soviet organizations, as well as in the economic, co-operative and other organizations. Financial discipline must also be tightened in the finance organs themselves. It is a known fact that a lot of damage was done along these lines by the enemies of the people. We must demand of the People's Commissariat of Finance strict, concrete and differentiated management within its system.

It is clear that we, the local workers, must also give every help to the organs of the People's Commissariat of Finance. However, the finance organs must be more firm in carrying out the instructions of the Government with regard to the taxpayers' discharging their obligations to the state.

Comrades, the draft Budget for 1938 submitted to the Second Session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. fully conforms to the great principles of the national policy of Lenin and Stalin. The draft Budget ensures the further development of the economy and Socialist culture of all the nationalities of the Soviet Union.

The Chuvash people—formerly ignorant, downtrodden, backward, and doomed to extinction—today leads a happy and joyous life. As a member of the family of peoples of the U.S.S.R., it is building the edifice of Communist society. The consistent and undeviating realization of the national policy of our Bolshevik Party has ensured the development of Socialist industry in the Chuvash A.S.S.R.

In twenty years the gross output of industry in the Chuvash A.S.S.R. has increased 22-fold. During the period of the two Stalin Five-Year Plans, new towns and workers' settlements have appeared in Chuvashia. Capital investments in industry, in agriculture and in measures of a social and cultural character have grown from year to year. During the period of the Second Five-Year Plan alone capital investments in industry amounted to approximately 100,000,000 rubles.

There is a marked increase in the number of workers, engineers and technicians, drawn particularly from local Chuvash forces.

The Chuvash countryside, which in the past was downtrodden and illiterate, has changed beyond recognition. The formerly scattered, small peasant farms are now united in collective farms. 90 per cent of the cultivated area is tilled by the collective farms.

The technical equipment of agriculture in Chuvashia has been grow-

ing from year to year. The fields of the republic are worked with tractors, harvester combines and other complex and semi-complex agricultural machinery.

As a result of a Bolshevik fight to achieve big harvests and to realize Comrade Stalin's slogan of an annual harvest of from 7,000,000,000 to 8,000,000,000 poods, Soviet Chuvashia obtained an unprecedented harvest last year—an average of 92 poods of grain per hectare. The average harvested by the collective farms was 97 poods per hectare. Some collective farms gathered up to 200 poods per hectare, whereas before collectivization the Chuvash peasantry harvested not more than about 45-50 poods per hectare.

One of the reasons why bigger harvests are being obtained is the fact that Socialist industry has equipped agriculture with tractors, harvester combines and other agricultural machines.

The life of the Chuvash people has become joyous, happy, prosperous and cultured. Their material well-being is steadily growing. From an illiterate region in the past, Chuvashia has become transformed into a hundred per cent literate country. Culture, national in form and Socialist in content, is flourishing in every sphere in the Chuvash A.S.S.R.

In 1913, there were 29,000 pupils in the schools on the territory of present-day Chuvashia; in the school year 1937-38 the number of pupils has reached 180,000.

More than 40,000 children attend intermediate schools. Before the Great October Revolution, the sons and daughters of the Chuvash people had no opportunity to study in higher educational establishments; at present, however, we have in our republic four higher educational establishments with more than two thousand students.

Trachoma—an age-old evil that plagued the Chuvash people—has been entirely eradicated. Before the revolution, about 80 per cent of the population were affected with trachoma. The tsarist hirelings considered trachoma an incurable disease. Only the Soviet power freed the people from this cursed heritage. The numerous cases of cures effected on people who had been blind of trachoma have aroused among the Chuvash people an intense feeling of gratitude to the Communist Party and our leader, Comrade Stalin (*applause*), for the solicitude they are displaying for the health of the working people.

Comrades, all our victories have been gained under the guidance of the Communist Party, its Lenin-Stalin Central Committee, and the wise leader of the Party and the peoples, Comrade Stalin. (*Applause.*)

The successes of our republic in the past year, 1937, would have been still greater if not for the damage caused us by the enemies of the people—the Trotskyites, Bukharinites and bourgeois nationalists. These contemptible reptiles disrupted the fulfilment of plans by factories, caused damage in agriculture and on the cultural front, and disorganized the finances of the republic. But the dastardly enemies had miscalculated.

The glorious organs of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs, led by Nikolai Ivanovich Yezhov (*applause*), with the active assistance of the working class, the collective farm peasantry and the Soviet intelligentsia, have broken up and destroyed the main nests of the enemies.

Our most important task is promptly to remove the effects of the wreckers' activities and accelerate manyfold the rate of growth of the economy and culture of our republic.

The Budget of the Chuvash A.S.S.R. for 1938 totals 131,000,000 rubles, whereas the actual realization of the Budget in 1937 amounted to 112,000,000 rubles. Thus the Budget for 1938 represents an increase of 17 per cent.

Appropriations for social and cultural services in Chuvashia amount to 95,000,000 rubles, or 72 per cent of the whole Budget.

In the course of a number of years the enemies of the people hindered the development of the city of Cheboksary—the capital of Chuvashia. They did everything to disrupt all the measures along the lines of municipal improvements and housing construction.

Considering the great assistance lent us by the Government of the U.S.S.R., we could have done a great deal more in the sphere of municipal and housing construction in the seven years from 1930 to 1937. In Cheboksary, the capital of the republic, a comparatively small number of apartment houses was built during these years.

The construction of waterworks and sewers, which was begun in 1931 and 1932, has not been completed to this day. The funds annually appropriated for this purpose have not been utilized. We are raising with the Union organizations, with the People's Commissariats, and particularly with the People's Commissariat of Municipal Economy, the question of rendering us real help in the building of apartment houses.

We also draw attention to the necessity of helping us in the work of developing art. The despicable enemies of the people have done a great deal of damage in this sphere. To this day we have no theatre in the capital of our republic. We ask the Government of the U.S.S.R. to help us build a theatre.

Comrades, the Japanese military are provoking a war; but they got what they deserved when they dared to encroach upon our territory. The valiant Red Army, under the leadership of Kliment Yefremovich Voroshilov (*applause*), gave a convincing demonstration of what awaits those who dare to attack the state of the workers and peasants.

The Chuvash people love their country, they are supremely devoted to the Communist Party and the leader of peoples, Comrade Stalin. (*Applause.*) Our Chuvash people, as a member of the friendly family of the peoples of the great Soviet Union, will march to crush the enemies at the first call of our Party, our Government and our beloved leader, Comrade Stalin. (*Loud applause.*)

The Chairman: I call upon Comrade Voznesensky, Chairman of

the State Planning Commission under the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R.

N. A. Voznesensky: Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet. The Budget of the Socialist state of workers and peasants, which we are about to endorse, is the most stable Budget in the world. The stability of this Budget is based on the steady advance of our Socialist industry and of the whole of our national economy.

In 1938 the output of industry in the Soviet Union, computed in fixed prices of 1926-27, will reach the sum of more than 110,000,000,000 rubles. This includes 87,500,000,000 rubles representing the output of the Union, Union-republican and republican industrial People's Commissariats. The output of heavy industry increases in the current year by nearly 28 per cent as compared with 1937.

The summary of the results for the first half of 1938 shows that our Soviet industry is steadily and invariably growing from month to month. Here, comrades, are some figures illustrating this steady growth of Socialist industry. In January the output of industry as compared with the corresponding month of the past year had increased by 5.6 per cent, in February by 9 per cent, in March by 12 per cent, in April by 15 per cent, in May by 16.2 per cent, and in June by 17.8 per cent.

The constant and steady growth of Soviet industry represents a great victory for our Party and Government. This victory is a result of our having smashed the Trotskyite-Bukharinite gang of spies and wreckers. This victory of the Bolshevik Party and of the Soviet Government is a result of the promotion of new Bolshevik forces to leading positions in our Socialist national economy.

Comrade Molotov said that "before our eyes new forces are mastering the art of managing industry. The supersession of the politically bankrupt managers, the purging of the economic apparatus of enemies and wreckers, has in no way weakened industry. The new forces are already taking in hand the work that has been entrusted to them, and are managing it successfully. This indicates the extent to which our forces in economy have developed, it shows what reserves we have and how confidently we can advance by organizing the correct promotion of new forces, their correct training and guidance."

Heavy industry developed during the first half of the year at a more rapid rate than other branches of industry. The output of heavy industry (the People's Commissariats of Heavy Industry, of the Machine-Building Industry and of the Defence Industry) showed the following increases as compared with the corresponding months of last year: in January 6.5 per cent, in February 10.6 per cent, in March 13.4 per cent, in April 18 per cent, in May 19.6 per cent, and in June 23.3 per cent.

More metal and fuel, more chemicals and electric power, more machines and equipment, more military equipment—that is the answer of our Socialist fatherland to the provocations of the fascist aggressors, to their attempts to draw their countries into a war against the Soviet Union.

And for the future, too, our first task, the task of every Party organization, the task of every economic manager, the task of all Soviet organizations and of the working class is to do everything to safeguard the interests of our heavy industry, to advance it and secure an even more rapid rate of its development in the second half of the year.

A distinguishing feature of the Socialist system of economy is the increasing abundance of products in the country, the constant improvement in the well-being of the people. This distinguishing feature of Socialism has been splendidly manifested in the growth of the food industry during the first half of 1938. Compared with the corresponding months of last year, the output of the food industry in the current year has increased as follows: in January by 9.4 per cent, in February by 19.8 per cent, in March by 21.2 per cent, in April by 17.9 per cent, in May by 18.9 per cent, and in June by 20.7 per cent.

These figures should convince everybody that the U.S.S.R. possesses not only a strong military industrial base, but also vast resources of foodstuffs sufficient to satisfy the requirements of the whole Soviet people and supply the army on any scale that may be necessary in order to crush the fascist aggressors.

The basis for the growth of industry in the first half of 1938 was the rise in the productivity of labour. In heavy industry the productivity of labour, as compared with the corresponding period of the preceding year, increased in the first half of 1938 by 15.5. per cent, and in the food industry by 11 per cent. This is a basis for a steady advance of Socialist industry. As a result of the rise in the productivity of labour in the first half of 1938, the absolute increase of output as compared with the corresponding period of the preceding year amounted to 3,400,000,000 rubles in heavy industry and 1,700,000,000 rubles in the food and light industries. In the first seven months of the current year, the increase in the output of coal alone amounted to 3,700,000 tons, in the output of oil to 1,700,000 tons, in the output of steel to 700,000 tons, and in the output of automobiles to 18,000.

Comrades, we have in the U.S.S.R. the metal to "greet" the fascist aggressors with, we have the metal for the production of guns and shells. We also have in the U.S.S.R. the fuel for our tanks and airplanes, we have all that is necessary for the material equipment of our valiant Workers' and Peasants' Red Army. (*Loud applause.*)

Despite the great successes achieved by our industry in the first half of 1938, it has not fulfilled its plan. Of the branches that are of great importance for national economy the ones most behindhand are the cotton textiles industry, the timber industry, power machinery construction, and the smelting of copper.

Through the fault of the People's Commissariat of Light Industry, the cotton textiles industry in the first half of 1938 was 200,000,000 m. behind in cotton fabrics deliveries to the country, the output of fabrics having increased by only 2.6 per cent as compared with 1937. The

blame for this unsatisfactory work of the cotton textiles industry must be laid directly on the People's Commissariat of Light Industry.

The People's Commissariat of Light Industry has been very slow and inefficient in removing the effects of the activities of the wreckers in the cotton textiles industry. The reserves ensuring the further growth of light industry are not being brought to light or utilized. It is sufficient to state that equipment in the spinning and weaving industry stands idle one-tenth of the working time. The People's Commissariat of Light Industry is all the more to blame, since the country possesses a sufficient supply of cotton to ensure the normal work of the textile industry. The failure of the cotton textiles industry to fulfil its plan constituted a serious deficiency in the work of industry in the first half of 1938. It is high time that those in charge of the People's Commissariat of Light Industry of the U.S.S.R. showed that they actually mean to overcome the effects of the wreckers' activities in light industry.

The timber industry has not only failed to carry out its plan for the cutting and hauling of timber, but its showing in the first quarter of 1938 was even worse than in the corresponding period of 1937. To this day the People's Commissariat of the Timber Industry has not found the main link which must be grasped in its practical work, if the timber industry is to be pulled up to take its place in the ranks of the advanced branches of our Socialist industry. The enemies of the people in the organizations of the timber industry spared no efforts to hinder the realization of the policy of the Party and the Government directed towards transforming timbering into a mechanized industry.

Mechanization of the cutting and hauling of timber and building up a stable force of workers who are expert in mechanization—these represent the decisive link which the People's Commissariat of the Timber Industry must grasp in order to pull up the timber industry. It is a hazardous thing to stake on hand labour and the seasonal fluctuations in the number of workers that are connected with hand labour; it can only aggravate the disorganization in the work of the timber industry.

The technical reconstruction of the national economy of the Land of Soviets makes enormous demands on the machine-building industry, particularly as regards power generating machinery and machine tools. The interests of developing national economy require that electrification should be ahead of the growth of industry. Electrification must create ever new possibilities and additional power resources for the development of the whole of national economy.

The People's Commissariat of the Machine-Building Industry has been unable to satisfy the growing needs of the national economy in turbines, boilers, transformers, Diesel engines, special lathes and cable. A very serious evil in the industry of power machinery construction is the large amount of scrap. During the first half of 1938 alone the losses due to scrap in this industry amounted to more than 250,000,000 rubles.

It is a matter of honour for the army of workers in the machine-building industry, and, in the first place, it is a matter of the Bolshevik honour of those in charge of the People's Commissariat of the Machine-Building Industry, to win for the machine-tool and power machinery construction industries a place in the front ranks of the advanced branches of our industry. All the possibilities exist for achieving this aim. With the equipment which we have created in the period of the First and Second Five-Year Plans it should be possible to produce twice, three times, and even four times as much as we are producing at present. It is only a question of mastering this technique, of stimulating Socialist emulation, of developing the Stakhanovite movement.

The growth of our Socialist industry in 1938 makes it possible to secure an even more equal distribution of the productive forces over our vast country. During the period of the two Five-Year Plans, Socialist industry has developed in all the Union republics.

As compared with the year 1928, industrial output in 1937 had increased 5.7 times in the Russian Republic, 5.7 times in the Ukrainian Republic, 8.5 times in the Byelorussian Republic, 4.5 times in the Azerbaidjan Republic, 12.5 times in the Georgian Republic, nearly 12 times in the Armenian Republic, 6.5 times in the Turkmen Republic, 5.7 times in the Uzbek Republic, 26 times in the Tadjik Republic, nearly 12 times in the Kazakh Republic, and 14 times in the Kirghiz Republic.

Comrades, these figures on the growth of industry in the Union republics in the course of the two Stalin Five-Year Plan periods show that the Party of Lenin and Stalin has achieved historic victories as a result of its policy. That is why the multi-national Soviet people everywhere glorify their own great Stalin. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Our very first task is to continue to distribute industry throughout the country, and to give every encouragement to the initiative of the Union republics in the development of industry under local control. At present the economic and Soviet organizations are not paying sufficient attention to the development of locally-controlled industry. In 1937, the Moscow and Leningrad regions accounted for nearly 60 per cent of the entire output of locally-controlled industry. All the other republics, territories and regions accounted for only 40 per cent of the output of locally-controlled industry. This indicates an extremely unsatisfactory state of affairs. Locally-controlled industry can and must become a large source of supply of consumers' goods and contribute to the increase of the trade turnover in the country.

The mania for building giant enterprises must be exposed as noxious. It is necessary to take resolute steps to build small-sized enterprises for local coal mining, for the production of consumers' goods and building materials. This is one of the means of accelerating production.

The natural resources of the Soviet Union are so great that they ensure the development of industry in all the republics, territories and regions of the U.S.S.R. Thus, for instance, the known coal resources of the Kizel and Chelyabinsk coal basins in the Urals are estimated at from 6,000,000,000 to 7,000,000,000 tons; the known coal resources in

Eastern Siberia are estimated at 150,000,000,000 to 200,000,000,000 tons; those of the Far-Eastern Territory at 30,000,000,000 to 40,000,000,000 tons; those of the Moscow basin at 8,000,000,000 tons; those of Central Asia at 5,000,000,000 to 6,000,000,000 tons, and those of Transcaucasia at 150,000,000,000 to 200,000,000,000 tons.

Yet, in spite of these large coal resources, these regions still have to haul great quantities of coal from other regions.

To develop in every way the production of local fuel, to organize the mining of coal all over the country and reduce long-distance transportation of fuel—this is an essential task for all the Union republics, territories and regions of our Soviet Union. The creation of a fuel base in each republic, territory and region is a decisive determining factor in the Socialist competition between the Union republics with regard to the development of locally-controlled industry.

A question of no less importance is that of a proper distribution of cement mills. At present the share of the Southern and the Volga districts of the European part of the U.S.S.R. in cement production represents approximately 60 per cent of the total. However, the existing resources of raw materials warrant the spread of the cement industry and make it possible to create local bases of building materials.

The Soviet Government has condemned the mania for building giant cement mills, and has set the task of building small building-material plants which can begin production without delay. In the near future such plants are scheduled to be built in Turkmenia, Kazakhstan, Kirghizia, and in the districts of the Far East and Eastern Siberia.

The rational distribution of industry is of tremendous importance for the development of our national economy at an accelerated rate. The proper distribution of industry brings production closer to the raw material districts, reduces the cost of production, and enhances the defences of our great Soviet Union.

The advance of industry in the Union Republics is particularly striking when viewed against the background of the incipient new industrial crisis in all the capitalist countries.

During the period of the two Stalin Five-Year Plans, the output of industry in the Soviet Union increased from 21,000,000,000 rubles to 90,000,000,000 rubles, or 430 per cent compared with 1929. At the same time the output of industry in the capitalist countries in 1937 represented only 102.5 per cent compared with 1929. Here you see the striking contrast. A 330 per cent increase in Socialist industry in the period of the two Stalin Five-Year Plans, and a 2.5 per cent "increase" in industry during the same period in the capitalist countries.

Such are the indices of the progressive nature of the Socialist system, which has triumphed in the Soviet Union, and of the decay of the capitalist system, which still prevails in the other countries.

In 1928 our country held fifth place in the world in respect of industrial development. In 1932 we advanced to third place in the world, and since 1937 we firmly hold second place in the world. At present

only the United States of America is ahead of us in respect of industrial development.

Now that we have attained to second place in the world, there has begun, comrades, a historic competition between the Land of Socialism—our Soviet Union—and the land of capitalism—the United States of America—with regard to the level of development of the productive forces. We have no doubt but that in this historic competition it will be the Land of Socialism, our great Soviet Union, that will emerge victorious. (*Loud applause.*)

The industry of the capitalist countries had hardly risen above the pre-crisis level of 1929 before it began to slump again under the blows of a new crisis. In the first quarter of 1938 industrial output in the capitalist countries stood at only 88 per cent of the pre-crisis level of 1929.

In spite of the frenzied growth of the output of the war industries, the crisis is maturing in the countries of fascist aggression—Germany and Japan.

The facts illustrating the growth of industry in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the fever of industrial crisis in the capitalist countries are a palpable manifestation of the might and strength of the Soviet Union and of the instability of the capitalist countries.

Comrades, in the course of the two Stalin Five-Year Plan periods the Soviet Union has been transformed into a mighty power capable of crushing any fascist aggressor. There is no power that can halt the great and irresistible march of the peoples of the Soviet Union onward, to Communism. In the whole world the future belongs only to the invincible banner of Lenin and Stalin, the militant banner of Communism. (*Loud applause.*)

The Chairman: Deputy Kazakpayev.

A. Kazakpayev (*Akmolinsk Area, Kazakh S.S.R. Deputy Kazakpayev speaks in Kazakh. Deputy Karakulov interprets*): Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet. The figures representing the growth of the state Budget of the U.S.S.R. for 1938 prove the strength and might of the Soviet Union. The Unified State Budget submitted to the Session fully conforms to the tasks of the development of the economy and culture of our country, and of enhancing its defensive power. The Budget reflects the interests of the peoples of all the national republics of our great Soviet Union.

Under the leadership of the Party of Lenin and Stalin, and with the assistance of the great Russian people, the Kazakh Republic—a child of the Soviet system—has achieved enormous successes in all spheres of Socialist construction. Thanks to the wise national policy of Lenin and Stalin, the Kazakh Republic—formerly a backward and oppressed colonial border region—has been regenerated and transformed into a flourishing industrial and agricultural republic.

During the election campaign, the Kazakh people again demonstrated its moral and political unity with all the peoples of the Soviet Union, its readiness to defend the cause of Lenin and Stalin to the end, its de-

votion and attachment to the Communist Party and the leader of peoples, Comrade Stalin. (*Applause.*)

In spite of all the attempts of the Trotskyite, Bukharinite and bourgeois-nationalist bandits to disrupt Socialist construction, the national economy of the Kazakh Republic has been steadily developing.

Under the leadership of the Communist Party and with the help of the valiant workers of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs, led by the Stalinian People's Commissar, Nikolai Ivanovich Yezhov (*applause*), the Kazakh people have smashed the Trotskyite, Bukharinite and bourgeois-nationalist hirelings of fascism. This has created the conditions for a new, even more powerful, advance and flourishing of the Socialist economy of our republic.

The advance of the national economy of Kazakhstan is expressed with particular vividness in the growth of the republic's Budget. From 600,000,000 rubles in 1936, the Budget of Kazakhstan has increased to 1,282,600,000 rubles in 1938. The successful development of the Kazakh Republic furnishes additional proof of all the greatness and correctness of the national policy of Lenin and Stalin. The national policy pursued by the Communist Party and by our great leader, Comrade Stalin, has transformed the formerly backward, oppressed, moribund colonial border region into the flourishing industrial and agricultural Soviet Socialist Republic of Kazakhstan.

Important centres of industry have been created in the Kazakh Republic. The Altai region, rich in ores, which under tsarism was a place of penal servitude, has now become a gem of our country. During the years of the two Stalin Five-Year Plan periods a powerful coal base has been created in our republic—Karaganda, the third coal centre of the U.S.S.R; operations have been started in the extensive oil fields of the Emba district, which holds second place in the Soviet Union; large copper-smelting works have been built and are being built in Balkhash and Jezkazgan.

The copper resources of Kazakhstan represent 60 per cent of the known resources of the Soviet Union.

We have in Kazakhstan the Ridder and Chimkent lead works. The lead works of our republic supply over 70 per cent of all the lead of the Soviet Union.

120 new large industrial enterprises have been built in Kazakhstan. Investments in industrial and railroad construction during the two Stalin Five-Year Plan periods amounted to 5,000,000,000 rubles.

The Kazakh Republic has become a republic of copper, zinc, lead and coal, and of a large-scale food industry. At any moment Kazakhstan can supply all the lead and copper needed for our glorious Red Army in order to smash the Japanese and German fascists. (*Applause.*)

Under Soviet rule, Kazakhstan—formerly a roadless country—has been covered with a network of railways. 6,700 km. of railway lines have been laid, and traffic has been organized along 6,000 km. of waterways and 13,000 km. of air lines.

The Budget for 1938 provides for an expenditure of over 180,000,000 rubles on agriculture in Kazakhstan.

In the past the level of development of agriculture in Kazakhstan was very low. The Kazakh peasant was downtrodden; he groaned under the burden of brutal exploitation by the colonizers, kulaks and *bais*.

With the assistance of the great Russian people and the fraternal support of all the peoples of the U.S.S.R., the Kazakh people, as a result of the realization of the national policy of Lenin and Stalin, has become master of its destinies. The Kazakhs have entered upon the highroad of national renaissance, of economic and cultural progress.

In the last five years the cultivated area of our republic has increased by more than 1,000,000 hectares; it now equals 6,056,000 hectares.

The Soviet power has equipped the agriculture of Kazakhstan with the most advanced technique in the world. The fields of the Kazakh Republic are cultivated with the aid of 25,000 tractors, 8,000 harvester combines, and scores of thousands of other up-to-date agricultural machines. More than 300 machine and tractor stations serve 85 per cent of the cultivated area of the collective farms. There are more than 150 state farms in the republic.

The most important branch of agriculture in our republic is stock-raising. The Kazakh people are successfully realizing Comrade Stalin's direction to turn Kazakhstan into the main stock-raising base of the Soviet Union in the East. During the last few years the number of livestock in Kazakhstan has increased 2.5 times over.

As a result of the victory of the collective farm system, the Kazakh peasantry has secured prosperity. The regenerated Kazakh people now lead a pulsating, joyous and creative life. Together with all the collective farmers of our great fatherland, the collective farmers of Kazakhstan again and again extend their thanks to you, Comrade Stalin. (*Applause.*)

We have now an unprecedented rise in the culture of the Kazakh people, national in form and Socialist in content.

The Budget for 1938 provides for an expenditure of 813,000,000 rubles on social and cultural services in the Kazakh Republic, which represents an increase of 26.1 per cent over the expenditure in 1937.

The right to education, recorded in the great Stalin Constitution, is being realized. Before the revolution, 99 per cent of the population of Kazakhstan were illiterate. In 80 years the tsarist government expended on education 6.60 rubles per capita of the population of Kazakhstan.

Whereas before the Great October Revolution there was not a single higher educational establishment in Kazakhstan, at present we have 19 of them. More than 6,000 students receive instruction in the higher educational establishments of Kazakhstan, and another 11,000 students in 62 training colleges.

320,000 children attend the intermediate schools of Kazakhstan. Universal elementary education has been introduced throughout the republic. More than 1,000,000 people were receiving instruction in the schools of Kazakhstan in 1937. New schools are built every year. In 1937 alone, 70 new schools were built in Kazakhstan. Dozens of new

scientific research institutions have been created. 77 per cent of the Kazakh population can now read and write.

As a result of the improvement in the material well-being of the working people, the Kazakh people show an enormous interest in learning and culture. There has been a great increase in expenditures on training forces, on art and on science.

New cities—Karaganda, Balkhash, and Ridder—have been built in the republic. Alma-Ata, the capital of the Kazakh S.S.R., in 1920 had a population of 25,000. Today Alma-Ata has a population of 300,000. Quite recently there were no water-works, no sewerage, no tramways, and no electricity in any of the cities of Kazakhstan. Today they boast many municipal improvements.

Enormous resources are allotted every year for improvements in the cities and district centres. In 1938, expenditures on municipal economy are 13 per cent larger than in the preceding year. This furnishes proof of the solicitude for the individual which is daily displayed by the Party and the Soviet Government.

In our country care for the health of the people is one of the most important duties of all state and public organizations. Before the revolution there were altogether about 1,000 hospital beds in Kazakhstan. Today the number of beds in hospitals reaches 20,000. In 1928 appropriations for public health amounted to only 4,000,000 rubles. In 1938, the appropriations for public health reach 230,000,000 rubles, representing an increase of 18 per cent as compared with last year. Mothers of large families have received assistance from the Government to the amount of 27,000,000 rubles.

Had it not been for the enemy wrecking activities of the Trotskyite, Bukharinite and national-fascist bandits, the successes of the Kazakh people in all spheres of Socialist construction would have been much greater. The Kazakh people are exerting every effort to speedily remove the effects of the wreckers' activities in the republic. The Kazakh Government has adopted all the measures necessary to restore finances on a healthy basis, and to put an end to all violations and lawlessness perpetrated by the former enemy leadership in the sphere of the Budget.

While admitting that there are serious shortcomings in our work, particularly as regards the realization of the revenue estimates of the Budget, I must also speak about the shortcomings in the work of the People's Commissariat of Finance of the U.S.S.R. The apparatus of the People's Commissariat of Finance of the U.S.S.R. is not acquainted with the specific features of Kazakhstan. It is extremely slow, and sometimes bureaucratic, in dealing with our requests. In spite of the fact that the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. has sanctioned a number of additional items of expenditure in the Budget of Kazakhstan, these items have not been included in the material which the People's Commissariat of Finance has submitted on the Budget. In spite of our repeated signals, a number of errors in the Budget have not been corrected to this day. I can cite a number of facts. Thus, for instance, at the beginning of 1938, three new regions were organized

in Kazakhstan, but to this day we have no clarity on the question of the expenditures involved in the organization of these regions and new districts—a matter of 1,900,000 rubles.

In spite of the request made by the Budget Commission to the apparatus of the People's Commissariat of Finance of the U.S.S.R. to submit its calculations of payments for municipal services to teachers in rural districts, these calculations have not been submitted. As a result, the additional sum of 2,900,000 rubles which is needed for this purpose has not been included in the material dealing with the Budget.

Neither have inaccuracies been eliminated in the planning of the turnover tax and transfers to the Budget. The question of providing working capital for the food industry and a number of objections referring to municipal economy have still to be cleared up.

It is necessary for Comrade Zverev to pay attention to all these deficiencies in the work of the apparatus of the People's Commissariat of Finance and to see to it that the questions of interest to the Kazakh Government are settled within the next few days.

In the years of the two Stalin Five-Year Plan periods new cities have grown up in Kazakhstan. The formerly backward town of of Verny, now Alma-Ata, the capital of our republic, is becoming transformed into a cultured and well-organized city. While the Budget of the city totalled 57,000,000 rubles in 1937, it amounts to 90,000,000 rubles in 1938. Every year large sums are invested in municipal improvements in Alma-Ata. In 1913, the item "Construction and Improvements" in the Budget of the town of Verny provided for an expenditure of 6,000 rubles. More than half of this sum went to repair the former prison of Verny, and the rest was used to repair the Governor's residence. In 1938 more than 90,000,000 rubles will be expended on construction and improvements in the capital of the Kazakh S.S.R. In the former town of Verny there was not a single metre of paved street. The Socialist city of Alma-Ata will have about 100 km. of paved and 20 km. of asphalted streets by the end of this year. The city now has its waterworks and sewer system. Last year operation started on the first section of the tramway lines. Alma-Ata has more than 2,000 automobiles. Scores of many-storeyed houses have been built, and as a result the appearance of the city has changed entirely.

The town of Verny had altogether one *gymnasia*, in which instruction was given to children of government officials and of noblemen. The Socialist city of Alma-Ata has 13 higher educational establishments and 15 training colleges and workers' colleges, attended by 8,500 students—children of workers and peasants—and 96 elementary and part-grade and full-grade intermediate schools, attended by 47,000 children. Ten new schools will be built in the current year alone.

All this goes to prove that Alma-Ata is becoming a centre of culture and learning in our republic.

All the achievements and successes of our republic are the result of daily attention and concern on the part of the Party and the Govern-

ment. Our successes are a result of the paternal concern for the working people displayed by our own and beloved Comrade Stalin. (*Applause.*)

We Bolsheviks do not rest content with what we have achieved. Some branches of the work are lagging behind the growing requirements. The rapid growth of the population and its culture raises new demands, particularly in the sphere of public education. In Alma-Ata work has been started on the construction of a number of large buildings for higher educational establishments of the People's Commissariat of Agriculture, the People's Commissariat of Public Health and the People's Commissariat of Communications. But owing to the bad work of these People's Commissariats the sums allotted for this construction remain unutilized from year to year. Thus, for instance, it is more than two years since the construction of buildings for an agricultural and an animal-breeding and veterinary institute in Alma-Ata was started. I am certain that the apparatus of the People's Commissariat of Agriculture and of the People's Commissariat of State Farms of the U.S.S.R know nothing about these projects, and if they do know, they include them each year under the heading of new construction, while actually these are not new projects, but construction carried over from previous years. It is therefore necessary for Comrade Benediktov and Comrade Yurkin to take more interest in these construction projects and give us the necessary assistance for their rapid completion.

The buildings intended for a medical institute and for a therapeutical clinic have been under construction for three years. It is entirely the fault of the People's Commissariat of Public Health of the U.S.S.R. that the work on these buildings is in danger of being interrupted. The People's Commissariat of Public Health of the U.S.S.R. does not know the actual state of affairs. It is only now that it intends to give us the drafts for the items that are listed for 1938.

All these facts show the need for a radical change in the methods of leadership on the part of the People's Commissariats I have mentioned, the need for their improving their everyday contact with the localities and giving the latter the necessary assistance in obtaining the maximum effect from the capital investments allowed by the Government.

In his report Comrade Zverev quite justly criticized the work of several republics and their inefficiency in the utilization of capital investments. The blame for this lies primarily on the local finance organs and building organizations. But it is also necessary to note the fact that the supply of scarce building materials to some very important construction sites is absolutely insufficient. These materials are urgently needed because we have in Kazakhstan a number of cities with specific seismical characteristics. No many-storeyed houses can be built in Alma-Ata unless there is the necessary supply of iron and cement. In the future it will be necessary to pay very serious attention to this question.

Comrades, the working people of the Kazakh Republic fully approve the resolute stand taken by the Government with regard to the provocations of the Japanese military clique.

The Kazakh people send their fervent greetings to the men of the Far-Eastern Red Banner Front. The Japanese fascists will do well not to forget that the great Soviet people with their invincible Red Army will wipe off the face of the earth anyone who dares to infringe upon our sacred borders. The fascist warmongers will feel the force of the Soviet people's anger on their own hides.

During the elections to the Supreme Soviets, when they voted for the candidates of the Communist and non-Party bloc, the Kazakh people demonstrated their firm unity in rallying around the Communist Party and our beloved leader, Comrade Stalin.

In the fight for an even more prosperous and happy life, the Kazakh people will rally still more closely around the Communist Party and our beloved leader, Comrade Stalin, and march onward to new victories.

Long live our invincible Red Army! Long live our own and beloved leader, Comrade Stalin! (*Loud applause.*)

The Chairman: I have received a motion to close the debate. Are there any other motions?

Voices: No.

The Chairman: I shall put it to the vote. Those in favour of closing the debate, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. The debate is closed.

Before we proceed to the replies to the debate, there is a motion to adjourn for 15 minutes.

(*Adjournment*)

N. M. Shvernik *(in the chair)*: The sitting is resumed. I call upon the People's Commissar of Finance of the U.S.S.R., Comrade Zverev, to reply to the debate.

A. G. Zverev: Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet. At the sittings of the Soviet of Nationalities and the Soviet of the Union we have had a comprehensive discussion of the draft Unified State Budget for 1938. The unanimous approval of the Budget bears witness to the fact that the proposed Budget reflects, both in the revenue and in the expenditure side, the great tasks that confront our country in the year 1938.

In discussing the Budget, the Chairman of the Budget Commission of the Soviet of Nationalities, Comrade Khokhlov, proposed some amendments to the draft submitted.

One of the motions made by the Budget Commission of the Soviet of Nationalities is to increase the total revenues in the Budget by over 1,500,000,000 rubles, including an increase of 591,500,000 rubles from the turnover tax. An analogous motion to increase the revenues and expenditures in the Budget has been made by the Budget Commission of the Soviet of the Union.

The Budget Commission of the Soviet of Nationalities has moved that the revenues in the Budget be increased by 208,310,000 rubles

from the profits tax on our economic organizations and industrial People's Commissariats. The Budget Commission has also moved to increase the revenues in the Budget by 300,000,000 rubles through an increase in the receipts from state loan bonds purchased by the savings banks with the funds attracted in deposits from the population.

The Budget Commission also proposes to increase the expenditure in the Budget by more than 1,500,000,000 rubles.

The Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R has instructed me to state before the Session of the Supreme Soviet that it recognizes the expediency of the motions of the Budget Commissions for an increase in expenditures and revenues in the draft Budget submitted. With regard to the turnover tax, the Council of People's Commissars considers it possible to accept an increase in receipts not in the amount of 591,500,000 rubles, as proposed by the Budget Commission of the Soviet of Nationalities, but by 627,500,000 rubles, as recommended by the Budget Commission of the Soviet of the Union.

The Budget Commission of the Soviet of Nationalities has raised the question of increasing the profits tax by 208,000,000 rubles. The Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. is of the opinion that it is expedient and necessary to increase Budget revenue from the profits tax by 132,610,000 rubles.

The Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. has no objections to the motion of the Budget Commissions to increase the taxes and levies on the population by 30,000,000 rubles, and to increase the Budget revenues by attracting deposits to the savings banks. The improvement in the material well-being of the working people, and the prosperity of the population both in the cities and in the countryside, create favourable conditions for the active participation of the workers and all the working people in the work of the savings banks. The revenues that accrued from this source in the first half of the year amounted to 1,200,000,000 rubles.

If the savings banks and finance organs work energetically, the 300,000,000 rubles which the Budget Commission refers to in its motion will undoubtedly accrue to the Budget revenue of the state. That is why the Council of People's Commissars considers it expedient to raise the Budget estimate of receipts from this source as well.

Nor has the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. any objection to increasing the estimates of receipts from the state social insurance fund by 75,000,000 rubles and from customs revenues by 250,000,000 rubles. Decisions adopted by the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. after the draft had been submitted to the Budget Commission fully ensure the receipts accruing to the Budget from customs revenues. As regards other revenues, the Council of People's Commissars considers it expedient to include in the Budget the sum of 122,094,000 rubles as additional revenue.

Beside the amendments to the draft Unified State Budget, remarks have been made by the Budget Commissions of the Soviet of Nationalities and the Soviet of the Union, as well as by individual members

of the Supreme Soviet, in criticism of the work of various economic People's Commissariats. Members of the Supreme Soviet have pointed out that some People's Commissariats, and in particular the People's Commissariat of the Machine-Building Industry, the People's Commissariat of Agriculture of the U.S.S.R. and the People's Commissariat of Trade of the U.S.S.R., have not been discharging their financial obligations to the state Budget, and have not been fulfilling their plans for the output of industry and the lowering of the cost of production.

The Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R has instructed me to inform the members of the Supreme Soviet that in the near future the Council of People's Commissars will take additional concrete measures to improve the financial and production activity of these People's Commissariats.

Members of the Supreme Soviet and the Chairman of the Budget Commission of the Soviet of Nationalities, Deputy Khokhlov, have also criticized the work of the People's Commissariat of Finance of the U.S.S.R. I fully agree with these critical remarks. Unquestionably there are still many deficiencies in the People's Commissariat of Finance.

Some members of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. have pointed out that the People's Commissariat of Finance is not sufficiently acquainted with the financial affairs of the Union republics, and has therefore committed mistakes in drawing up the Unified State Budget. I must state that when the People's Commissariat of Finance submitted the draft Unified State Budget to the Council of People's Commissars, the latter pointed out the mistakes and corrected the draft. However, the criticism to the effect that the People's Commissariat of Finance is not acquainted with the specific features of economy in the localities, in the various republics, is justified. At the same time we must demand of the Councils of People's Commissars of the republics, and of the executive committees of the territories and regions, that in estimating their expenditures and filing their claims to the Union Budget they should approach the matter from the viewpoint of the interests of the state.

The work of drawing up the Budget for 1938 has shown that in some instances the statements and claims presented to the Union and republican organizations had been accepted without a critical analysis. It is this that explains the fact that at first the demands upon the Budget totalled 45,136,000,000 rubles, while now, after the Budgets of the various republics have been examined into by the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R., this part of the Budget, as you see, represents a sum of 34,747,000,000 rubles. Thus the claims of the Union republics had been exaggerated to the amount of 10,389,000,000 rubles. It is quite obvious that a situation like this cannot be tolerated in the future. It is necessary to conform to strict state discipline in putting in claims to the Union Budget. Only that should be demanded which is actually needed. An impermissible attitude with regard to drawing up claims was displayed by the organizations of the Kirghiz S.S.R.

The state Budget of the Kirghiz S.S.R. for 1937 totalled 235,000,000 rubles, and for 1938 this republic drew up a Budget in the amount of 617,000,000 rubles. The Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. could not agree to this sum and, after an examination into the Budget, decided to allow Kirghizia the sum of only 312,844,000 rubles. The unfounded claims put in by the Kirghiz comrades show how in some instances the attitude to the Union Budget betrays a lack of consideration for the interests of the state.

Exaggerated claims had also been filed by the Tadjik, Turkmen, Kazakh and Armenian Soviet Socialist Republics and by a number of autonomous republics and regional executive committees. At the same time the exaggerated claims to expenditure were usually accompanied by demands for an increase of revenues from Union sources, while the possibilities of the local sources were clearly underrated. Instead of mobilizing all forces to increase the sources of revenue, instead of bringing to light new possibilities and disclosing concealed resources, the People's Commissariats of Finance of the Union republics followed the line of least resistance. They demanded an increase in the percentage of the allocations from the turnover tax in order thus to obtain the sums that would enable them to draw up the republican and local Budgets without a deficit.

The governments of the various Republics do not always show a critical attitude to the claims of the People's Commissariats and other institutions.

In 1937 the expenditure on village reading-rooms in the Kazakh S.S.R., as shown by the summary of the local Budgets, totalled 4,000,000 rubles, yet for 1938 the Republic filed a claim for 21,602,000 rubles. It acted in exactly the same way with regard to the expenditure on physical culture and on sports, which it raised to 890 per cent of the expenditure in the preceding year.

The People's Commissariat of Finance of the U.S.S.R. is unquestionably in duty bound to improve its work and draw up its financial plans in conformity with the specific features of the various republics. But it is also necessary to enhance the sense of responsibility in dealing with Soviet state funds in the republics and regions. The workers in charge must demand only what is needed for the realization of the various measures, without putting in any extra claims.

The prompt collection of state taxes is the most important task of the finance bodies. However, there are many who fail to realize this. I have already pointed out that in some regions and republics the finance bodies have failed to organize the timely collection of taxes and levies on the population.

The situation as regards the utilization of the resources allotted for housing and municipal development is very bad. A check-up on the work of housing, municipal and public service development has shown that most of the republics are not fulfilling their plans. In the first half of the year the Tadjik Republic completed only 17.3 per cent of the year's plan for housing, municipal and public service development, the Byelorussian Republic 22 per cent, the Kirghiz Republic 24.4 per cent, the Turkmen Republic 25.7 per cent, and the Kazakh Republic 26.5 per cent.

The failure to fulfil the plans is explained by the fact that the local Soviets have not made the proper preparations for the construction work. Plans and estimates have not been drawn up on time, and in many cases the construction jobs have not been supplied with labour power.

The Central Municipal Bank and the Municipal Banks in the localities are not exercising proper control over housing, municipal and public service development. At best the managers of these banks read the statements of the amount of money drawn. But they do not fight to reduce the cost of construction and to make the builders keep within the estimates in their expenditures.

A serious deficiency in the Budget work is the poor state of accounting. The existing system of accounting with regard to the realization of the state and local Budgets does not provide an opportunity for a day-to-day control of the financial transactions of the Budget institutions and economic organizations. This system prevents the timely disclosure of violations of financial and Budget discipline. It will be necessary for the People's Commissariat of Finance of the U.S.S.R., together with the Central Administration of National Economic Accounting, to revise the forms of bookkeeping and statistical accountancy on the state Budget and local Budgets. It is necessary to fix definite terms for and the order of submitting accounts.

The remarks of the Chairman of the Budget Commission and of members of the Supreme Soviet impose upon the People's Commissariat of Finance of the U.S.S.R. the obligation of drawing the necessary conclusions and setting itself the immediate task of effecting a radical improvement in all spheres of finance work.

With the help which the People's Commissariat of Finance of the U.S.S.R. receives from the Government and from Comrade Stalin, we will by all means accomplish the tasks set us in the Budget for 1938. (*Applause.*)

The Chairman: I call upon Deputy Khokhlov, the Chairman of the Budget Commission of the Soviet of Nationalities.

I. S. Khokhlov (*Moscow Rural Area No. 2, R.S.F.S.R.*): Comrades, all the deputies who have spoken from this rostrum approved the recommendations of the Budget Commission to increase the revenues in the Budget. They also agreed with and enlarged upon the remarks of the Budget Commission in criticism of the work of a number of People's Commissariats.

The remarks and recommendations of the Budget Commission of the Soviet of Nationalities have been accepted by the People's Commissar of Finance of the U.S.S.R., who spoke on behalf of the Government.

We hope that the Session of the Supreme Soviet will fully approve and adopt our recommendation, which has been taken up with the Government, to increase the revenue estimates in the state Budget by 1,553,775,000 rubles.

Comrades, our Budget reflects the great program of Socialist construction. It reflects the interests of our multi-national Soviet people. It is precisely this that explains the unanimity with which the deputies who spoke here expressed their opinion of the draft Unified State Budget. Such unanimity in a discussion of the state Budget is possible only in our country, where power is held by the working people, and where the work of Socialist construction is directed by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Party of the Bolsheviks, supremely devoted to the working people. This is possible only in our country, in which, as Comrade Molotov aptly put it, two invincible forces—the people and Communism—are merged in one. (*Applause.*)

When the members of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. spoke in favour of adopting the Unified State Budget, they spoke in favour of the policy of our party, of the Policy of our Government; they spoke in favour of the further development of our Socialist economy, in favour of the flourishing of Socialist culture, in favour of improving the material well-being of the working people, in favour of strengthening the defensive power of our country and turning it into an impregnable bulwark of Communism.

The opening of the Session coincided with the attack of the Japanese aggressors upon the borders of our Far East. The men of the valiant Far-Eastern Red Banner Front dealt a crushing blow to all who attempted to attack the sacred borders of our Soviet Union. (*Applause.*)

We say to our Government that the Session and all the people approve of its firm policy, which removes every possibility of further surprise attacks by various imperialist bandits upon our borders.

The Session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. demonstrates before the whole world its moral and political unity, its firm adherence to the Party of Lenin and Stalin, and to the leader of peoples, Comrade Stalin. (*Loud applause. All rise. Cries: "Long live the great Stalin!" "Hurrah for Comrade Stalin!"*).

The Chairman: We shall now proceed to vote on the ratification of the Unified State Budget of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Deputy Khokhlov has a motion to make.

I. S. Khokhlov: Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet, I move that both the revenue and the expenditure side of the Budget be voted on section by section. Wherever there are any suggestions or amendments, such sections should be voted on item by item. The sections in the revenue column reflect most vividly the financing of national economy through the corresponding People's Commissariats. Therefore I consider it most expedient that the vote should be taken on changes in or the adoption of each section of our Budget separately.

The Chairman: Are there any other motions on this question?

Voices: No.

The Chairman: I shall put Deputy Khokhlov's motion to the vote. Those in favour of adopting his motion, please raise their hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No. The motion is adopted.

I call upon the People's Commissar of Finance of the U.S.S.R., Comrade Zverev, to read the Budget section by section and item by item.

Zverev: Comrades, the first section in the revenue column of the Unified State Budget is the turnover tax. In the draft the revenue from the turnover tax is set at 83,338,000,000 rubles.

Following the amendments proposed by the Budget Commissions of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities and agreed to by the Council of People's Commissars, the sum of 627,500,000 rubles is added to the revenue from the turnover tax, to be made up as follows: 559,000,000 rubles from the organizations of the People's Commissariat of the Food Industry, 75,000,000 rubles from the People's Commissariats of Local Industry, 2,500,000 rubles from the People's Commissariat of the Timber Industry, and 5,000,000 rubles from the invalids' co-operatives, while the turnover tax on the People's Commissariat of Light Industry is reduced by 14,000,000 rubles.

Thus, the sum of the turnover tax now submitted is 83,965,500,000 rubles.

The Chairman: Are there any remarks or motions?

Voices: Adopt.

The Chairman: We shall vote on the sum-total of the turnover tax in the amount of 83,965,500,000 rubles. Those in favour of ratifying this sum, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: Second section: the profits tax on the industrial and economic People's Commissariats. The sum stated in the draft Unified State Budget is 9,586,278,000 rubles.

It is divided as follows:

People's Commissariat of Heavy Industry—905,400,000 rubles; People's Commissariat of the Defence Industry—39,000,000 rubles; People's Commissariat of the Machine-Building Industry—1,340,000,000 rubles; People's Commissariat of the Food Industry—3,284,572,000 rubles; People's Commissariat of Light Industry—1,400,963,000 rubles; People's Commissariats of Local Industry—161,995,000 rubles; People's Commissariat of the Timber Industry—275,444,000 rubles; Committee on Cinematography of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R.—3,840,000 rubles; People's Commissariat of Agriculture—59,281,000 rubles; People's Commissariat of State Grain and Livestock Farms—40,652,000 rubles; railways and enterprises of the People's Commissariat of Railways—677,610,000 rubles; People's Commissariat of Communications—49,500,000 rubles; People's Commissariat of Trade—340,090,000 rubles; People's Commissariat of Agricultural Stocks—272,100,000 rubles; People's Commissariat of Foreign Trade—23,150,000 rubles; State Bank—243,500,000 rubles; state insurance bodies—250,000,000 rubles; other enterprises—219,181,000 rubles.

In conformity with the proposals of the Budget Commissions, the sum of 114,500,000 rubles is added for the People's Commissariat of the

Food Industry, and 21,500,000 rubles for the state insurance bodies, and the tax on the People's Commissariat of the Timber Industry is reduced by 3,390,000 rubles.

Thus, it is proposed to fix the sum of the profits tax on the industrial and economic People's Commissariats at 9,718,888,000 rubles.

The Chairman: Are there any motions on this question? No. Any remarks? No.

We shall vote on the sum-total of the profits tax in the amount of 9,718,888,000 rubles. Those in favour of ratifying this sum, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: The third section—income tax and other taxes on enterprises and organizations: income tax on collective farms in the amount of 760,000,000 rubles; tax on non-commodity transactions in the amount of 424,000,000 rubles; other taxes—90,436,000 rubles. The total for this section is 1,274,436,000 rubles.

The Chairman: Are there any motions or remarks on this question? No. We shall vote on the sum-total of the income tax and other taxes on enterprises and organizations in the amount of 1,274,436,000 rubles. Those in favour of adopting this motion, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: Taxes and levies on the population (excluding the income tax—which goes to the local Budgets—in the amount of 1,870,000,000 rubles): agricultural tax on collective farmers and individual peasant farms—770,000,000 rubles; housing, cultural and public services development levy in the towns—1,800,000,000 rubles; housing and public services development levy in rural areas—570,000,000 rubles.

The draft thus provides for 3,140,000,000 rubles in this section.

An amendment has been introduced to add 30,000,000 rubles to the section covering taxes and levies on the population. Thus the proposed sum is 3,170,000,0000 rubles.

The Chairman: Any motions? No. Any remarks? No. We shall vote on the sum-total of taxes and levies on the population in the amount of 3,170,000,0000 rubles. Those in favour of ratifying this sum, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: In the section dealing with state loans, the draft Unified State Budget provides for a sum 7,730,000,000 rubles. These include state loans issued for public subscription: Loan for Strengthening the Defences of the U.S.S.R.—1,890,000,000 rubles; Third Five-Year Plan Loan (First Year Issue)—3,480,000,000 rubles; State Internal Lottery Loan, 1938—300,000,000 rubles. State Loan for Savings Banks subscription—1,300,000,000 rubles. State Loan Issue for subscription by State Insurance Bodies—540,000,000 rubles, and State loan Issue for subscription by co-operative organizations—220,000,000 rubles.

Since there are prospects that as regards deposits made by the population, the sum provided for in the draft will be exceeded, and in view of the recommendation of the Budget Commissions to increase this item of revenue in the Budget by 300,000,000 rubles, it is proposed to vote on the sum of 8,051,500,000 rubles in this section.

The Chairman: Are there any motions? No. Any remarks? No. We shall vote on the sum-total of revenues from state loans in the amount of 8,051,500,000 rubles. Those in favour of ratifying this sum, please raise their hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: The draft Budget provides for receipts of machine and tractor stations in the amount of 2,435,500,000 rubles.

The Chairman: Are there any remarks on this question? No. Any motions? No. We shall vote on the motion to ratify the receipts of machine and tractor stations in the amount of 2,435,500,000 rubles.

Those in favour of ratifying this sum, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: The draft provided for receipts from state social insurance funds, earmarked for social and cultural services, in the amount of 800,000,000 rubles. In view of the fact that there are large balances available, the Budget Commission has recommended that this source of revenue in the Budget be increased by 75,000,000 rubles. Thus, the sum now proposed is 875,000,000 rubles.

The Chairman: I call upon Deputy Moskatov.

P. G. Moskatov (*Shakhty Area, Rostov Region*): Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet. On behalf of a group of deputies active in trade unions, I consider it necessary to point out that, in our opinion the unified state Budget cannot be regarded as a complete Budget of the Soviet Union unless it reflects the funds allotted for state social insurance. State social insurance is one of the most prominent achievements of the Great October Socialist Revolution in our country. This achievement has been written into the Stalin Constitution as one of the principal rights of the working people of our great country. The Stalin Constitution guarantees the right to rest, the right to the satisfaction of material requirements and the right to maintenance in old age and in all cases of disability.

For the four years of the First Stalin Five-Year Plan the Budget expenditures on state social insurance amounted to more than 10,000,000,000 rubles; and in the first four years of the Second Stalin Five-Year Plan expenditures on state social insurance had already reached the sum of 26,500,000,000 rubles. In 1937, the revenues in the state social insurance Budget amounted to 5,500,000,000 rubles, and for 1938 the Government has endorsed the revenue side of the state social insurance Budget in the sum of 6,775,000,000 rubles, and the expenditure side in the sum of 5,900,000,000 rubles. This sum fully covers the expenditures on state social insurance in 1938.

In these figures we have a vivid reflection of the untiring attention

and care devoted by our Party and Government, and by Comrade Stalin personally, to the cause of improving the well-being of the working people of the Socialist fatherland.

In 1937 the trade unions expended about 915,000,000 rubles out of the state social insurance funds on rest homes, sanatoriums and health resorts; in 1938, the sum of 1,034,000,000 rubles is provided for these purposes. In 1938, the trade unions will accommodate approximately 2,719,000 people in rest homes, sanatoriums and health resorts.

Expenditures from state social insurance funds on benefits to expectant mothers totalled 376,000,000 rubles in 1936; in 1938 the sum of about 1,000,000,000 rubles has been assigned to this purpose.

In 1937, 390,000 children were sent to Pioneer camps at the expense of the state social insurance funds alone; in 1938 more than 500,000 children will be thus accommodated in camps.

All this bears witness to the fact that Soviet state social insurance, *which is entirely controlled by the Soviet trade unions*, is placed at the service of the working class, at the service of our country, and presents a striking contrast to all the capitalist countries, in which the working class can only dream of such opportunities.

The state social insurance Budget is an inseparable part of the whole national income of the U.S.S.R. The state social insurance Budget is entirely made up of funds furnished by the Soviet state.

That is why we consider it necessary to change the present status under which these funds find no reflection in the unified state Budget, and we propose that the funds allotted for state social insurance be included in the revenue and expenditure columns of the unified state Budget.

Thus, with these funds included, the unified state Budget will total over 132,500,000,000 rubles on its revenue side, instead of the 126,737,993,000 rubles provided in the draft. In this connection we move that this item be changed accordingly, so as to include the state social insurance funds on the revenue side of the unified state Budget, and the sum of 5,900,000,000 rubles in the corresponding part of the expenditure side of the unified state Budget. (*Voices*: "*Hear, hear*". *Applause.*)

The Chairman: Does anybody wish to speak on this motion? Nobody. I shall put to the vote Comrade Moskatov's motion to include in the revenue column of the unified state Budget the state social insurance funds in the amount of 6,775,000,000 rubles. Those in favour of adopting this motion, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Permit me now to put to a vote the sum of state social insurance funds in the amount of 875,000,000 rubles plus 5,900,000,000 rubles. Those in favour of this motion, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: The draft provides for customs revenues in the amount of 2,100,000,000 rubles. When the Budget Commissions considered this item, they found it possible to raise it by 250,000,000 rubles, the more so since the receipt of this sum is absolutely guaranteed as a result of decisions adopted by the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. after the present draft had been submitted.

Thus the sum of 250,000,000 rubles is added, and it is proposed to ratify the total of this revenue in the sum of 2,350,000,000 rubles.

The Chairman: Are there any motions on this question? Any remarks? No. We shall vote on the sum-total of customs revenues in the amount of 2,350,000,000 rubles. Those in favour of adopting this motion, please raise their hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: Other revenues: mint—25,000,000 rubles, repayment of loans—182,300,000 rubles; passport fees, sale of house registers, and address bureau services—89,800,000 rubles; automobile inspection fees—63,400,000 rubles, charges for testing and stamping of weights and measures—18,000,000 rubles; consular charges for registration of foreign passports, incoming and outgoing visas, etc.,—27,000,000 rubles; receipts from the All-Union Radio Committee—23,400,000 rubles; deductions from state iusurance payments—22,000,000 rubles, other receipts—588,302,000 rubles. Thus this section totals 1,039,202,000 rubles. The Budget Commission has recommended that this item of revenue be increased by 122,094,000 rubles. Thus the total now submitted is 1,161,296,000 rubles.

The Chairman: Are there any motions or remarks? No. We shall vote on the sum-total of other revenues in the amount of 1,161,296,000 rubles. Those in favour of ratifying this sum, please raise their hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: Unutilized balance of grants made for capital development purposes in 1937 in the amount of 359,510,000 rubles. The Budget Commission proposes that this item of revenue be reduced by 3,300,000 rubles. Thus the sum submitted is 356,210,000 rubles.

The Chairman: Are there any motions on this question? Any remarks? No. We shall vote on the sum-total of the unutilized balance of grants made for capital development purposes in 1937 in the amount of 356,210,000 rubles. Those in favour of ratifying this sum, please raise their hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: Balance of Budget funds on account with the State Bank on January 1, 1938—2,390,224,000 rubles. Having obtained more precise data and accounts from the Bank, the Budget Commission proposes that this sum be reduced by 25,229,000 rubles. The sum now submitted is 2,364,995,000 rubles.

The Chairman: Are there any motions on this question? Any remarks? No. We shall vote on the sum-total for this section—2,364,995,000

rubles. Those in favour of ratifying this sum, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: Balance of Budget funds received but not utilized by institutions and organizations in 1937—120,000,000 rubles.

The Chairman: Are there any motions on this question? Any remarks? No. We shall vote on this sum—120,000,000 rubles. Those in favour of ratifying this sum, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: Balance of non-Budget funds in the hands of institutions and organizations financed from the state Budget, as on January 1, 1938—800,000,000 rubles.

The Chairman: Are there any remarks on this question? Any motions? No. We shall vote on the sum of the balance of non-Budget funds—800,000,000. Those in favour of ratifying this sum, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: Balance of Budget funds resulting from re-valuation of seasonal stocks of raw materials and goods—1,688,000,000 rubles.

The Chairman: Are there any remarks on this section? Any motions? No. We shall vote on the sum of the balance of Budget funds resulting from re-valuations of seasonal stocks of raw materials and goods—1,688,000,000 rubles. Those in favour of ratifying this sum, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody opposed? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

We shall now vote on the grand total of revenues in the unified state Budget in the sum of 132,637,993,000 rubles. Those in favour of ratifying, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

The grand total of the revenue side of the State Budget is adopted unanimously.

We shall pass on to the expenditures.

Zverev: National economy. Industry: expenditure on the financing of industry is provided for in the draft Budget in the amount of 19,821,011,000 rubles, divided as follows:

People's Commissariat of Heavy Industry	6,959,480,000	rubles
People's Commissariat of the Defence Industry	7,415,040,000	,,
People's Commissariat of the Machine-Building Industry	1,127,140,000	,,
People's Commissariat of the Food Industry	1,503,649,000	,,
People's Commissariat of Light Industry	1,281,497,000	,,
People's Commissariat of Local Industry	294,879,000	,,
People's Commissariat of the Timber Industry	1,104,556,000	,,
Committee on Cinematography of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R.	134,770,000	,,

Amendments have been proposed to increase appropriations for financing heavy industry by 79,000,000 rubles and light industry by 962,000 rubles, and to reduce the expenditure on the food industry by 15,000,000 rubles. Thus the total on the financing of industry now submitted is 19,885,973,000 rubles.

The Chairman: Are there any motions or remarks on this question?

Voices: No.

The Chairman: We shall vote on the sum total of expenditures on industry in the amount of 19,885,973,000 rubles. Those in favour of ratifying this sum, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: Expenditure on agriculture was provided for in the draft in the amount of 10,996,577,000 rubles. This sum represented 9,095,728,000 rubles for the People's Commissariat of Agriculture, including 7,650,700,000 rubles for the machine and tractor stations, and 1,900,849,000 rubles for the People's Commissariat of State Grain and Livestock Farms.

To this item an amendment has been proposed involving the sum of 13,385,000 rubles. Thus the sum of expenditure on agriculture now submitted is 11,009,962,000 rubles.

The Chairman: Are there any motions or remarks on this question?

Voices: No.

The Chairman: We shall vote on the sum-total of expenditures on agriculture in the amount of 11,009,962,000 rubles. Those in favour of ratifying this sum, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: For transport and communications, appropriations are fixed in the draft Budget at the sum of 6,762,610,000 rubles. This includes: 3,633,190,000 rubles for the People's Commissariat of Railways, 378,260,000 rubles for the People's Commissariat of Communications, 925,780,000 rubles for the People's Commissariat of Water Transport, 454,930,000 rubles for the Chief Administration of the Northern Sea Route of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R., 980,500,000 rubles for the Chief Road Administration of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs, and 389,950,000 rubles for the Chief Civil Aviation Administration of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R.

The Chairman: Are there any motions or remarks on this question?

Voices: No.

The Chairman: We shall vote on expenditures on transport and communications in the amount of 6,762,610,000 rubles. Those in favour of ratifying this sum, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: For various construction works promoted by the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs the sum of 1,884,280,000 rubles is proposed.

The Chairman: Are there any motions or remarks on this question?

Voices: No.

The Chairman: We shall vote on the expenditure on various construction works promoted by the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs in the amount of 1,884,280,000 rubles.

Those in favour of ratifying this sum, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: The People's Commissariat of Trade—181,120,000 rubles.

The Chairman: Are there any motions or remarks on this question?

Voices: No.

The Chairman: We shall vote on the expenditure on the People's Commissariat of Trade in the amount of 181,120,000 rubles.

Those in favour of ratifying this sum, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: The People's Commissariat of Agricultural Stocks—2,624,070,000 rubles.

Following the consideration of this sum an amendment has been proposed to increase it by 16,000,000 rubles. Thus the sum of appropriations now submitted is 2,640,070,000 rubles.

The Chairman: Are there any motions or remarks on this question?

Voices: No.

The Chairman: We shall vote on the expenditure on the People's Commissariat of Agricultural Stocks in the amount of 2,640,070,000 rubles.

Those in favour of ratifying this sum, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: The People's Commissariat of Foreign Trade—13,970,000 rubles.

The Chairman: Are there any motions or remarks on this question?

Voices: No.

The Chairman: We shall vote on the expenditure on the People's Commissariat of Foreign Trade in the amount of 13,970,000 rubles. Those in favour of ratifying this sum, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: Expenditures on financing the construction of the Moscow Metropolitan Railway are fixed in the draft Budget at 263,450,000 rubles.

The Chairman: Are there any motions or remarks on this question?

Voices: No.

The Chairman: We shall vote on the expenditure on the construction of the Moscow Metropolitan Railway in the amount of 263,450,000 rubles.

Those in favour of ratifying this sum, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: For the Administration of Reserves of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. it is proposed to fix appropriations at 1,100,000,000 rubles.

The Chairman: Are there any motions or remarks on this question?

Voices: No.

The Chairman: We shall vote on the appropriations for the Administration of Reserves of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. in the amount of 1,100,000,000 rubles.

Those in favour of ratifying this sum, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: With regard to the Chief Forestry Administration of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R., the sum proposed in the draft Budget is 284,250,000 rubles.

Following the consideration of this item, the Budget Commission has recommended to reduce this sum by 2,000,000 rubles. Thus, the sum now submitted is 282,250,000 rubles.

The Chairman: Are there any motions or remarks on this question?

Voices: No.

The Chairman: We shall vote on expenditures on the Chief Forestry Administration in the amount of 282,250,000 rubles.

Those in favour of ratifying this sum, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: For the Chief Hydrometeorological Office of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R., the draft Budget provides for a sum of 183,180,000 rubles. The Budget Commission has recommended to reduce it by 6,835,000 rubles. The sum now submitted is 176,345,000 rubles.

The Chairman: Are there any motions or remarks on this question?

Voices: No.

The Chairman: We shall vote on the expenditure on the Chief Hydrometeorological Office in the amount of 176,345,000 rubles. Those in favour of ratifying this sum, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: On other expenditures on the national economy the draft Budget provides for the sum of 3,097,627,000 rubles.

The Chairman: Are there any motions or remarks on this question?

Voices: No.

The Chairman: We shall vote on other expenditures on the national economy in the amount of 3,097,627,000 rubles. Those in favour of

ratifying this sum, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: The sum proposed for social and cultural services was 12,148,185,000 rubles, including: education—8,483,559,000 rubles appropriated in the Union and republican Budgets, out of a total of 20,137,000,000 rubles in the unified state Budget; public health—2,301,993,000 rubles appropriated in the Union and republican Budgets, out of a total of 8,076,400,000 rubles in the unified state Budget; physical culture—40,448,000 rubles appropriated in the Union and republican Budgets, out of a total of 77,000,000 rubles in the unified state Budget; social maintenance—1,322,185,000 rubles, including benefits to mothers of large families in 1938 fixed at 900,000,000 rubles. The total, after the amendments proposed by the Budget Commission, amounts to 12,129,425,000 rubles, and with the addition of the state social insurance funds—18,029,425,000 rubles.

The Chairman: Are there any motions or remarks on this question?

Voices: No.

The Chairman: We shall vote on the sum-total of expenditures on social and cultural services in the amount of 18,029,425,000 rubles.

Those in favour of ratifying this sum, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: Expenditure on the People's Commissariat of Defence and the People's Commissariat of the Navy is provided for in the draft Budget in the sum of 27,044,020,000 rubles.

The Chairman: Are there any motions or remarks on this question?

Voices: No.

The Chairman: We shall vote on the expenditure on the People's Commissariat of Defence and the People's Commissariat of the Navy in the amount of 27,044,020,000 rubles.

Those in favour of ratifying this sum, please raise their hands. (*Loud applause.*)

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: Expenditure on the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs is provided for in the draft Budget in the sum of 4,320,000,000 rubles.

The Chairman: Are there any motions or remarks on this question?

Voices: No.

The Chairman: We shall vote on the expenditure on the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs in the amount of 4,320,000,000 rubles. Those in favour of ratifying this sum, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously. (*Applause.*)

Zverev: Expenditures on the People's Commissariat of Justice of the U.S.S.R. and the Procuratorship are proposed in the sum of 532,693,000 rubles.

The Chairman: Are there any motions or remarks on this question?

Voices: No.

The Chairman: We shall vote on the expenditure on the People's Commissariat of Justice of the U.S.S.R. and the Procuratorship in the amount of 532,693,000 rubles. Those in favour of ratifying this sum, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: Expenditures on the maintenance of the organs of state administration of the U.S.S.R. and the Union republics have been fixed in the draft Budget at 2,197,102,000 rubles. The Budget Commission has recommended to reduce this sum by 13,800,000 rubles. Thus the sum now submitted is 2,183,302,000 rubles.

The Chairman: Are there any motions or remarks on this question?

Voices: No.

The Chairman: We shall vote on expenditures on state administration of the U.S.S.R. and the Union republics in the amount of 2,183,302,000 rubles. Those in favour of ratifying this sum, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: Expenditures on state loans (mainly the payment of interest on loans, and of winnings) have been fixed at 2,072,000,000 rubles.

The Chairman: Are there any motions or remarks on this question?

Voices: No.

The Chairman: We shall vote on expenditures on state loans in the amount of 2,072,000,000 rubles. Those in favour of ratifying this sum, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: On settlements with the long-term investment banks the draft provided for an expenditure of 334,130,000 rubles. Since expenditures on land improvement have been financed directly from the Budget, and not through the agricultural banks, the original draft has been reduced by 20,000,000, and the sum now submitted is 314,130,000 rubles.

The Chairman: Are there any motions or remarks?

Voices: No.

The Chairman: We shall vote on the sum-total of settlements with long-term investment banks in the amount of 314,130,000 rubles. Those in favour of ratifying this sum, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: The reserve funds of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. and the Councils of People's Commissars of the Union republics were originally fixed in the draft at 1,210,000,000 rubles. Since additional revenues have been included, and the recommendation of the Budget Commissions to apply those revenues to increase the

reserve funds has been accepted, the sum of the reserve funds of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. and the Councils of People's Commissars of the Union republics now submitted is 2,725,500,000 rubles.

The Chairman: Are there any motions or remarks on this section?

Voices: No.

The Chairman: We shall vote on the sum-total of the reserve fund of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. in the amount of 2,725,500,000 rubles. Those in favour of ratifying this sum, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Thus the sum is ratified unanimously.

Zverev: Other expenditures—275,272,000 rubles.

The Chairman: We shall vote on other expenditures in the amount of 275,272,000 rubles. Those in favour of ratifying this sum, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: Expenditures in the Budgets of the Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republics and local Soviets were fixed in the draft Budget at 26,338,671,000 rubles, which sum has been amended by the Budget Commission and increased by 5,323,000 rubles. The sum now submitted is 26,343,994,000 rubles.

The Chairman: Are there any motions or remarks on this section?

Voices: Put it to the vote.

The Chairman: We shall vote on the sum-total of expenditures in the Budgets of the Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republics and local Soviets in the amount of 26,343,994,000 rubles. Those in favour of ratifying this sum, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: The sum of 26,338,671,000 rubles in the draft Budget includes an expenditure of 11,653,651,000 rubles on education, and 5,774,451,000 rubles on public health. The Budget Commission proposes to fix the expenditure on education at 11,655,064,000 rubles.

The Chairman: Are there any remarks or motions on this section?

Voices: No.

The Chairman: I shall put it to the vote. Those in favour of ratifying the expenditure of 11,655,064,000 rubles on education and 5,774,451,000 rubles on public health, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Both sums are ratified unanimously.

Zverev: It is also proposed to ratify a surplus of revenues over expenditure in the unified state Budget in the amount of 1,500,000,000 rubles.

The Chairman: Are there any motions on this section?

Voices: Put it to the vote.

The Chairman: We shall vote on the surplus of revenues over expenditures in the amount of 1,500,000,000 rubles. Those in favour of

ratifying this sum, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

We shall vote on the grand total of expenditures in the amount of 131,137,993,000 rubles. Those in favour of ratifying this sum, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

This ends the voting on the unified state Budget section by section. I shall now take a vote on the approval of the unified state Budget of the U.S.S.R. for 1938 as a whole. Those in favour of approval, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

The Budget is approved unanimously. (*Applause.*)

Before we proceed to consider the Union Budget, we must decide whether we shall continue the sitting. According to the standing orders we have to adjourn the sitting at 10 p.m. A motion has been received to continue the sitting until we have completed the voting on the Budget. Are there any other motions on this question?

Voices: No.

The Chairman: Those in favour of continuing the sitting until we complete the voting on the Budget, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No.

The sitting will continue.

We shall now pass on to the ratification of the state Budget of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Zverev: The first section in the revenue column of the Union Budget is the turnover tax. In the original draft the turnover tax was estimated in the amount of 64,405,208,000 rubles. As a result of the amendments accepted, the revenue in the Union Budget from this source has been increased to 65,028,329,000 rubles. This is the sum now submitted to the Supreme Soviet for its ratification.

The Chairman: Are there any remarks or motions on this question?

Voices: Put it to the vote.

The Chairman We shall vote on the sum-total of revenue from the turnover tax in the amount of 65,028,329,000 rubles. Those in favour of ratifying this sum, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: The second section in the revenue column is the profits tax. The sum as drawn up was 7,344,650,000 rubles, made up as follows: from the People's Commissariat of Heavy Industry—905,400,000 rubles; from the defence industry—39,000,000 rubles; from the machine-building industry—1,340,000,000 rubles; from the food industry—2,216,700,000 rubles; from the People's Commissariat of Light Industry—642,520,000 rubles; from the People's Commissariat of the Timber Industry—202,990,000 rubles; from the Committee on Cinematography—3,840,000 rubles; from the People's Commissariat of

Agriculture—38,460,000 rubles; from the People's Commissariat of State Grain and Livestock Farms—17,700,000 rubles; from railroads and enterprises of the People's Commissariat of Railways—677,610,000 rubles; from the enterprises of the People's Commissariat of Communications—49,500,000 rubles; from the People's Commissariat of Trade—326,020,000 rubles; from the People's Commissariat of Agricultural Stocks—272,100,000 rubles; from the People's Commissariat of Foreign Trade—23,150,000 rubles; from the State Bank—243,500,000 rubles; from state insurance bodies—250,000,000 rubles; and from other enterprises—96,160,000 rubles.

Amendments referring to the profits tax involve the sum of 136,000,000 rubles. Thus, the sum of revenue from the profits of the industrial and economic People's Commissariats now submitted is 7,480,650,000 rubles.

The Chairman: Are there any remarks or motions on this section?

Voices: Adopt.

The Chairman: We shall vote on the sum-total of the profits tax in the amount of 7,480,650,000 rubles. Those in favour of ratifying this sum, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: Income tax on enterprises and organizations.

Income tax on collective farms—145,450,000 rubles; on others—75,000,000 rubles. Total—220,450,000 rubles.

The Chairman: Are there any motions on this section?

Voices: No.

The Chairman: We shall vote on the revenue from the income tax in the amount of 220,450,000 rubles. Those in favour of ratifying this sum, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

The sum is ratified unanimously.

Zverev: Taxes and levies on the population: agricultural tax on collective farmers and individual peasant farms—169,000,000 rubles; levies for cultural and public service development in the towns—876,000,000 rubles.

The original draft provided for a total of 1,045,000,000 rubles. Following the amendments introduced by the Budget Commissions, involving the sum of 14,550,000 rubles, the sum now submitted is 1,059,550,000 rubles.

The Chairman: Are there any motions or remarks on this section?

Voices: No.

The Chairman: We shall vote on the sum-total of revenues from taxes and levies on the population in the amount of 1,059,550,000 rubles. Those in favour of ratifying this sum, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: State loans. State loans issued for public subscription:

Loan for Strengthening the Defences of the U.S.S.R.—1,369,500,000 rubles; Third Five-Year Plan Loan (First Year Issue)—2,439,100,000 rubles; State Internal Lottery Loan, 1938—300,000,000 rubles. State Loan Issue for Savings Banks Subscription—1,300,000,000 rubles; Loan Issue for Subscription by State Insurance Bodies—540,000,000 rubles; and Loan Issue for Subscription by Co-operative Organizations—220,000,000 rubles.

The total receipts from loans provided for in the draft were 6,168,600,000 rubles.

In connection with the increase in the plan of attracting resources through the savings banks system, this sum is increased by 300,000,000 rubles; and by an additional 21,500,000 rubles on account of the increase in the profits of the state insurance bodies. Altogether the sum of receipts from loans is thus increased by 321,500,000 rubles, and the sum now submitted is 6,490,100,000 rubles.

The Chairman: Are there any remarks on this section?

Voices: Adopt.

The Chairman: We shall vote on the sum-total of receipts from state loans in the amount of 6,490,100,000 rubles. Those in favour of ratifying this sum, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: Receipts of machine and tractor stations accruing in full to the Union Budget—2,435,500,000 rubles.

The Chairman: Are there any remarks on this section of the Budget?

Voices: No.

The Chairman: We shall vote on the receipts of the machine and tractor stations in the amount of 2,435,500,000 rubles. Those in favour of ratifying this sum, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: Receipts from state social insurance funds, earmarked for social and cultural services—875,000,000 rubles.

The Chairman: There is a motion to ratify the sum-total of receipts from the state social insurance funds in the amount of 875,000,000 rubles, and then, in accordance with Deputy Moskatov's motion, to include in the revenue column the sum of 5,900,000,000 rubles for state social insurance.

Voices: Hear, hear! Put it to the vote.

The Chairman: Those in favour of ratifying this sum, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: Customs revenues accruing in full to the Union Budget—submitted in the amount of 2,350,000,000 rubles.

The Chairman: Are there any remarks on this section?

Voices: No.

The Chairman: We shall vote on the sum-total of customs revenues

in the amount of 2,350,000,000 rubles. Those in favour of ratifying this sum, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: Other revenues: mint—25,000,000 rubles; repayment of loans—182,300,000 rubles; passport fees and receipts from the sale of house registers and from address bureau services—89,800,000 rubles; automobile inspection fees—63,400,000 rubles; charges for testing and stamping of weights and measures—18,000,000 rubles; consular charges for foreign passport registration and for incoming and outgoing visas—27,000,000 rubles; receipts from the All-Union Radio Committee—23,400,000 rubles; other receipts—519,390,000 rubles. There is also an amendment proposed by the Budget Commission involving the sum of 122,000,094 rubles, the receipt of which is ensured by a corresponding decision of the Council of People's Commissars. Thus, under the heading of other revenues the sum now submitted is 1,070,384,000 rubles.

The Chairman: Are there any remarks or motions on this question?

Voices: Adopt.

The Chairman: We shall vote on the sum-total of other revenues in the amount of 1,070,384,000 rubles. Those in favour of ratifying this sum, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: Unutilized balance of grants made in 1937 for capital development—176,000,000 rubles.

The Chairman: Are there any remarks on this question?

Voices: No.

The Chairman: We shall vote on the sum-total of the balance of grants on capital development in the amount of 176,000,000 rubles. Those in favour of ratifying this sum, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: Balance of Budget funds on account with the State Bank on January 1, 1938—2,185,000,000 rubles.

The Chairman: Are there any motions on this question?

Voices: No.

The Chairman: We shall vote on the balance of Budget funds on account with the State Bank on January 1, 1938, in the amount of 2,185,000,000 rubles. Those in favour of ratifying this sum, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: Balance of Budget funds received but not utilized by institutions and organizations in 1937—120,000,000 rubles.

The Chairman: Are there any remarks to this section?

Voices: Adopt.

The Chairman: We shall vote on the total of Budget funds not utilized by institutions and organizations in the amount of 120,000,000 rubles. Those in favour of ratifying this sum, please raise their hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: Balance of non-Budget funds in the hands of institutions and organizations financed from the State Budget, as of January 1, 1938—800,000,000 rubles.

The Chairman: Are there any motions or remarks on this question?

Voices: Adopt.

The Chairman We shall vote on the total of the balance of non-Budget funds in the amount of 800,000,000 rubles. Those in favour of ratifying this sum, please raise their hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: Balance of Budget funds resulting from the revaluation of seasonal stocks of raw materials and goods—1,688,000,000 rubles.

The Chairman: Are there any remarks on this section?

Voices: No.

The Chairman: We shall vote on the balance of Budget funds resulting from the revaluation of seasonal stocks of raw materials and goods in the amount of 1,688,000,000 rubles. Those in favour of ratifying this sum, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: The grand total of revenues in the Union Budget now submitted, with the amendment of Deputy Moskatov, is 97,878,963,000 rubles.

The Chairman: Are there any remarks on this section?

Voices: No.

The Chairman: Those in favour of ratifying this sum, please raise their hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

The grand total of revenues in the State Budget is ratified unanimously.

We shall pass on to the voting on the expenditures column of the Union Budget.

Zverev: The allocation of expenditures in the Union Budget is as follows: Industry—19,094,080,000 rubles. With regard to the various branches of industry, the draft Budget submitted by the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. provided for the following expenditures: heavy industry—6,959,480,000 rubles; People's Commissariat of the Machine-Building Industry—1,127,140,000 rubles; People's Commissariat of the Food Industry—1,263,480,000 rubles: People's Commissariat of Light Industry—1,183,500,000 rubles; People's Commissariat of the Timber Industry—1,067,680,000 rubles; and the Committee on Cinematography—77,760,000 rubles.

The Budget Commissions have recommended to increase the appropriations for the People's Commissariat of Heavy Industry by 79,000,000 rubles, and at the same time to reduce the appropriations for the People's

Commissariat of the Food Industry by 15,000,000 rubles. Thus the sum of expenditures on industry now submitted is 19,158,080,000 rubles.

The Chairman: Are there any remarks to this section?

Voices: Adopt.

The Chairman: We shall vote on the sum-total of expenditures on industry in the amount of 19,158,080,000 rubles. Those in favour of ratifying this sum, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: Agriculture: People's Commissariat of Agriculture—8,669,110,000 rubles, including 7,650,700,000 rubles on the machine and tractor stations; People's Commissariat of State Grain and Live-stock Farms—812,730,000 rubles. The total provided for in the draft was 9,481,840,000 rubles. The Budget Commissions have proposed an amendment to increase the expenditure by 10,000,000 rubles. Thus the sum now submitted is 9,491,840,000 rubles.

The Chairman: Are there any remarks or motions on this section?

Voices: No.

The Chairman: We shall vote on the sum-total of expenditures on agriculture in the amount of 9,491,840,000 rubles. Those in favour of ratifying this sum, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against. No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: On transport and communications: People's Commissariat of Railways—3,633,190,000 rubles; People's Commissariat of Communications—378,260,000 rubles; People's Commissariat of Water Transport—925,780,000 rubles; Chief Administration of the Northern Sea Route—454,930,000 rubles; Chief Road Administration of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs—980,500,000 rubles; Chief Civil Aviation Administration—389,950,000 rubles. Total—6,762,610,000 rubles.

The Chairman: Are there any remarks or motions on this section?

Voices: Adopt.

The Chairman: We shall vote on the total expenditures on transport and communications in the amount of 6,762,610,000 rubles. Those in favour of ratifying this sum, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: Various construction works promoted by the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs—1,884,280,000 rubles.

The Chairman Are there any motions or remarks on this section?

Voices: No.

The Chairman: We shall vote on the expenditure on construction works promoted by the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs in the amount of 1,884,280,000 rubles. Those in favour of ratifying this sum, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: People's Commissariat of Trade—117,960,000 rubles.

The Chairman: Are there any remarks or motions on this section?

Voices: Adopt.

The Chairman: We shall vote on the expenditure on the People's Commissariat of Trade in the amount of 117,960,000 rubles. Those in favour of ratifying this sum, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: People's Commissariat of Agricultural Stocks—2,624,070,000 rubles. This was the sum provided in the original draft. There is a motion to increase the expenditure on the People's Commissariat of Agricultural Stocks by 16,000,000 rubles. Thus the sum of expenditures on the People's Commissariat of Agricultural Stocks now submitted is 2,640,070,000 rubles.

The Chairman: Are there any remarks or motions on this section?

Voices: No.

The Chairman: We shall vote on the total expenditure on the People's Commissariat of Agricultural Stocks in the amount of 2,640,070,000 rubles. Those in favour of ratifying this sum, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: People's Commissariat of Foreign Trade—13,970,000 rubles.

The Chairman: Are there any remarks or motions on this section of the Budget?

Voices: Adopt.

The Chairman: We shall vote on the expenditure on the People's Commissariat of Foreign Trade in the amount of 13,970,000 rubles. Those in favour of ratifying this sum, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: The Moscow Metropolitan Railway—financed from the Union Budget—in the amount of 263,450,000 rubles.

The Chairman: Are there any remarks or motions on this question?

Voices: No.

The Chairman: We shall vote on the expenditure on the construction of the Metropolitan Railway in the amount of 263,450,000 rubles. Those in favour of ratifying this sum, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: Administration of State Reserves of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R.—1,100,000,000 rubles.

The Chairman: Are there any motions or remarks on this question?

Voices: No.

The Chairman: We shall vote on the total for the Administration of State Reserves of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. in the amount of 1,100,000,000 rubles. Those in favour of ratifying this sum, please raise their hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: Chief Forestry Administration—284,250,000 rubles. This was the sum provided for in the original draft. The Budget Commission has recommended that the appropriation should be reduced by 2,000,000 rubles. Thus, the sum now submitted is 282,250,000 rubles.

The Chairman: Are there any remarks or motions on this section?

Voices: Adopt.

The Chairman: We shall vote on the sum-total of expenditure on the Chief Forestry Administration in the amount of 282,250,000 rubles. Those in favour of ratifying this sum, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: Chief Hydrometeorological Office—183,180,000 rubles. This was the sum provided for in the original draft. The Budget Commission has recommended that it should be reduced by 6,835,000 rubles. Thus the sum of expenditure on this organization now submitted is 176,345,000 rubles.

The Chairman: Are there any motions or remarks on this section?

Voices: No.

The Chairman: I shall put it to the vote. Those in favour of expenditure on the Hydrometeoroligical service in the amount of 176,345,000 rubles, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: Other expenditures on national economy—3,067,120,000 rubles, including compensation in connection with changes in prices of coal—227,000,000 rubles, of copper—170,000,000 rubles, of mineral fertilizer—120,000,000 rubles; also bonuses on flax—75,000,000 rubles.

The Chairman: Are there any remarks on this section?

Voices: No.

The Chairman: We shall vote on the total of other expenditures on national economy in the amount of 3,067,120,000 rubles. Those in favour of ratifying this sum, please raise their hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: Social and cultural services. The sum provided for in the original draft of the Union Budget was 7,288,839,000 rubles, including expenditures: on education—5,023,113,000 rubles, on public health—1,144,115,000 rubles, on physical culture—19,278,000 rubles, on social maintenance—1,046,700,000 rubles, including benefits to mothers of large families—900,000,000 rubles. The Budget Commissions have recommended that the expenditure in this section be reduced. The sum now submitted is 7,268,239,000 rubles.

The Chairman: Are there any remarks on this section?

Voices: No.

The Chairman: We shall vote on the sum-total of expenditures on social and cultural services in the amount of 7,268,239,000 rubles. Those in favour of ratifying this sum, please raise their hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: People's Commissariat of Defence and People's Commissariat of the Navy—27,044,020,000 rubles.

The Chairman: We shall vote on the expenditures on the People's Commissariat of Defence and the People's Commissariat of the Navy in the amount of 27,044,020,000 rubles. Those in favour of this sum, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs—4,320,000,000 rubles.

The Chairman: Are there any remarks on this section?

Voices: Adopt.

The Chairman: We shall vote on the expenditure on the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs in the amount of 4,320,000,000 rubles. Those in favour of ratifying this sum, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: People's Commissariat of Justice of the U.S.S.R. and the Procuratorship—234,899,000 rubles.

The Chairman: Are there any remarks on this section?

Voices: Adopt.

The Chairman: We shall vote on the expenditure on the People's Commissariat of Justice of the U.S.S.R. and the Procuratorship in the amount of 234,899,000 rubles. Those in favour of ratifying this sum, please raise their hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: The sum of expenditures on the maintenance of the organs of state administration of the U.S.S.R. was fixed in the original draft at 1,332,770,000 rubles. On the recommendation of the Budget Commission, this sum has been reduced by 13,800,000 rubles. Thus the sum of expenditures now submitted is 1,318,970,000 rubles.

The Chairman: Are there any remarks on this section?

Voices: No.

The Chairman: We shall vote on the expenditures on the state administration of the U.S.S.R. in the amount of 1,318,970,000 rubles. Those in favour of ratifying this sum, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: Expenditure on state loans—2,072,000,000 rubles.

The Chairman: Are there any remarks on this section of the Budget?

Voices: Put it to the vote.

The Chairman: We shall vote on the expenditure on State loans in the amount of 2,072,000,000 rubles. Those in favour of ratifying this sum, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: In connection with the reduction in the appropriation on land improvement in the amount of 20,000,000 rubles, the sum for the expenditure on settlements with long-term investment banks now submitted is 314,130,000 rubles.

The Chairman: Are there any remarks on this section?

Voices: No remarks.

The Chairman: We shall vote on the sum-total of the expenditure on settlements with long-term investment banks in the amount of 314,130,000 rubles. Those in favour of ratifying this sum, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: The reserve fund of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. was originally fixed at 1,200,000,000 rubles. In connection with the recommendation of the Budget Commission to apply the additional revenues to the reserve fund of the Council of People's Commissars, it is proposed to increase the reserve fund by 1,515,500,000 rubles and ratify it in the amount of 2,715,500,000 rubles.

The Chairman: Are there any remarks on this section?

Voices: No.

The Chairman: We shall vote on the sum-total of the reserve fund of the Council of People's Commissars in the amount of 2,715,500,000 rubles. Those in favour of ratifying this sum, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Zverev: Other expenditures are fixed at 233,230,000 rubles.

The Chairman: Are there any motions on this section?

Voices: Adopt.

The Chairman: We shall vote on the sum-total of other expenditures in the amount of 233,230,000 rubles. Those in favour of ratifying this sum, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

We shall now vote on the grand total of expenditures in the Union Budget of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in the amount of 96,378,963,000 rubles. Those in favour of ratifying this sum, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

The sum of the state Budget of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics has been ratified unanimously.

We have concluded the voting on the Union Budget section by section. I shall now put to the vote the Union Budget of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics as a whole. Those in favour of ratifying the Budget as a whole, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

The Budget of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics has been adopted unanimously.

We shall now proceed to the adoption of the Unified State Budget of the U.S.S.R. (1938) Act.

I call upon Comrade Zverev, the People's Commissar of Finance of the U.S.S.R., to read the Unified State Budget of the U.S.S.R. (1938) Act article by article.

Zverev: "Unified State Budget of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (1938) Act.

"The Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics resolves:

"1. To adopt the unified state Budget of the U.S.S.R. for 1938 submitted by the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. with the amendments adopted on the reports of the Budget Commissions of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities, to wit: total revenues —132,637,993,000 rubles, and total expenditures—131,137,993,000 rubles, revenues exceeding expenditures by 1,500,000,000 rubles."

The Chairman: Are there any motions on Article 1 of the Unified State Budget of the U.S.S.R. Act?

Voices: Adopt.

The Chairman: I shall put it to the vote. Those in favour of adopting Aricle 1 of the Act, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Article 1 is adopted unanimously.

Zverev: Article 2: "In accordance with Article 1 of the present law, to approve the revenues and expenditure of the Union Budget in the sum of 97,878,963,000 rubles for revenues and 96,378,963,000 rubles for expenditures, revenues exceeding expenditures by 1,500,000,000 rubles.

The Chairman: Are there any remarks on Article 2 of the Act?

Voices: No remarks.

The Chairman: I shall put it to the vote. Those in favour of adopting Article 2 of the Act, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Article 2 is adopted unanimously.

Zverev: Article 3: "To approve the State Budgets of the Union Republics for 1938 in the following sums:

	Revenues (in thous. rubles)	Expenditures (in thous. rubles)
Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic	21,406,731	21,406,731
Of which: Republican Budget	15,480,076	3,844,894
Local Budgets	5,926,655	17,561,837
Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic	5,977,218	5,977,218
Of which: Republican Budget	4,462,583	1,451,792
Local Budgets	1,514,635	4,525,426
Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic	1,167,210	1,167,210
Of which: Republican Budget	1,022,220	460,827
Local Budgets	144,990	706,383

	Revenues (in thous. rubles)	Expenditures (in thous. rubles)
Azerbaidjan Soviet Socialist Republic	915,723	915,723
Of which: Republican Budget	762,496	356,207
Local Budgets	153,227	559,516
Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic	1,068,637	1,068,637
Of which: Republican Budget	914,568	466,711
Local Budgets	154,069	601,926
Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic	388,427	388,427
Of which: Republican Budget	348,216	182,861
Local Budgets	40,211	205,566
Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic	441,284	441,284
Of which: Republican Budget	383,906	206,427
Local Budgets	57,378	234,857
Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic	1,314,693	1,314,693
Of which: Republican Budget	1,100,402	613,765
Local Budgets	214,291	700,928
Tadjik Soviet Socialist Republic	448,928	448,928
Of which: Republican Budget	407,148	211,286
Local Budgets	41,780	237,642
Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic	1,282,602	1,282,602
Of which: Republican Budget	1,157,903	466,469
Local Budgets	124,699	816,133
Kirghiz Soviet Socialist Republic	347,577	347,577
Of which: Republican Budget	312,844	153,797
Local Budgets	34,733	193,780
Total for State Budgets of Union Republics	34,759,030	34,759,030
Of which: Republican Budgets	26,352,362	8,415,036
Local Budgets	8,406,668	26,343,994

The Chairman: Are there any motions on Article 3?

Voices: Adopt.

The Chairman: I shall put it to the vote. Those in favour of adopting Article 3, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Article 3 is adopted unanimously.

Zverev: Article 4. "To approve allocations from the republican Budgets to the Budgets of the Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republics and local Soviets in the following sums:

	(in thous. rubles)
Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic	11,635,182
Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic	3,010,791
Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic	561,393
Azerbaidjan Soviet Socialist Republic	406,289
Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic	447,857
Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic	165,355
Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic	177,479
Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic	486,637
Tadjik Soviet Socialist Republic	195,862
Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic	691,434
Kirghiz Soviet Socialist Republic	159,047
Total	17,937,326

The Chairman: Are there any remarks on Article 4?

Voices: Adopt.

The Chairman: Those in favour of adopting Article 4, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Article 4 is adopted unanimously.

Zverev: Article 5. "To fix the following percentages for the 1938 allocations from all-Union state taxes to the republican and local Budgets:

"a) For the R.S.F.S.R., the Ukrainian S.S.R., the Byelorussian S.S.R., the Azerbaidjan S.S.R., the Georgian S.S.R., the Armenian S.S.R., and the Uzbek S.S.R.—50 per cent of the levies for housing, cultural and public service development in the towns; and for the remaining Union republics—100 per cent.

"b) For all Union republics—100 per cent of the levies for housing, cultural and public service development in rural areas.

"c) For the R.S.F.S.R., the Ukrainian S.S.R. and the Byelorussian S.S.R.—75 per cent of the receipts from the collective farm income tax and from the agricultural tax on collective farmers and individual peasants; and for the remaining republics—100 per cent."

The Chairman: Are there any remarks on Article 5?

Voices: No remarks.

The Chairman: I shall put it to the vote. Those in favour of adopting Article 5, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Article 5 is adopted unanimously.

Zverev: Article 6: "In accordance with the sums approved by the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. for allocation from the turnover tax to the Union republics, to instruct the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. to fix the percentages to be allocated from this tax to each Union republic."

The Chairman: Are there any remarks on Article 6?

Voices: No remarks.

The Chairman: I shall put it to the vote. Those in favour of adopting Article 6, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Article 6 is adopted unanimously.

Zverev: In Article 7 some editorial changes were made after the draft had been distributed. I shall read it in its final form.

Article 7: "To note the unsatisfactory organization of the collection by the People's Commissariat of Finance of the U.S.S.R. and its local organs in 1937 of the legally established rural taxes and levies.

"To make it the duty of the People's Commissariat of Finance of the U.S.S.R. and the local Soviet organs to adopt measures to improve the work of the finance bodies."

The Chairman: Are there any remarks on Article 7?

Voices: Adopt.

The Chairman: Those in favour of adopting Article 7, please raise

their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Article 7 is adopted unanimously.

Zverev: Article 8: "To direct the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. to introduce, for the approval of the next Session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., a draft unified state Budget of the U.S.S.R. that will provide for the establishment of more stable sources of revenue for the republican and local Budgets."

The Chairman: Are there any remarks on Article 8?

Voices: No remarks.

The Chairman: I shall put it to the vote. Those in favour of adopting Article 8, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Article 8 is adopted unanimously.

Zverev: Article 9: "To instruct the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. to submit the draft of the unified state Budget of the U.S.S.R. for 1939 to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. not later than December 15, 1938."

The Chairman: Are there any remarks on Article 9?

Voices: No remarks.

The Chairman: I shall put it to the vote. Those in favour of adopting Article 9, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Article 9 is adopted unanimously.

Zverev: Article 10: "To accept the report on the state Budget of the U.S.S.R. for 1936 showing results as follows: revenues—83,760,252,898 rubles, and expenditures—81,827,108,678 rubles, revenues exceeding expenditures by 1,933,144,220 rubles."

The Chairman: Are there any remarks on Article 10? No remarks. I shall put it to the vote. Those in favour of adopting Article 10, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Article 10 is adopted unanimously.

I shall now take a vote on the unified State Budget of the U.S.S.R. (1938) Act as a whole. Those in favour of adopting this Act as a whole please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

The Unified State Budget of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (1938) Act is adopted unanimously. *(Applause.)*

I call upon Deputy Vershkov to make a motion on the procedure of discussion of the question of the judicial system of the U.S.S.R. and of the Union and autonomous republics.

P. A. Vershkov *(Tbilisi Twenty-Six Communards Area, Georgian S.S.R.)*: Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet. I move that the report on the judicial system of the U.S.S.R., and of the Union and autonomous republics be heard at a joint sitting of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities.

I move that the joint sitting be called for 11 a.m. on August 15.

The Chairman: Are there any other motions on the subject?

Voices: No.

The Chairman: I shall take a vote on Deputy Vershkov's motion. Those in favour of Deputy Vershkov's motion, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

The motion is adopted unanimously.

The joint sitting of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities will be held on August 15 at 11 a. m., and the sitting of the Soviet of Nationalities will be held on August 15 at 6 p.m. This closes the sitting.

FIFTH SITTING

(August 15, 1938)

N. M. Shvernik, Chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities, and C. A. Aslanova, Vice-Chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities, take their seats on the dais, and the members of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U. S .S. R. and the leaders of the Party and the Government enter the boxes. They are greeted with loud and prolonged applause. All rise.

N. M. Shvernik (*in the chair*): I hereby open the sitting of the Soviet of Nationalities. I call upon Deputy Tyurkin, the Chairman of the Legislative Bills Commission, for his co-report on the draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System of the U.S.S.R., and of the Union and Autonomous Republics.

P. A. Tyurkin (*Leningrad Rural Area, R.S.F.S.R.*): Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet. The Stalin Constitution, the Constitution of victorious Socialism, is the fundamental law determining the organization of society and of the state of our powerful multinational Soviet Union.

The Stalin Constitution has inaugurated a new era of flourishing Socialist democracy, the principles of which were laid down in the early days of the Great October Revolution.

By its consistent adherence to the principles of Socialist democracy in all spheres of social and political life, the Stalin Constitution has enhanced the force and significance of our laws and elevated them to a great height. In the light of the Stalin Constitution the role of the laws assumes a particular significance. Article 10 of the Constitution of the U. S. S. R., which speaks of the right of citizens to personal property, states that this right of citizens to personal property, as well as the right of inheritance of personal property of citizens, is protected by law.

Article 97 of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R., which enumerates the powers and duties of the Soviets of Toilers' Deputies, imposes upon the Soviets of Toilers' Deputies the obligation of ensuring the observance of the laws.

Article 98 of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. imposes upon the Soviets of Toilers' Deputies the obligation of adopting decisions and

issuing orders within the limits of the powers vested in them by the laws.

Article 123 of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. establishes that equality of rights of citizens of the U.S.S.R., irrespective of their nationality or race, is an indefeasible law, and that any violation of this principle is punishable by law.

Article 125 of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. states that the freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of assembly, including the holding of mass meetings, and the freedom of street processions and demonstrations, accorded to the citizens of the U.S.S.R. in conformity with the interests of the working people and in order to strengthen the Socialist system, are guaranteed by law.

Article 128 of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. establishes that the inviolability of the homes of citizens and secrecy of correspondence are protected by law.

Article 133 of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. states: "To defend the fatherland is the sacred duty of every citizen of the U.S.S.R. Treason to the country—violation of the oath, desertion to the enemy, impairing the military power of the state, espionage—is punishable with all the severity of the law as the worst of crimes."

In his report on the Draft Constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics at the Extraordinary Eighth Congress of Soviets, Comrade Stalin said:

"We must at last put an end to a situation in which not one but a number of bodies legislate. Such a situation rurs counter to the principle that laws should be stable. And we need stability of laws now more than ever. Legislative power in the U.S.S.R. must be exercised only by one body, the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R."

Thus the Constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics enhances the role of Socialist law in our state, as a powerful means for the consolidation of Socialist relationships.

At a time when in bourgeois countries legality is being demolished and the role of the laws is continually declining, at a time when the fascist states have completly eradicated every semblance of legality and established in their countries a regime of lawlessness, the Soviet state is strengthening Socialist law, enhancing its role and significance.

The Stalin Constitution attaches enormous importance to the courts as the state organs called upon to administer justice, uphold the Soviet laws, and protect the rights and interests of the citizens, public organizations and institutions.

Chapter IX of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. establishes the principles of the organization and activity of the courts in our Socialist state of workers and peasants.

The existing laws on the judicial system do not fully reflect the principles of the organization of the activity of the courts that are formulated in the Stalin Constitution of the U.S.S.R.

The Principles of the Judicial System of the U.S.S.R. and of the Union Republics, now in operation, were promulgated in 1924. The

Regulations Governing the Judicial System of the R.S.F.S.R. were promulgated in 1926. Since then vast changes have taken place in our country. The social structure of the Soviet State has changed, and the exploiter classes have been abolished.

". . . In the main we have already achieved the first phase of Communism—socialism." (*Stalin.*)

In view of these changes, the Soviet courts are faced with new problems, new requirements have sprung up which find no proper reflection in the existing laws on the judicial system.

The courts play an enormous part in the Soviet state. Our courts have to perform important and responsible tasks of political significance.

In the first draft of his article "The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government." V. I. Lenin wrote:

"The new courts were required primarily for the struggle against the exploiters who endeavour to restore their rule, or protect their privileges, or to smuggle in, or secure by deceit, some part or other of these privileges. But, in addition to this, another and still more important task is incumbent upon the courts if they are really organized on the principle of Soviet institutions. It is the task of ensuring the strictest observance of discipline and self-discipline by the working people."

The Soviet courts are a powerful weapon in the struggle against the enemies of the people, the diversionists and agents of fascist intelligence services. Our courts are a weapon with the aid of which the people are destroying and will destroy to the end all the remnants and dregs of wreckers, traitors and renegades who are trying to obstruct the victorious march of Socialism. Our courts are organs for ensuring the strictest observance of discipline and self-discipline by the working people.

From the very beginning, the Soviet courts have set themselves the task of educating the masses. Today the educational role of the Soviet courts has become even more important.

All this requires proper organization of the entire Soviet judicial system, and lends particular significance to the draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System.

The Soviet courts have a great and honourable historic role to perform. Since the first days of their organization they have been coping successfully with their tasks.

The Soviet courts have dealt ruthlessly with the enemies of the Soviet people, with spies and diversionists; they have actively helped to train staunch Soviet citizens; they have consistently rooted out the survivals of capitalism in the minds of people, and have fought against everything that hindered the cause of Socialist construction.

The Soviet courts have always been the most democratic courts in the world, they have always been based on the principles of genuine democracy, just as the Soviet state has always been the most democratic state in the world.

In his report on the draft Constitution of the U.S.S.R. at the Extraordinary Eighth Congress of Soviets, Comrade Stalin pointed out that one of the essential features of the new Constitution is its "consistent and thoroughgoing democracy."

The Stalin Constitution has vastly extended Socialist democracy in all spheres of the organization of the state, including also the sphere of the organization of the courts. The Stalin Constitution accordingly provides for the further democratization of the Soviet courts, of Soviet Socialist justice, to which it devotes great attention, elevating it to unprecedented heights.

The Legislative Bills Commission of the Soviet of Nationalities, after a study of the draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System of the U.S.S.R., and of the Union and Autonomous Republics submitted by the Council of Peoples Commissars of the U.S.S.R., has arrived at the conclusion that the draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System fully conform to the requirements of the Stalin Constitution, that they correctly and fully express the principles laid down in the Constitution with regard to the courts.

The most important principle of the Soviet judicial system is that the judges must be elected. This has always been the main guiding principle of the Soviet judicial system—judges have been elected by the corresponding executive committees of the Soviets of Workers', Peasants' and Red Army Deputies.

This procedure, which has been in force until now, was based on the principles of Soviet democracy. The Soviet courts have always been elective and democratic bodies—immeasurably more democratic than the courts in any bourgeois country.

In bourgeois countries the guiding principle is that of the appointment of judges, not their election: as a rule, judges, from the lowest to the highest, are appointed. The principle of the appointment of judges, which is the dominating principle in the bourgeois judicial system, is a bureaucratic principle, advantageous only to the exploiter classes.

V. I. Lenin pointed out that, by having judges appointed, the bourgeoisie "protects itself against *democracy*."

The Stalin Constitution considerably extends the principle of the election of judges.

The change in the procedure of the election of judges concerns, in the first place, the people's courts, which are closest to the masses, to the people; the courts which try the majority of civil and criminal cases, which work in the very thick of the people; the courts which the Soviet citizens appeal to in the first place for the protection of their rights and interests.

Article 109 of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. establishes that people's courts are elected by the citizens of the districts on the basis of universal, direct and equal suffrage and secret ballot. This new procedure in the election of the people's courts, that is to say, of people's judges and people's assessors, extends and enhances the democratic basis of the people's courts.

Another very important feature of the Soviet judicial system is the participation of people's assessors in the court proceedings. V I. Lenin attached enormous importance to the participation of people's assessors in the work of the courts, as a means of drawing the masses into the work of state administration. The draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System widen the scope of the participation of people's assessors, extending it to all Soviet courts, from the people's courts up.

Thus, the draft provides for the participation of people's assessors in military tribunals, which at present, under the existing laws on the judicial system, function without the participation of people's assessors.

The draft Regulations establish an identical procedure for the election of people's assessors and of people's judges, thereby enhancing the role and importance of the people's assessors as members of the court with full rigths.

We see an entirely different picture of conditions in bourgeois countries and particularly in the fascist countries. In the fascist countries, juries have been abolished. In the courts of the countries in which the bourgeois-democratic forms of state administration have not been discarded the role of the juries is also rapidly declining. This is a consequence of the fear of the masses which is characteristic of the reactionary circles of the bourgeoisie.

The most important principle underlying the organization and activity of the Soviet courts is the independence of the judges and their being subject only to the law. This principle is reflected also in the draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System that has been submitted to you for approval. This principle enhances the role and importance of the Soviet courts, heightens their prestige, and ensures the passing of correct judgments based on the law.

In pronouncing sentences and rendering judgments, Soviet judges are guided by the law and by their own conviction, by their revolutionary conscience; they are not affected by any outside influences. The Soviet courts, which enjoy the confidence of all the people, are really independent.

Bourgeois courts cannot be independent, because they express and protect the interests of the handful of exploiters; they defend, as Comrade Lenin said, "the interests of the moneybags."

The principle that judges are independent and subject only to the law is established in Article 112 of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R.

This principle is formulated in Article 6 of the draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System which also provide for the guarantees ensuring its practical realization. Such guarantee is provided for, in the first place, in the new procedure for the election of judges, of which I have already spoken. The election of judges on the basis of universal, direct and equal suffrage and secret ballot naturally places the people's judges in a position of such authority and such independence of local government bodies and public organizations as to preclude the possibility of any unlawful interference with the work of the judges. This position is further enhanced by the procedure established

in the draft according to which a judge may be removed from office solely by the recall of his electors of by virtue of a sentence of court against him.

In connection with the principle that judges and people's assessors must be elected, Article 11 of the draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System establishes that "any citizen who enjoys electoral rights may be elected judge or people's assessor." No qualifications are required for filling the post of judge or performing the duties of a people's assessor.

It is proposed to abolish the conditions for filling the post of people's judge provided for in the existing laws—a two-years' record of responsible work, or a three years' record of work in the judicial system. Any person in whom the citizens have confidence, and whom they consider worthy of performing the highly responsible duties of a judge, may become a people's judge. This absolutely correct principle logically follows from the task of drawing the broad masses of the people into the work of administering the state. If any restrictions or obligatory requirements, such as a legal education, practical experience, etc., were set up for filling the post of judge, it would be in contradiction to the Stalin principle that judges must be elected.

The democratic principles of Socialist justice are realized, not only in the organization of our courts, but also in our court procedure. A particularly important principle is that cases are tried in open court. Trials are public. The doors of the Soviet courts are open. All citizens who so desire may be present in court during the proceedings. The Soviet courts have nothing to conceal. They derive their strength from their prestige and from the confidence they enjoy among the working people. Public trial strengthens the democratic foundations of the Soviet courts and their bond with the people. The principle of public trial is embodied in the draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System fully in conformity with Article 111 of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R.

This is inseparably linked up with the guarantee to the accused of the right of defence, which is also provided for in Article 111 of the Stalin Constitution.

In fascist courts the accused is deprived of all the rights which were formerly to a certain extent accorded to him in the bourgeois-democratic court legislation. The accused is subjected to every kind of torment, indignity and torture, he is a defenceless object of "research" and "medical experiments."

For the first time in the history of humanity, the Soviet power, in conformity with the principles of Socialist democracy, has consolidated the right of defence as a constitutional principle.

Comrades, the Legislative Bills Commission considers it necessary to draw the particular attention of the Soviet of Nationalities to those provisions in the draft which guarantee the administration of justice with regard to the rights and interests of the nationalities forming part of the U.S.S.R.

Comrade Stalin wrote that, in order to become near and dear to the people, "the Soviet government must first be comprehensible to them.

It is therefore necessary that all Soviet organs in the border regions—the courts, the administration, the economic bodies, the direct organs of government (as also the organs of the Party)—should as far as possible be recruited from among local people acquainted with the customs, life, habit, and language of the native population. . . .

"Nobody will deny that the Ukraine, Azerbaidjan, Turkestan, the Kirghiz Republic, the Bashkir Republic, the Tatar Republic, and other border regions, since they are striving for the cultural development and material prosperity of their masses, must have their own schools, courts, administration and government bodies recruited principally from among the local people. . . . But to conduct the schools, courts, the administration and organs of government in the native language means precisely putting Soviet autonomy into practice; for Soviet autonomy is but the sum of these various institutions enveloped in a Ukrainian, Turkestanian or Kirghiz form."

The Soviet judicial system, which is uniform for the whole of the U.S.S.R., is so organized that it guarantees the interests of the Union and autonomous republics and autonomous regions; it guarantees the interests of the nationalities and adapts the courts and all their activities to the local conditions of each national republic or region.

Article 123 of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. establishes equality of rights of citizens of the Soviet Union, irrespective of their nationality or race, in all spheres of economic, state, cultural, social and political life. This equality of rights, Article 123 of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. states, "is an indefeasible law."

The rights and interests of the nationalities which form part of the U.S.S.R.—rights and interests guaranteed in all spheres of political and social life—must be guaranteed in the sphere of the administration of justice as well. This problem is fully taken care of in the draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System of the U.S.S.R., and of the Union and Autonomous Republics."

The procedure in the case of the election of people's judges—of which I have already spoken—is that people's judges, as well as people's assessors, are elected by the citizens of each district. Hence, in elections of people's judges and people's assessors, the decisive vote belongs to the majority of the population of the given district, in other words, to the prevailing nationality of a given locality.

The regional courts of autonomous regions are elected by the regional Soviets of Toilers' Deputies of the autonomous regions. Hence, in this case, too, the interests of the given nationality are taken care of. In the Union and autonomous republics, the highest judicial body is the Supreme Court of each Union or autonomous republic, which is elected by the corresponding Supreme Soviet of the Union or autonomous republic.

This procedure for the organization and election of the courts is unquestionably absolutely correct as regards the realization of the principles of the national policy of Lenin and Stalin.

In conformity with Article 110 of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R., the draft Regulations establish that "judicial proceedings are conducted in the language of the Union republic, autonomous republic or autonomous region, persons not knowing this language being ensured every opportunity of fully acquainting themselves with the material pertaining to the case through an interpreter and likewise the right to speak in court in their own language."

Proceedings in court are conducted in the language which the majority of the population of the respective republic or region understands. As for persons participating in a trial who do not understand the language in which the case is conducted, their rights and interests are guaranteed. This guarantee is ensured by the opportunity accorded them of acquainting themselves with the material in the case through an interpeter, and also by their right to speak in court in their own language.

This is how the rights and interests of the nationalities in the sphere of the judicial system are guaranteed in the Land of Socialism.

In the capitalist countries the whole judicial system is so organized that the colonial countries under the imperialists are entirely deprived of any independence in the sphere of the administration of justice. Just as they are disfranchised or restricted in their rights in all respects, so are they in respect of the courts.

Among the capitalist countries, Japan is particularly brutal in her methods of colonial oppression. She suppresses the population of her colonies with unparalleled cruelty.

V. I. Lenin, in his speech at a meeting of nuclei secretaries of the Moscow organization of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) on November 26, 1920, said that Japan was plundering Korea "with unprecedented brutality, combining all modern technical inventions with purely Asiatic torture." It is common knowledge that today the Japanese imperialists are resorting to these barbarous methods to an even greater extent. The whole of Korea is entangled in the network of the Japanese police, which metes out punishment to the Korean population without the formality of a trial, and subjects the population to every kind of savage repression. The courts in Korea, and the more important offices of judges and prosecutors, are entirely in the hands of the Japanese. Koreans are permitted to occupy official posts only in the lower courts, which deal with insignificant cases. If the defendant is a Japanese, he may be tried only by Japanese judges, not by Koreans.

Let us take another capitalist country—the United States of America. The so-called "lynch law"—savage punishment meted out to Negroes suspected of any crime by a mob taking the law into its own hands—is practised in that country to this day.

As against the policy of the oppression of nationalities, which prevails in the capitalist countries, the Soviet Union pursues the national policy of Lenin and Stalin, which is based upon the absolute equality of rights of the nationalities, upon the principle of assisting all nationalities in their economic and cultural development and safeguarding their rights and interests.

The Legislative Bills Commission endorses the measures of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. formulated in the draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System. It regards as quite correct the measure directed towards relieving the higher courts of organizational and administrative functions with regard to the lower courts.

This measure will ensure an improvement in the work of the courts.

The reduction in the number of successive courts of appeal empowered to review cases already adjudicated, namely the abolition of the Presidiums and Plenary Sittings of territorial and regional courts and of the Supreme Courts of Union and autonomous republics, is of essential importance. This measure will help to secure the finality of sentences and judgments and to do away with delays in the settlement of cases.

Comrades, after studying the draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System of the U.S.S.R., and of the Union and Autonomous Republics, the Legislative Bills Commission is of the opinion that the draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System submitted by the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. fully conform to the principles of the Stalin Constitution and provide a correct solution for the main problems of the organization of the judicial system in the U.S.S.R.

If the new Regulations Governing the Judicial System are passed and become law, they will serve as a powerful means for further strengthening the Soviet courts and revolutionary Socialist law.

The Legislative Bills Commission moves that the draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System of the U.S.S.R., and of the Union and Autonomous Republics submitted by the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. be fully approved.

At the same time, the Legislative Bills Commission of the Soviet of Nationalities proposes a number of amendments and corrections to the draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System.

The most important of these are the following:

First amendment. Article 5 of the draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System establishes that "justice in the U.S.S.R. is administered on the following principles:

"a) Uniform courts equal for all citizens irrespective of their social and property status or official position."

The Legislative Bills Commission proposes to amend this formulation to read: "Justice in the U.S.S.R. is administered on the following principles:

"a) Uniform courts equal for all citizens irrespective of their social or property status, official position, nationality or race."

The need for this amendment follows from the principles of realizing the national policy of Lenin and Stalin in the sphere of the organization of justice and the protection of the rights and interests of the nationalities, which I have dwelt on before.

Second amendment. Article 21 of the draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System defines the powers vested in the people's courts, that is to say, the range of cases under the jurisdiction of the people's courts.

The Legislative Bills Commission considers it necessary to add to the list of cases tried by the people's courts also civil cases "relating to suits connected with infringement of dwelling rights."

The need for this amendment follows from the importance of providing judicial protection of the dwelling rights of citizens, which is also referred to in Article 2 of the draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System as one of the tasks of Socialist justice.

Third amendment. Articles 28, 36, 43 and 51 of the draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System define the powers and duties of the judges of people's courts, the presidents of territorial, regional and area courts and of courts of autonomous regions, and of the presidents of the Supreme Courts of autonomous republics and of Union republics.

With regard to each of them it says in the above-mentioned articles of the draft Regulations: "gives orders to summon the accused, the witnesses and the expert witnesses to court." Nothing is said with reference to the powers and duties of the people's judges and the presidents of higher courts in civil cases.

In the opinion of the Legislative Bills Commission this formulation may be interpreted as meaning that the judges try only criminal cases.

The trial of civil cases occupies an enormous place in the work of the courts. In view of this, the Legislative Bills Commission moves that clause "d" of Article 28 be worded as follows: "gives orders to summon to court the accused, the plaintiffs and defendants, the witnesses and the expert witnesses." Analogous amendments should be introduced in Articles 36, 43 and 51 of the draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System.

Other amendments, mainly of an editorial nature, are stated in the summary of remarks and recommendations of the Legislative Bills Commission of the Soviet of Nationalities which has been distributed among the deputies. If you have no objection, I shall not read them at present.

Comrades, while examining the draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System of the U.S.S.R., and of the Union and Autonomous Republics, the Legislative Bills Commission has had an opportunity to look into the various aspects of the work of the People's Commissariat of Justice of the U.S.S.R. and the People's Commissariats of Justice of the various Union republics, and into the practical work of the people's courts.

On the strength of this I consider it necessary to make a number of remarks concerning the work of the People's Commissariat of Justice and some judicial bodies.

It is generally known what great harm was done in the sphere of Socialist justice by the wreckers of all hues who had wormed their way both into the courts and into the field of theoretical jurisprudence.

The enemies of the people tried to undermine the importance and prestige of the courts, to undermine the confidence of the working people in the courts.

In this they failed. The schemes of the enemies were defeated. Our glorious Soviet intelligence service, headed by the Stalin People's Commissar, Comrade Nikolai Ivanovich Yezhov, exposed them and scattered them to the winds. *(Loud applause.)*

However, so far the work of removing the effects of the wreckers' activities has been going on at a slow pace. The People's Commissariat of Justice has not drawn the necessary conclusions from the criticism of its work voiced at the First Session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

The People's Commissariat of Justice has been impermissibly slow in carrying out measures for the mass training of new forces and additional training of the old forces of judiciary workers; it does not fight sufficiently to stop the fluidity of forces.

One is puzzled by this kind of attitude to the work of training forces. For it must be borne in mind that over 60 per cent of the judiciary workers have had no special training.

It must also be considered a very serious shortcoming that many people's courts, particularly in the Tadjik, Kazakh and other Union republics, are still understaffed.

In my opinion, the People's Commissariat of Justice of the U.S.S.R. and the People's Commissariats of Justice of the Union and autonomous republics have not been showing sufficient concern for and attention to the new workers who have been promoted to the office of judges; they have not been concerned about improving their general, legal and political knowledge.

Thus, for instance, the comrades who have been recently promoted to the office of people's judges in the Dzerzhinsky district of the City of Moscow have not been receiving any assistance either from the Moscow City Court or from the People's Commissariat of Justice of the R.S.F.S.R.

The People's Commissariat of Justice of the R.S.F.S.R. has not even provided facilities for the new forces who have just begun to work in the legal field to acquire proper training. It has done nothing to organize qualified legal advice for the new forces. Many of the workers who have been promoted cannot obtain the necessary legal reference books and codes. They cannot even obtain such absolutely indispensable material as the Code of Labour Laws or the Housing Law of October 17, 1937. Every judge must know our Soviet laws, for he must be daily guided by them, he must decide cases in court on their basis. Every judiciary worker must constantly resort to the codes of laws. And in view of this we cannot by any means agree with the People's Commissariat of Justice when it "intends" to publish the necessary reference material for the people's judges only in December 1938.

The People's Commissariat of Justice of the U.S.S.R. and the People's Commissariats of Justice of the Union republics are still doing

little to fight red tape. There have been particularly many facts of red tape and delays in carrying out court decisions.

The People's Commissariats of Justice of the Union republics have not been paying attention to the need for creating suitable conditions for the work of the people's courts.

It must also be noted that the People's Commissariat of Justice of the U.S.S.R. has not been paying any attention to the matter of carrying on educational work among the people's assessors.

The Regulations Governing the Judicial System of the R.S.F.S.R. and other Union republics, now in force, establish that people's assessors must be elected every year and that they must participate in court sessions not more than six days in the course of the year. The people's assessors must take an active part in the court proceedings. It is necessary to carry on systematic educational work among the people's assessors, instruct them and explain to them the most important laws. Actually, things are different. In some localities the people's assessors have become permanent assessors. In the Djetygary district of the Kustanai Region in the Kazakh S.S.R., the people's assessors Salagayev had taken part in court sessions 58 times in the course of seven months of the year 1938. In the people's court of district No. 1 of the City of Tashkent, the people's assessor Khodjayev has attended session uninterruptedly since May 14. Many such examples could be cited with reference to other territories, regions and Union and autonomous republics.

The Legislative Bills Commission is of the opinion that these remarks must be taken into consideration by the People's Commissariat of Justice of the U.S.S.R., and it assumes that the People's Commissar of Justice of the U.S.S.R., Comrade Rychkov, will take the necessary measures to bring about a decisive improvement in the work of the judiciary bodies.

The immediate and most important political task of the People's Commissariat of Justice of the U.S.S.R. is to organize the election of people's judges and people's assessors on the basis of the new Regulations Governing the Judicial System. The People's Commissariat of Justice of the U.S.S.R. and the People's Commissariats of Justice of the Union republics must at once start to prepare for the elections in an organized manner.

The new Regulations Governing the Judicial System, and the forthcoming elections of people's judges and people's assessors, require a Bolshevik reorganization of the work of the organs of the People's Commissariat of Justice in the centre and in the localities.

The injunction of the head of the Soviet Government, Vyacheslav Mikhailovich Molotov, that the People's Commissariat of Justice must become a model People's Commissariat, must be carried out.

Comrades, the adoption and enforcement of the new Regulations Governing the Judicial System will raise the prestige of the Soviet courts to an even greater height, and will turn them into an even more

powerful weapon for the utter routing of the Trotskyite and Bukharinite dregs—spies, diversionists and wreckers.

Our Soviet courts will become an even more powerful weapon for defending and safeguarding the great achievements of the invincible Soviet people.

We are confident that the army of thousands upon thousands of judiciary workers will continue their ruthless fight to crush the enemies of Socialism.

We are confident that the Soviet courts will carry out to the end the task of strengthening revolutionary law—a task entrusted to them by the Soviet people, marching under the leadership of our glorious Communist Party, under the leadership of the genius of humanity, the great Stalin, forward to the shining summits of Communism. (*Loud and prolonged applause.*)

The Chairman: We shall now pass on to the debate on the report on the draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System of the U.S.S.R. and of the Union and Autonomous Republics. I call upon Deputy Gorbachov.

M. V. Gorbachov (*Soroka Area, Karelian A.S.S.R.*): Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. The draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System of the U.S.S.R., and of the Union and Autonomous Republics submitted by the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. to the Session of the Supreme Soviet for its approval are an exceptionally important political document correctly defining the organization and activity of our Soviet courts.

The draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System of the U.S.S.R. and of the Union and Autonomous Republics are based on the great Stalin Constitution, the most democratic in the world.

The draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System fully correspond to the interests of the many millions of our people, to the interests of the first Socialist state in the world; they conform to the great historic victories of our country, achieved by the peoples of the Soviet Union under the guidance of the Bolshevik Party and the leader of peoples, our great Stalin. (*Applause.*)

The draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System proceed from the necessity for further strengthening our courts and improving their work, and for the further democratization of the judicial system.

The report of Deputy Rychkov and the co-report of Deputy Tyurkin have made it clear that the Principles of the Judicial System of the U.S.S.R. and of the Union Republics, adopted in 1924, have to a certain extent become obsolete.

The Principles of the Judicial System of the U.S.S.R. and of the Union Republics adopted in 1924 do not reflect the stability of our laws with the necessary forcefulness, and, as Comrade Stalin says, "we need stability of laws now more than ever."

It is beyond doubt that the Session of the Supreme Soviet will unanimously adopt the draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System, with due consideration for the remarks and amendments proposed by the Chairman of the Legislative Bills Commission.

Comrades, the Soviet courts are the only genuinely popular courts in the world, based on the principles of Socialist democracy.

Article 109 of the Stalin Constitution states: "People's courts are elected by the citizens of the district on the basis of universal, direct and equal suffrage and secret ballot for a term of three years."

In no other country of the world is there such genuine Socialist democracy in the administration of justice.

In all the capitalist countries the judges are representatives of the ruling class of capitalists and landlords.

Only in our country, the country of victorious Socialism, are the masses of the working people actually, and not in words alone, guaranteed the opportunity of participating in the work of the Soviet courts. In our country every citizen can be a judge, even if he has no special legal education.

Article 6 of the draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System states that judges are independent and subject only to the law. This emphasizes the extremely important role of our courts. This raises the prestige of our Soviet courts to an even greater height.

Great importance is attached to Article 7 of the draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System, dealing with court procedure. This article states:

"In accordance with Article 110 of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R., judicial proceedings in the U.S.S.R. are conducted in the language of the Union republic, the autonomous republic or the autonomous region, persons not knowing this language being ensured every opportunity of fully acquainting themselves with the material pertaining to the case through an interpreter and likewise the right to speak in court in their own language."

You know, comrades, that for a long time the enemies of the people—the Trotskyite, Bukharinite and bourgeois-nationalist scoundrels—had been active in the leading organs of the Karelian A.S.S.R. These thrice contemptible hirelings of fascism wanted to sever flourishing Soviet Karelia from the great Soviet Union and enslave her to the Finnish fascists. In our schools, institutions and people's courts, the bourgeois nationalists instilled the Finnish language and ignored the Russian language, the language of the Socialist revolution.

The enemies of the people tried to undermine the role and prestige of the Soviet courts, in order to debase them as a weapon of the dictatorship of the working class and discredit them in the eyes of the population.

But the enemies of the people had miscalculated. Their counter-revolutionary enemy activity was exposed by our Chekists—the workers of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs, under the leadership of the glorious Stalin People's Commissar, Comrade Yezhov. (*Applause.*)

At the recent First Session of the Supreme Soviet of the Karelian

A.S.S.R. it was unanimously decided to strike out the Finnish language from the list of official state languages of the Karelian Republic. This was a correct decision. The Karelian people have their own Karelian language, and they need the Russian language, the language of the Socialist revolution.

We have accomplished a great deal in the matter of removing the effects of the wreckers' activities in the sphere of cultural development. Karelian has been established as the language of instruction in the Karelian schools, and a newspaper, *Soviet Karelia*, a magazine, *Karelia*, and other literature are published in the Karelian language.

However, little has been done with regard to introducing the native Karelian language in court proceedings in the national districts of our republic. In this sphere there is still an enormous amount of work to be done. We must accelerate the work of removing the effects of the wreckers' activities, and enforce the conduct of court proceedings in the national districts in the native language.

It must be stated that the People's Commissariat of Justice of the R.S.F.S.R. has been giving us little assistance in the work of removing the effects of the wreckers' activities in this sphere.

In discussing the law on the judicial system, we must pay particular attention to the question of the training and education of forces for the judiciary bodies. In the apparatus of the courts there are still many bureaucrats, red-tape mongers, and probably also enemies of the people who have not yet been exposed. The People's Commissariat of Justice should take the proper measures to train forces and lend practical assistance to the organizations in the localities. Many new, young workers thoroughly devoted to the cause of the people, to the cause of Socialism, have lately been promoted to the judicial bodies. But these cadres need proper training and education, they have to be taken care of. However, the People's Commissariat of Justice of the U.S.S.R. has not drawn the necessary conclusions from the critical remarks which were levelled against it at the First Session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

The people's assessors are a very important reserve of forces for the Soviet courts and the Soviet judicial system. But the judicial organs are doing very little for the education of these most important reserve forces. The People's Commissariat of Justice and the local judicial and Soviet bodies are both equally to blame for the poor training of the people's assessors. The People's Commissariat of Justice and the local judicial and Soviet bodies must undertake the training and education of judiciary forces in a serious, Bolshevik manner.

Article 77 of the draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System states: "The judgments and orders in civil cases and the sentences in criminal cases in respect to fines and confiscations are carried into execution by deputies of the court."

As you see, the court deputies have an important part to perform. Theirs is a great responsibility. Still, the People's Commissariat of Justice of the R.S.F.S.R. and the local judicial organs are doing very

little for the education of court deputies. Deputy Rychkov should have told us in his report what the People's Commissariat of Justice is doing in the way of educational work among the court deputies. But he has told us nothing with regard to this.

Comrades, the elections of people's judges and people's assessors will take place shortly. These elections must be conducted on a high political level. Everything necessary must be done to rally the whole of our Soviet people to take part in the forthcoming elections.

Only the best men and women, thoroughly devoted to our people and to the cause of Lenin and Stalin, must be elected people's judges and people's assessors.

The draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System are an extremely important political document. They are directed towards the further consolidation of the Soviet judicial system. They raise the Soviet courts to new heights and rally us to the struggle for new victories of Socialism. (*Applause.*) Our Soviet courts have always safeguarded the interests of the Soviet people, guided by the Bolshevik Party, which has been tried in battle, and by the wise leader of peoples, our own and beloved, our great Stalin! (*Loud applause.*)

The Chairman: I call upon Comrade Dmitriyev, People's Commissar of Justice of the R.S.F.S.R.

Y. P. Dmitriyev (*People's Commissar of Justice of the R.S.F.S.R.*): Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet. An exceptionally important Bill—the Regulations Governing the Judicial System of the U.S.S.R., and of the Union and Autonomous Republics—has been submitted to you for consideration by the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R.

This Bill provides for a radical reorganization of the judicial system and clearly delimits the functions of the courts and the People's Commissariat of Justice. This draft confronts the courts with the task of working much better than they are doing at present.

Under the brilliant leadership of Lenin and Stalin, the workers and peasants of our country won a glorious victory over the capitalists and landlords in October 1917.

The successes that have been achieved in the two decades of victorious Socialist development are recorded in the Stalin Constitution. The national policy of Lenin and Stalin has secured unparalleled rates of development and the unprecedented flourishing of all the Union republics. The life of the working people in our country is becoming more abundant and cultured from day to day.

As the prosperity and might of our country has been growing, crime has been decreasing in the U.S.S.R. from year to year. In one of the eleven Union republics forming the Soviet Union—in the R.S.F.S.R—we have the following picture of the reduction of crime. If we take the number of sentences for criminal offences in 1930 as 100, the number of sentences dropped to 94.7 in 1933, to 83.4 in 1935, and to 58.2 in 1937.

In 1938 there has been an even larger decrease in crime in our country.

In the first half of this year the number of people brought up for trial was nearly 50 per cent less than in the first half of 1935.

The Stalin Constitution has raised our Soviet courts to unprecedented heights. The courts play an important part in our country.

The Stalin Constitution defines the momentous tasks of the Soviet courts.

In conformity with Chapter IX of the Stalin Constitution, justice in the U.S.S.R. is administered by the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R., the Supreme Courts of the Union republics, the territorial and regional courts, the courts of the autonomous republics and the autonomous regions, area courts, special courts of the U.S.S.R., and the people's courts.

In all courts of the Soviet Union cases are tried with the participation of people's assessors, except in cases specially provided for by law.

The draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System of the U.S.S.R., and of the Union and Autonomous Republics is the draft of a uniform law on the judicial system of the U.S.S.R. Until now, as you know, the law in operation was embodied in the Principles of the Judicial System of the U.S.S.R and of the Union Republics, adopted in 1924. This law contained only the fundamental principles of the organization of the judicial system of the U.S.S.R., and it was on the basis of this law that the Union republics adopted their Regulations Governing the Judicial System.

These Regulations Governing the Judicial System of the Union republics included functions of an administrative character among the functions of the courts. This resulted in many inconveniences for the courts, and distracted the presidents of the courts and the court workers from their direct duties.

In conformity with the Stalin Constitution, the draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System clearly delimit the range of the duties of the courts. According to the draft Regulations, judges are expected only to try cases, while questions of an organizational and administrative character must be settled by the People's Commissariats of Justice and their organs in the localities.

The tasks of our courts are defined in Article 2 of the draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System. This article states: "It is the task of justice in the U.S.S.R. to protect from any and every encroachment:

"a) the social and state system of the U.S.S.R., the Socialist system of economy and Socialist property established by the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. and the Constitutions of the Union and the autonomous republics;

"b) the political, labour, dwelling and other personal and property rights and interests of citizens of the U.S.S.R. guaranteed by the Constitution of the U.S.S.R., and the Constitutions of the Union and the autonomous republics;

"c) the rights and interests of state institutions, enterprises, collective farms, co-operative and other public organizations.

"It is the task of justice in the U.S.S.R. to secure the strict and undeviating observance of Soviet laws by all institutions, official persons and citizens of the U.S.S.R."

Our courts play an enormous part. By all their activities they educate the citizens of the U.S.S.R. in the spirit of devotion to the country and the cause of Socialism, in the spirit of respect for the Soviet laws, of care for Socialist property, of an honest attitude to work and towards state and public duty and respect for the rules of Socialist human intercourse.

The Soviet courts administer justice on the principles of uniform courts equal for all citizens, irrespective of their social and property status or official position.

Great successes have been achieved by our country in the past twenty years. The basis of these successes of the Soviet system "is the same as that of all the other successes of the October Revolution," as Comrade Molotov has said. "It is, first and foremost, the correct policy of the Bolshevik Party, which guides all our Socialist construction. In all the successes of Socialism, in all our victories, we see the all-conquering power of Leninism. We have been victorious because we have been faithful to Leninism. That is what Comrade Stalin has taught us and is teaching us."

The enemies of the people tried to retard the victorious march of Socialism. As long as there exist capitalist and fascist states, they will be sending to us, to the Soviet Union, wreckers, spies, diversionists and terrorists; they will try to undermine the economic and defensive power of our country.

The former wrecking leadership of the People's Commissariat of Justice of the U.S.S.R. strove to destroy the judicial system, trying in every way to use the courts for defaming honest Soviet citizens.

The organs of the People's Commissariat of Justice are faced with the paramount task of removing in the shortest possible period of time the effects of the wreckers' activities in the judicial system. To this end the new leadership of the People's Commissariat of Justice of the U.S.S.R. and of the courts of the republics must mobilize all the forces and knowledge of the honest judiciary workers devoted to the cause of Socialism.

The first steps in this direction have already been taken. One of these steps was to organize a new network of court divisions following the territorial principle.

Unquestionably, there is still a great deal that the People's Commissariat of Justice of the R.S.F.S.R. has left undone. The People's Commissariat of Justice of the R.S.F.S.R. is still not the model People's Commissariat of which Comrade Molotov spoke at the First Session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

The valiant Soviet intelligence service, headed by the Stalin People's Commissar Comrade Nikolai Ivanovich Yezhov, has demolished the hornets' nests of the spies and bandits who had joined in the Right and Trotskyite espionage and terrorist bloc.

The judiciary workers, like all the working people of the U.S.S.R., must always be on the alert, so as to recognize and expose the spies, diversionists and traitors, no matter what mask they wear. We must do everything to help the organs of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs in this honourable work.

The Soviet courts, which are called upon by the Stalin Constitution to administer justice, must ruthlessly crush the enemies of the people —the traitors to their country, spies, diversionists and plunderers of Socialist property, who are trying to undermine the might of our magnificent country. The Soviet courts are called upon to fight for the strengthening of Socialist law, for the stability of the laws. And they are coping with these tasks.

There are still some judges who do not understand that they must systematically give an account of their activity to their electors, that they must learn from the working masses in order to improve the work of the courts.

The working people, who elect judges from their own ranks on the basis of the Stalin Constitution, must know how these judges are working, how they are administering Socialist justice, how they are protecting the rights of the citizens of the U.S.S.R. granted in the Stalin Constitution.

The people's judges, who are elected on the basis of universal, direct and equal suffrage and secret ballot, must be people of high culture, honest and boundlessly devoted to the cause of the Party of Lenin and Stalin. A judge must be a person enjoying prestige. His word must carry weight.

Judges must act so as to furnish an example for others. Judges must apply all their knowledge and experience, and strive to pass sentences and decisions which will not be reversed; they must eliminate such facts as have occurred, when, owing to inattention and bureaucracy in the exercise of judicial functions, cases are reviewed several times, which calls forth justified complaints on the part of the working people.

The draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System do away with the superfluous courts of appeal, namely, the presidiums and plenary sittings of the regional and territorial courts and of the Supreme Courts of the autonomous and Union republics. In the first place, this means the elimination of red tape, and, at the same time, it imposes a greater responsibility upon the regional and territorial courts and the Supreme Courts of autonomous and Union republics in deciding criminal and civil cases. It imposes a greater responsibility upon the presidents of the courts and ensures a more serious attitude to the passing of sentences and rendering of judgments.

The draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System limit the number of people who have a right, on the strength of exercising supervision, to demand the records of cases on which sentences have been passed. According to the Regulations now in force, those enjoying this right of demanding records on the strength of exercising supervision include the presidents of the territorial and regional courts and of the Supreme Courts

of the autonomous republics, the regional procurators and the district procurators. The draft Regulations establish that in each Union Republic only two persons have a right to demand the records of such cases: the Procurator of the Union republic and the President of the Supreme Court of the republic. In the U.S.S.R. as a whole this right is reserved to the President of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. and the Procurator of the U.S.S.R.

This will unquestionably contribute to the elimination of confusion. Indeed, there have been cases when absolutely correct decisions were not put into effect in the course of six months or even a year only because these decisions travelled from the people's court to the regional court, from the collegium of the regional court to its presidium, its plenary sitting, then to the collegium of the Supreme Court, and up to and including the Supreme Court of the U. S. S. R.

The trying of cases in all courts with the participation of people's assessors will draw an even larger number of working people into the administration of the state and will contribute to the improvement of the work of the courts.

The People's Commissariat of Justice of the U.S.S.R. and the People's Commissariats of Justice of the Union republics must devote more attention to the training of new forces and the additional training of the old forces of judiciary workers. The Chairman of the Legislative Bills Commission of the Soviet of Nationalities, Comrade Tyurkin, justly noted that the network of educational establishments under the People's Commissariat of Justice of the U.S.S.R. is too small.

Out of 37 schools, in the whole of the U.S.S.R., 28 are located in the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic. At present these schools are attended by about 2,300 students. Of them we can recommend about one thousand for election to the posts of people's judges.

Comrade Tyurkin correctly pointed out that we have an insufficient number of higher law schools. There are only nine such schools in the entire U.S.S.R. Two of these—with a very small number of students—are under the jurisdiction of the People's Commissariat of Justice of the R.S.F.S.R. It is absolutely necessary to reopen the law departments in the state universities in the very near future.

We must bear in mind that, following the elections of people's judges, the ranks of judiciary workers will be swelled by many new people who have had no legal education. It will be the task of the People's Commissariat of Justice to organize instruction for these people, not only in law schools, but also through correspondence, so as not to distract them from their main work.

It is the task of the People's Commissariat of Justice to build up a strong force of court deputies. At present the machinery for the execution of court decisions works better than before, but still not well enough.

We have organizational and instructors' sections in the regional and territorial courts. But these sections do not cope with their tasks. As a result many of the territorial and regional courts are not properly acquaint-

ed with the state of the people's courts and display no concern for improving their activity.

The sooner the organs of the People's Commissariat of Justice are built up in the localities, the sooner will the work of the courts and the People's Commissariats of Justice be put into shape.

We must pay more attention to the question of legal advice both in the cities and in the villages. It is our duty to organize serious assistance to village community courts and industrial comrades' courts, which play a very important role. The proper organization of these courts is unquestionably of great importance. They will be of tremendous help in dealing with less important cases which do not call for the intervention of a people's court, and will be able to exert social pressure upon persons violating labour discipline, for instance, or the rules of Socialist human intercourse.

We must enhance the prestige of the comrades' courts. In this respect the trade union organizations ought to play a large part.

Comrades, the Party and the Government, and Comrade Stalin personally, devote an enormous amount of attention to the Soviet courts. They are doing everything possible to ensure the fulfilment by the judiciary organs of the tasks imposed upon them by the Stalin Constitution.

The Soviet courts will carry out their tasks, because they enjoy the solicitude of our people, of the Soviet Government and of the great leader of peoples, Comrade Stalin (*loud and prolonged applause*), under whose guidance the Soviet Union is marching with iron step forwards, to Communism, sweeping before it everything that is rotten and outlived. (*Loud and prolonged applause.*)

The Chairman: We have received a motion to adjourn for fifteen minutes. Are there any objections? No. Adjournment for fifteen minutes.

(*Adjournment*)

The Chairman: The sitting is resumed. I call upon Deputy Bazhulin.

G. N. Bazhulin (*Garm Area, Tadjik S. S. R.*): Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet. A draft law on the judicial system has been submitted for consideration to the Second Session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. This draft is based on the Stalin Constitution.

Justice in the U.S.S.R., as stated in the draft, is administered on the principle of "uniform courts equal for all citizens irrespective of their social or property status or official position," on the principle of "uniform criminal, civil and procedural legislation of the U.S.S.R. binding on all courts."

In the capitalist countries the courts are a weapon for the enslavement of the working people. There the courts are utterly corrupt. They defend and protect the interests of the exploiters. In those countries there is not, nor can there be, any equality of citizens before the courts.

"Justice" in the capitalist countries has nothing in common with real justice. In discussing the courts of tsarist Russia, V. I. Lenin wrote:

". . . a court of officials sitting with mute representatives of the estates, behind closed doors, amid the dumb silence of the press; the witness-

es are fake ones: factory superintendents, factory watchmen, policemen who beat the people and soldiers who fired on the workers. What a despicable farce!"

That is the bourgeois court.

In our country, in the country of victorious Socialism, the mission of the courts is to protect the interests of the working people. Only in our country is real justice administered. Our judges are responsible to the people. They are the servants of the people.

Our courts are public. The proceedings in our courts are recorded in our press. The judges report to their electors. Cases are tried in open court. All this is possible only in our country, in the country of victorious Socialism, where the people are guided by our wise and beloved leader, Comrade Stalin. (*Loud applause.*)

Comrades, the draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System of the U.S.S.R., and of the Union and Autonomous Republics submitted to us for consideration are a result of the Stalin Constitution. This document, which will soon become law, will be accepted by the Soviet people with approval. It fully corresponds to their interests.

Article 2 of the draft states:

"It is the task of justice in the U.S.S.R. to protect from any and every encroachment:

"a) the social and state system of the U.S.S.R., the Socialist system of economy and Socialist property established by the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. and the Constitutions of the Union and the autonomous republics;

"b) the political, labour, dwelling and other personal and property rights and interests of citizens of the U.S.S.R. guaranteed by the Constitution of the U.S.S.R., and the Constitutions of the Union and the autonomous republics;

"c) the rights and interests of state institutions, enterprises, collective farms, co-operative and other public organizations.

"It is the task of justice in the U.S.S.R. to secure the strict and undeviating observance of Soviet laws by all institutions, official persons and citizens of the U.S.S.R."

It will be with a feeling of profound satisfaction that the peoples of the vast and powerful Soviet Union will accept this document.

Comrades, there are great shortcomings in the work of the People's Commissariat of Justice of the U.S.S.R.

In the practice of the courts in the localities, we observe facts of delays in the hearing of appeals. The People's Commissariat of Justice must put a stop to this practice. The reduction in the number of bodies empowered to hear appeals provided for in the draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System will make it possible to do away with red tape.

Comrades, we have many outstanding, progressing workers. But in the localities they do not always obtain help, particularly with regard to the creation of decent conditions for their work.

We must say outright that no proper conditions have been created for the work of the courts in the Central Asian republics. Take the premises in which they have to work—they are poor.

We must create all the necessary conditions for the people's courts to work well.

Comrades, I move that we adopt the new law on the judicial system submitted to the Second Session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. for its consideration. This law is directed towards protecting the interests of the working people, safeguarding Socialist property, and ruthlessly fighting all the enemies of the people: spies, diversionists, and the counter-revolutionary Trotskyite and Bukharinite scum.

The new Regulations Governing the Judicial System will strengthen our revolutionary Socialist law and will ensure our rapid advance along the road towards new victories for Communism. (*Applause.*)

The Chairman: I call upon Deputy Yefremov.

V. P. Yefremov (*Sevastopol Area, Crimean A.S.S.R.*): Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet. We have heard the report of the People's Commissar of Justice and the co-report of the Chairman of the Legislative Bills Commission on the draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System of the U.S.S.R., and of the Union and Autonomous Republics.

It is quite proper that the question of revising the Regulations Governing the Judicial System is placed on the agenda at present, for our country has changed radically since the adoption of the Regulations Governing the Judicial System now in operation.

Socialism has triumphed. The peoples of the Soviet Union have the Stalin Constitution, the author of which is our wise and beloved leader, Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin. (*Loud applause.*)

The principal task of Soviet justice is to protect from any and every encroachment the organization of society and the organization of the state established by the Stalin Constitution. It is the task of Soviet justice vigilantly to protect the Socialist system of economy, Socialist property and the political, labour and other rights of the citizens of the U.S.S.R. guaranteed by the Constitution of the U.S.S.R., or the Constitutions of the Union and autonomous republics; to protect the rights and interests of state institutions, enterprises, collective farms, co-operative and other public organizations. The courts of the Land of Soviets must secure the strict and undeviating observance of Soviet laws by all official persons and by all citizens of the U.S.S.R.

Our courts are genuinely popular courts. They are elected by the working people, and, guided by the Stalin Constitution, they protect the rights of the working people.

The Soviet courts were born in the fire of the civil war; they have gained vast experience in the fight against the enemies of the people and proved their devotion to the cause of the Party of Lenin and Stalin, to the cause of the working people.

In the years since the Soviet power was established, the Soviet courts, working under the guidance of the glorious Communist Party, have played a great part in the consolidation of the Socialist system and in the defence of our country against any and every encroachment of espionage and other enemy organizations which have tried to harm our great country. Our country is encircled by capitalist countries, and we must not weaken the dictatorship of the working class, but strengthen it in every way.

We must be particularly well prepared for the elections of people's judges, which will be held on the basis of universal, direct and equal suffrage and secret ballot. All citizens enjoying electoral rights, irrespective of their nationality, education and position, will take part in the elections and may be elected.

Our Soviet courts are genuine popular courts, relying for support on the vast confidence of the working people. The working people know that the Soviet courts protect their interests and rights in strict conformity with the Stalin Constitution.

Our Soviet courts protect the interests of the working people and defend their rights and the interests of the state against encroachment by the enemies of the people who are trying to undermine the might of our great country.

Comrades, I consider it necessary to dwell upon the work of the people's courts in the localities. The People's Commissariat of Justice and the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. must pay very serious attention to the work of the local people's courts.

I want to note the negative features that characterize the work of some of our people's courts. First—the delays in the hearing of cases. In our people's courts in Crimea, particularly in Sevastopol, a great number of cases have accumulated which have not come up for hearing to this day. There are some cases which have been awaiting action for two years. In order to hear these delayed cases it has been necessary to form two sets of judges in the divisional people's courts.

Second: the existence of a great number of authorities empowered to protest judicial decisions. This has only complicated the work of the courts, and very often tended to confuse questions that had been correctly decided.

Therefore we ought fully to approve the changes provided for in Article 16 of the draft law on the judicial system, which accords the right to protest judicial decisions only to the Procurator of the U.S.S.R., the Procurators of the Union republics, the President of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. and the Presidents of the Supreme Courts of the Union republics.

The third question to which it is necessary to draw the attention of the People's Commissariat of Justice is the question of training people's judges, people's assessors and court deputies. This deficiency in the work of the People's Commissariat of Justice is felt with particular acuteness in the localities. We demand that the People's Commissariat of Justice take steps to radically improve the work of training and educating judiciary workers.

The enemies of the people deliberately set at naught the work of training forces. Today people from factories, mills and collective farms are coming to work in the courts. These new people need proper training and special daily attention and help in their work.

Further: about premises for the people's courts. In a number of places this question has not been settled to this day. It is not everywhere by far that proper conditions have been created for the work of the people's courts. The outside appearance and the interior of the premises in which the people's courts work must fully accord with the demands which we make upon the people's courts.

The draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System submitted to us for consideration and approval, with the amendments introduced by the Legislative Bills Commission of the Soviet of Nationalities, fully reflect the interests of our state and the interests of every citizen; they fully conform to our Fundamental Law—the Stalin Constitution.

The new Regulations will further consolidate revolutionary law, which is directed towards the protection of the great conquests of the October Revolution.

We are confident that the Soviet courts will continue to safeguard the interests of the working people and will show no mercy to the enemies of the people, for this is what our beloved and wise leader, Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin, teaches us. (*Loud applause.*)

The Chairman: I call upon Deputy Yonychev.

S. D. Yonychev: (*Geok-Tepinsk Area. Turkmen S. S. R.*): Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet. The draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System of the U.S.S.R., and of the Union and Autonomous Republics submitted by the Council of People's Commissars to the Session, with the amendments of the Legislative Bills Commission, are fully in line with the principles of our Socialist system.

Under the invincible banner of the Stalin Constitution, the peoples of the great Soviet Union are building a new and happy life. Under the guidance of the Communist Party and the beloved leader of all the peoples, Comrade Stalin (*loud applause*), the workers and peasants of our country have created Socialist law. This law conforms to the interests of the working people, to the interests of Socialist construction, and to the tasks of eliminating the capitalist survivals in economy and in the minds of people.

V. I. Lenin said that the Soviet courts are required "primarily for the struggle against the exploiters, who are endeavouring to restore their rule, or to preserve their privileges, or to smuggle in, or secure by deceit, some part of these privileges."

Soviet justice has nothing in common with the sham justice of tsarist Russia or of the bourgeois capitalist countries. The bourgeois courts protect the interests of the capitalists, the exploitation of man by man. The bourgeois courts are a weapon for ruthless trampling on the interests of the people.

Engels defined the essence of bourgeois law as follows: "The law is sacred to the bourgeois, for it is his own composition, enacted with his consent, and for his benefit and protection. He knows that . . . more than all, the sanctity of the law, the sacredness of order . . . is the strongest support of his social position. . . . The workingman knows too well, has learned from too-oft repeated experience, that the law

is a rod which the bourgeois has prepared for him; and when he is not compelled to do so, he never appeals to the law."

The tsarist courts defended the interests of the capitalists, the exploiters, who turned Russia into a prison of peoples. In the national border regions the tsarist courts were a weapon for the most ruthless enslavement of the peoples, a weapon of exploitation and of trampling on human dignity. The rules of court procedure in tsarist Russia provided for particular restriction with regard to the rights of women, reducing the latter to the status of slaves. Women were not treated as human beings. Thus, for instance, Turkmen women, according to the rules then in force, could not even appear as witnesses in court. A woman was admitted as a witness in court only if her evidence was corroborated by a man. Even in that case the evidence of two women was regarded as the evidence of one witness. All this has vanished forever. Thanks to all the help given us by the great Russian people, and under the guidance of the Communist Party and the leader of all the peoples, Comrade Stalin, the women of Turkmenia, together with the whole Turkmen people, are building their happy and joyous life on the basis of the Stalin Constitution.

Today the Turkmen women are active in all spheres of economic and cultural life. In Turkmenia there are many women holding state posts and dispensing Soviet justice.

Of seventy people's judges in Turkmenia, nine are women. Furthermore, there is one woman member of an area court and three women members of the Supreme Court of the Turkmen S.S.R. More than 7,000 women in Turkmenia are acting as people's assessors. Two Turkmen women are working in the capacity of Assistant Procurators of the Turkmen Republic.

The Soviet courts, which protect the interests of the multi-national Soviet people, are the most democratic of all courts.

Comrade Stalin teaches us that it is necessary to strengthen Socialist law in every way; he stresses the importance of the stability of the Soviet laws.

There is a special chapter in the Stalin Constitution laying down the main principles of Soviet justice.

In my opinion the draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System submitted to the Session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. fully conform to the Stalin Constitution.

Article 2 of the draft Regulations under discussion quite correctly defines the tasks of Soviet justice, stating: "It is the task of justice in the U.S.S.R. to protect from any and every encroachment:

"a) the social and state system of the U.S.S.R., the Socialist system of economy and Socialist property established by the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. and the Constitutions of the Union and Autonomous republics;

"b) the political, labour, dwelling and other personal and property rights and interests of citizens of the U.S.S.R. guaranteed by the Con-

stitution of the U.S.S.R. or the Constitutions of the Union and autonomous republics;

"c) the rights and interests of state institutions, enterprises, collective farms, co-operative and other public organizations.

"It is the task of justice in the U.S.S.R. to secure the strict and undeviating observance of Soviet laws by all institutions, official persons and citizens of the U.S.S.R."

Comrades, in no other country in the world, outside the Soviet Union, is there a provision for the election of judges and people's assessors by secret ballot. In no other country in the world, outside the U.S.S.R., are there no restrictive qualifications for the election of judges and people's assessors, and in no other country in the world does the law provide for public trial, with proceedings conducted in the language of the majority of the republic or region, persons not knowing this language being ensured every opportunity of fully acquainting themselves with the material pertaining to the case through an interpreter and likewise the right to speak in court in their own language.

This is possible only in our country—the country of genuine liberty and democracy, the country where life is happy and joyous, the country of the Stalin Constitution.

The enemies of the people—the Trotskyites, Bukharinites and bourgeois nationalists—caused a lot of harm in the work of the courts and the procuratorship. They distorted Soviet laws, set at naught the work of training judiciary workers, and tried to undermine the protection of Socialist property and the protection of the rights and interests of the working people.

The People's Commissariat of Justice of the Union Republics, and among them also the People's Commissariat of Justice of Turkmenia, have so far not done all that is necessary in order completely to remove the effects of the wreckers' activities.

I second the motion of the deputies who have spoken here to adopt the draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System of the U.S.S.R., and of the Union and Autonomous Republics submitted to the Session by the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R., with the amendments proposed by the Legislative Bills Commission.

Comrades, the Soviet courts, armed with the wise instructions of Lenin and Stalin, have played an enormous part in the fight for the abolition of the exploiter classes in our country. The Soviet courts have also played a great part in exposing and ruthlessly exterminating the enemies of the people, who tried to restore capitalism in the U.S.S.R. The principal hornets' nests of the vile Trotskyite, Bukharinite and bourgeois-nationalist agents of fascism have been destroyed.

Armed with the new Regulations Governing the Judicial System, based on the Stalin Constitution, the Soviet courts will display even greater vigilance in their work in the future. Not a single enemy of the Soviet people must escape the sword of Soviet justice.

In adopting the draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System, we members of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. are confident that

our justice will cope with its tasks of protecting our Socialist country from any and every encroachment on the part of enemies of the people, of protecting the Socialist system of economy and Socialist property, and of protecting the political, labour, dwelling and other rights and interests of the citizens of the first Socialist country in the world. (*Applause.*)

The Chairman: I call upon the President of the Supreme Court of the R.S.F.S.R., Comrade Solodilov.

A. P. Solodilov: Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet. A draft of Regulations Governing the Judicial System of the U.S.S.R., and of the Union and Autonomous Republics has been submitted for consideration to the Supreme Soviet of the U. S. S. R.

This is one of the first laws drafted by the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R on the basis of the Stalin Constitution. It has been worked out under the immediate guidance of the head of the Soviet Government, Vyacheslav Mikhailovich Molotov. (*Applause.*)

A large number of practical judiciary workers took part in working out this draft.

The courts administer justice. Administrative functions are outside their scope. That is why the draft provides that judges are to be relieved of administrative functions, so that they may devote themselves entirely to judicial work.

The deputies who have spoken here have noted that there is red tape in the judiciary bodies. To a certain extent this may be ascribed to the fact that the courts have sometimes had to discharge functions that were outside their province. The presidents of the courts sometimes lost sight of the judicial activity. Now the administrative functions are being turned over entirely to the organs of the People's Commissariat of Justice.

The Stalin Constitution elevates our courts to an unprecedented height. The Soviet courts, as an organ of the power of the workers and peasants, are independent and subject only to the law. This is the provision of Article 112 of the great Stalin Constitution.

In capitalist countries the courts are controlled by the money-bags. There the courts are in the hands of the exploiters, in the hands of the landlords and capitalists, whose will they enforce.

The draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System have been drawn up fully in accord with the Stalin Constitution. The main principles of the Soviet judicial system are the participation of the working people themselves in the administration of justice, public trial, the guarantee of the right of the accused to counsel for defence and of the freedom to present proof, and strict observance of the Soviet laws. All this is reflected in the draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System.

The draft Regulations safeguard the independence of the judges and provide for special procedure for the removal of judges from office.

In all their activity the Soviet courts proceed from the principles of the Stalin Constitution. Our courts are merciless in dealing with enemies of the people, and they will continue to root out the Trotskyites and Bukharinites—the agents of fascism.

The Soviet courts protect the rights accorded in the Stalin Constitution to citizens of the U.S.S.R. The Soviet courts have been instrumental in putting a stop to abuses. An example of this was furnished by the recent trials in the Supreme Court of the R.S.F.S.R. of two former procurators—Yurchuk (Yaroslavl Region) and Bespamentov (Shatsk District, Ryazan Region)—who had instituted criminal proceedings against citizens on unwarranted charges. The Supreme Court of the R.S.F.S.R., put a stop to the unlawful actions of these procurators and sentenced them to five years' imprisonment.

Our laws emanate from the people, they are promulgated by our sole legislative body—the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Comrades, I declare on behalf of the workers of the Supreme Court of the R.S.F.S.R. that we will not deviate from the laws passed by you, that in our daily work we will put into effect the uniform Socialist law, and do our part to enhance the might of our great Soviet state, created and led by the Party of Lenin and Stalin. (*Applause.*)

The Chairman: I call upon Deputy Manukyants.

M. S. Manukyants (*Jerabert Area, Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region*): Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet. I fully support the motion of the deputies who have spoken here to adopt the Regulations Governing the Judicial System of the U.S.S.R., and of the Union and Autonomous Republics submitted by the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. to the Second Session of the Supreme Soviet.

The great Stalin Constitution has raised the Soviet courts to an unprecedented height. The Stalin Constitution imposes upon the Soviet courts the responsible task of protecting the interests of the Socialist state from enemy encroachment. The Stalin Constitution imposes upon the Soviet courts the responsible task of strengthening Socialist law and protecting the rights of the citizens of the Soviet Union.

If these tasks are to be fulfilled, it is necessary to improve the work of the judicial bodies considerably. The Soviet courts must work infinitely better than they have done so far.

Article 112 of the Stalin Constitution shows what exceptional confidence is placed in the people's courts. It states: "Judges are independent and subject only to the law." The Soviet laws are the expression of the will of all the people of our country. It is not fortuitously that the role of the Soviet courts is so great, for they stand guard over the Soviet laws. Our people's judges have come from the very thick of the masses of the working people, they are of the flesh and blood of the people, they are men and women who have gone through the school of experience.

In 1937, of the total number of people's judges 43 per cent were workers, 34 per cent employees, and 23 per cent peasants. In tsarist Russia officials in the courts of justice were recruited mainly from the nobility, the landlords, merchants and officers. 70 per cent of the members of superior courts were recruited from officers' families, and 12 per cent from the merchant estate.

The bourgeois courts serve the interests of the capitalists and protect private capitalist property. In the constitutions of bourgeois countries one may find the independence of the courts mentioned in one form or another, but it is a sham independence. In every bourgeois country the courts serve the interests of the capitalists; they serve to oppress the working people.

The judges in bourgeois countries are officials with special property and educational qualifications. In the U.S.A. the courts are run by officials whose office is nominally elective, but actually open to the highest bidder, as constituting a lucrative business. The sale of judges' positions sometimes occurs in England and other countries as well. It is clear that the working people cannot hope to obtain justice from such judges. These judges do the bidding of the capitalists and landlords.

In a number of bourgeois countries, particularly the fascist countries, women are entirely debarred from the office of judges.

The Soviet power has created a judicial system that is new in principle, one based on the election of judges from the ranks of the working people, on the right of recall, and on the accountability of the judges to the working people.

Socialist justice in the hands of the working people of the Soviet Union is, above all, a powerful weapon for the suppression of the enemies of the people—spies, diversionists, agents of fascist intelligence services, and Trotskyite and Bukharinite bandits; at the same time it is a powerful means of educating the masses in the spirit of devotion to the fatherland and to the cause of Socialism.

Comrade Stalin teaches us: "We must bear in mind that the growth of the power of the Soviet state will increase the resistance of the last remnants of the dying classes. It is precisely because they are dying and are now living their last days that they will pass from one form of attack to another, to sharper forms of attack, appeal to the backward strata of the population and mobilize them against the Soviet power." (*Problems of Leninism*, Russ. ed., p. 510.)

This imposes upon us the duty of increasing our vigilance ten-fold.

The enemies of the people who had wormed their way into the judiciary tried to undermine the role and prestige of our Soviet courts, to handicap the judicial bodies in their work of strengthening Socialist law, and to minimize their importance.

The agents of fascism have been smashed by the powerful blow inflicted upon them by the Soviet intelligence service and the Soviet courts, which visited severe punishment on the despicable criminals.

Comrades, I want to touch upon the work of the People's Commissariat of Justice of Azerbaidjan. We must say outright that the work of the People's Commissariat of Justice of Azerbaidjan has been unsatisfactory. There are piles of cases in the Supreme Court of the republic awaiting action, both in the Appellate Collegium on Criminal Cases and in the Appellate Collegium on Civil Cases. The work of training judiciary workers is absolutely unsatisfactory. Not all the people's courts have their own premises. The court divisions are incorrectly delimited. I do not

think that the Code of Laws of Azerbaidjan has ever been published. You cannot find it on sale, or even in the people's courts.

Each decision of a Soviet court must bring home to the masses the great ideas of Socialism, the ideas of the inviolability of Socialist public property.

We deputies fully approve of the draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System submitted for consideration to the Second Session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. These regulations have been drawn up on the basis of the Stalin Constitution.

Up to the present, judges have been elected by the local Soviets. Article 109 of the Stalin Constitution states: "People's Courts are elected by the citizens of the district on the basis of universal, direct and equal suffrage and secret ballot for a term of three years."

This procedure in the election of the people's courts frees the latter entirely of all local influences and still further enhances the importance and prestige of the courts.

Unlike the previous laws, the draft of the new Regulations Governing the Judicial System establishes a uniform judicial system for the whole Soviet Union.

The draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System of the U.S.S. R., and of the Union and Autonomous Republics again demonstrates before the whole world the genuine democracy of the Soviet state.

It is beyond doubt that the new Regulations Governing the Judicial System will become a new powerful weapon in the hands of the Soviet people, guided by the glorious Bolshevik Party and the great leader and teacher, Comrade Stalin, in their fight for further victories of Socialism. (*Loud applause.*)

The Chairman: I call upon Comrade Nikitchenko.

I. T. Nikitchenko (*Divisional Military Jurist. Vice-President of the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R.*): Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet. The draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System of the U.S.S.R., and of the Union and Autonomous Republics submitted by the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. to the Second Session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. are based on the principles of Socialist democracy and fully conform to the characteristics and requirements of the Stalin era.

The existing laws on the judicial system have played an enormous historic role. But at the present juncture, after the adoption of the Stalin Constitution of the U.S.S.R., in which the great and profound changes that have taken place in our country are reflected with maximum clarity, this legislation is to a great extent out of keeping with the demands that are presented to the Soviet courts, and with the tasks which they are confronted with.

The Constitution of the U.S.S.R. and the Constitutions of the Union and Autonomous Republics impose upon the Soviet courts the honourable, and at the same time responsible, obligation of administering justice in the country.

The task of justice in the U.S.S.R., as stated in Article 2 of

the draft Regulations, is to protect the social and state system of the U.S.S.R., the Socialist economic system and Socialist property from any and every encroachment.

One of the principal tasks of the Soviet courts is to protect the political, labour, dwelling and other personal and property rights and interests of the working people as guaranteed by the Stalin Constitution.

Another and no less important task of the Soviet courts is to protect the rights and interests of state institutions, enterprises, collective farms and public organizations.

The Soviet courts, while punishing criminals, at the same time set themselves the aim of reforming and re-educating them. By all their activities the Soviet courts educate the citizens of our country in the spirit of devotion to the country and the cause of Socialism, in the spirit of respect for Socialist law and care for sacred Socialist property; they teach citizens to respect labour discipline and the rules of Socialist human intercourse, and honestly to perform their state and public duties.

All these tasks are clearly and distinctly reflected in the draft Regulations.

The Stalin Constitution has elevated the Soviet courts to a great height and assigned to them one of the most honourable places in the entire Soviet state system.

The bourgeois courts, which are run by representatives of the exploiter classes and by corrupt officials, execute the will of the ruling classes of capitalist society and protect the pillars of capitalism—private ownership of the means and instruments of production.

The Great October Socialist Revolution smashed the bourgeois and landlord courts of tsarist Russia and created the Soviet judicial system, which is different in principle from the bourgeois system, and which has played an enormous part in suppressing the exploiters and furthering Socialist discipline and self-discipline among the working people.

The Stalin Constitution marks a higher stage in the development of the Soviet courts as the most democratic and genuinely popular courts, as a powerful means of safeguarding the achievements of the Socialist Revolution and of protecting the interests of the Socialist state of workers and peasants, the rights and interests of the Soviet people.

The most important principle of the Soviet judicial system, which has been in force since the very first days of Soviet power, is that judges must be elected.

The Stalin Constitution marks the further democratization of the Soviet judicial system in all respects, and also in respect of the election of judges.

In conformity with Article 109 of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R., the people's courts, which stand closest to the population and which deal with the majority of criminal and civil cases, are elected by the citizens of the district on the basis of universal, direct and equal suffrage and secret ballot. Thus the democratization of the courts is realized to an extent unparalleled in the history of human society.

All the other courts, including also the special courts (military tri-

bunals, railway line courts and water transport line courts), the Supreme Courts of the autonomous and Union republics and the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R., are also elected according to the procedure provided for in the Constitution.

The principle of Socialist democracy in the organization of the judicial system and in the activity of the courts is strikingly expressed in the fact that in all the courts assessors take part in the administration of justice. This signifies the realization of Article 11 of the Program of the Communist Party, which states that the C.P.S.U.(B.) "must strive to enlist the entire toiling population in the exercise of judicial functions. . . ."

Article 11 of the draft Regulations provides that all citizens enjoying electoral rights may be judges or people's assessors. As you see, the draft does away with even those insignificant restrictions that exist according to the law now in operation, which requires of candidates a certain standing as political workers or as workers in the organs of Soviet justice.

The principle of Socialist democracy is also expressed in the fact that in all courts of the U.S.S.R. cases are heard in public, unless otherwise provided for by law, and the accused is guaranteed the right to counsel for defence. This principle is further expressed in the fact that judicial proceedings are conducted in the language of the Union republic, the autonomous republic or the autonomous region, persons not knowing this language being ensured every opportunity of fully acquainting themselves with the material pertaining to the case through an interpreter and likewise the right to speak in court in their own language.

The draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System of the U.S.S.R. and of the Union and Autonomous Republics submitted for consideration to the Session of the Supreme Soviet eliminate the existing multiformity in the legislation of the Union and autonomous Republics dealing with the judicial system. In conformity with the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. and the Constitutions of the Union and autonomous republics, a uniform judicial system is being created, corresponding to the demands and tasks which the Soviet courts are confronted with.

The enemies of the people who had wormed their way into the judiciary tried to undermine the prestige of the courts and the confidence of the Soviet people in the courts; they tried to bring about the breakdown of the judicial system.

The enemies have been exposed by the Soviet intelligence service, headed by the Stalin People's Commissar, Nikolai Ivanovich Yezhov, and have been levelled with the dust.

The new Regulations Governing the Judicial System raise the organizational structure of the courts to the level of the political tasks which the Stalin Constitution sets the Soviet courts.

The court trials of the fascist gangs of the Trotskyite and Bukharinite spies, diversionists and assassins held not long ago have shown that our Soviet courts are firmly guarding and will continue to guard the interests of the Socialist state and the Soviet people.

The new Regulations Governing the Judicial System will serve

further to consolidate our Soviet courts, to enhance their prestige even more in the eyes of the working people, and to turn the courts into a powerful means for enlisting tens of millions of working people in the administration of the state.

The Regulations Governing the Judicial System arm the courts with new means of fighting any and every criminal design of the enemies of the people against the Soviet state and the rights and interests of the citizens of our country, which are safeguarded by the Stalin Constitution. The Session of the Supreme Soviet will undoubtedly adopt the draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System of the U.S.S.R., and of the Union and Autonomous Republics.

This is in the interests of the great cause for the realization of which the working people of our country are fighting under the banner of the Bolshevik Party, under the wise guidance of the leader of peoples, the great Stalin. This is in the interests of our country. (*Applause.*)

The Chairman: I call upon Deputy Barmashov.

K. A. Barmashov (*Semipalatinsk Area, Kazakh S.S.R.*): Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. The draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System of the U.S.S.R., and of the Union and Autonomous Republics, now under discussion, are of exceptional significance.

Before the working people of the whole world the Soviet people are building up their revolutionary law, based on the principles of the Stalin Constitution, whose author is the great and beloved leader of peoples, Comrade Stalin. (*Loud and prolonged applause.*)

Our courts are functioning under the eyes of the whole people. The Soviet courts protect the Socialist system and revolutionary law. The Soviet courts turn the sharp edge of revolutionary law against thieves and wreckers in public economy, against rowdies and plunderers of Socialist property, and against the despicable Trotskyite and Bukharinite agents of fascism.

The courts of the capitalist countries protect the interests of the bourgeoisie. The bourgeois courts protect the exploiters against the exploited, the rich against the poor. Small wonder that with regard to the courts of tsarist Russia the people used to say: "Don't start a fight with a strong man, don't go to law with a rich man."

On the basis of the Regulations Governing the Judicial System of the U.S.S.R., and of the Union and Autonomous Republics the people of the Soviet Union will elect their best sons to the courts.

It is the great and honourable task of the courts to protect the interests of woman, the interests of mother and child, particularly, in the Central Asian republics, in which formerly women were bought and sold like chattels. Today, however, we have many women working as judges and as directors of enterprises, or in charge of districts and regions.

Great indeed are the tasks of the Soviet courts, and honourable the role of the Soviet judges—the chosen of the people. A judge must be armed with the teaching of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin; he must know the Soviet laws and apply them correctly in practice. The courts

must examine attentively into every case, so as not to convict the innocent and not to acquit the guilty. The courts must be vigilant, so as not to overlook the enemies. The Soviet courts must protect the working people from the arbitrary actions of the bureaucrats and the over-cautious whom we still have in our midst, and strike fear into the hearts of the enemies of the people. The Soviet courts, carrying out the will of the people, must show no mercy to the enemies, the traitors, the despicable remnants of the Trotskyite and Bukharinite scum.

In the Kazakh S.S.R. we have 212 new judges, recent arrivals in our courts. They constitute 51.4 per cent of the total number of judiciary workers in the courts of the republic.

Many of the young judiciary workers have already gained a reputation among the population as considerate and good judges.

Many of these new workers need assistance. But they get little of it from the regional courts.

Article 4 of the draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System of the U.S.S.R., and of the Union and Autonomous Republics states:

"Soviet courts in applying punitive measures to criminals not only punish the criminals, but also aim at correcting and reforming them.

"By all their activities the courts educate the citizens of the U.S.S.R. in the spirit of devotion to the country and the cause of Socialism, in the spirit of Socialist law, of care for Socialist property, of labour discipline, honesty toward state and public duty and respect for the rules of Socialist human intercourse."

This article is distinctly in line with the teaching of Lenin and Stalin concerning the tasks of our courts.

In our republic there have been cases of errors committed by the courts: of crimes wrongly qualified and failure to take proper measures to fight rowdyism. The courts of appeal did not bring to light cases of violations committed by the courts and did not carry on the necessary struggle against such violations. To this day no arrangements have been made for the people's judges giving account of their work to the population.

For a long time we have been requesting the People's Commissariat of Justice to organize a law institute in the city of Alma-Ata. The People's Commissariat of Justice has been consoling us with assurances that the institute will soon be organized, but so far there is no institute.

At the First Session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., the deputies criticized the work of the People's Commissariat of Justice of the U.S.S.R., but this criticism has apparently had little effect.

Article 5 of the draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System of the U.S.S.R., and of the Union and Autonomous Republics states: "Justice in the U.S.S.R. is administered on the following principles: . . . b) uniform criminal, civil and procedural legislation of the U.S.S.R. binding on all courts." The principle of uniform legislation of the U.S.S.R. will further improve the work of the courts in passing sentences and rendering judgments.

In Kazakhstan we still have no codes of laws in our own language. The People's Commissariat of Justice of the U.S.S.R. knows that the old translations of the codes of laws, which were made by the bourgeois nationalists, the enemies of the people, were full of deliberate distortions, and cannot be used. The absence of codes of laws hinders the young judges from mastering their practical work and improving their legal education. The People's Commissariat of Justice must immediately proceed to publish the codes of laws of the Union republics in the languages of the republics.

I move that the draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System of the U.S.S.R., and of the Union and Autonomous Republics be adopted.

At a time when in the fascist countries all law has been discarded and replaced by arbitrary rule, lawlessness and terrorist reprisals of the exploiters against the working people, we witness in the U.S.S.R. the glorious advancement of Socialist law, discipline and order, directed to protect the interests of the whole Soviet people and of each citizen individually.

Under the leadership of the Party of Lenin and Stalin, and with the direct assistance of the Stalin People's Commissar, Comrade Yezhov, the Kazakh people have smashed the Trotskyite, Bukharinite and nationalist-fascist gangs of spies and diversionists, the hired dogs of fascism; and they will deal as ruthlessly with the enemies of the people in the future.

At Lake Hasan the Japanese military clique tried to accomplish its rapacious designs. Our valiant Workers' and Peasants' Red Army administered a crushing rebuff to the aggressors. This should be a lesson to the fascist instigators of war.

With each day that passes our country enhances its might and confidently marches, under the wise guidance of the Bolshevik Party, under the guidance of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) and the great leader of peoples, Comrade Stalin, onward, to Communism. (*Loud applause.*)

The Chairman: With this permit me to close the sitting of the Soviet of Nationalities.

The next sitting of the Soviet of Nationalities will be held at 6 p. m. tomorrow.

SIXTH SITTING

August 16, 1938

N. M. Shvernik, Chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities, and C. A. Aslanova, vice-Chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities, take their seats on the dais, and the members of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. and the leaders of the Party and the Government enter the boxes. They are greeted with loud and prolonged applause. All rise.

N. M. Shvernik (*in the chair*): I hereby open the the sitting of the Soviet of Nationalities. We shall continue the debate on the draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System of the U.S.S.R., and of the Union and Autonomous Republics. I call upon Deputy Bakaldin.

F. F. Bakaldin (*Sterlitamak Area, Bashkir A.S.S.R.*): Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet. The draft Regulations Governing the Judical System of the U.S.S.R., and of the Union and Autonomous Republics submitted to the Session for consideration and adoption fully correspond to all the requirements of our Socialist era, to all the demands of the great Stalin Constitution.

Basing themselves in their daily activities on the incontrovertible teachings of Lenin and Stalin, and enlisting the co-operation of the masses of the working people, the Soviet courts have dealt crushing blows at the enemies of the people in the course of the twenty years of glorious and stubborn struggle.

From the very first days of the Great October Socialist Revolution the Soviet courts have been waging a stern fight against counter-revolutionaries, saboteurs and plunderers of public property.

Following the instructions of Lenin and Stalin, the Soviet courts have been inculcating in the masses of the working people a new, Socialist consciousness, a new, Socialist discipline.

The merits of our Soviet courts have been particularly vividly revealed in the trials of the gangs of the bestial Trotskyite and Bukharinite agents of fascism.

Observing all the rules of court procedure, our court and our procurator at these trials revealed to the entire world the beastly face of the Trotskyite and Bukharinite scoundrels and brought to light

their dastardly and brazen traitorous activities against our glorious country. The Soviet court brought this scum to the pillory.

Comrades, the unparalleled growth of Socialist economy and of the Socialist culture and consciousness of the masses of working people, and our country's grand principles of democracy, which are clearly and precisely recorded in the great Stalin Constitution, demand the further improvement and perfection of the work of our courts and procuratorship. Only in our country, which is building up its life on the basis of the great Stalin Constitution, is the principle of the election of judges and their independence really ensured. Our courts firmly protect the interests of our Socialist fatherland, our sacred and inviolable Socialist property, and the rights of the citizens of the U.S.S.R.

In bourgeois countries, particularly in the fascist countries, judges are not elected but appointed. In these countries the judges are obedient tools in the hands of the capitalists, landlords and bankers. They are entirely dependent on their masters and are used to protect the interests of the capitalist system and preserve the cruel exploitation of the working people; they are used to suppress the people.

Comrades, while the Soviet courts and procuratorship have exceptional services to their credit, I should like to note a number of serious defects in their work.

In the Bashkir A.S.S.R. we have many judges who are not equal to their duties. There have been quite a number of instances of people wrongly tried and sentenced in cases in which public censure would have been sufficient. Not infrequently action is instituted against people on charges that do not correspond to their offences, which cannot be characterized otherwise than as a tendency to be on the safe side.

The People's Commissariat of Justice has been neglecting the training and education of judiciary workers. Take the Bashkir school for judiciary workers. The instruction given in this school is unsatisfactory. Students are not properly selected, and as a result most of those graduating this school cannot be used to work in the courts.

For the future it will be necessary so to organize the work of the People's Commissariat of Justice as to centre its main attention on the training of forces.

The existence of red tape is particularly noticeable in many judicial bodies in our republic. For instance, in five months of 1938 the People's Commissariat of Justice of Bashkiria received 889 complaints, of which more than 400 referred to actions of people's courts, and nearly as many to actions of court agents. The majority were complaints about delays in the hearing of cases by people's courts. Many were about delays in the execution of court decisions.

A particularly unsightly picture is presented by the slowness with which cases are handled. For example, in Division No. 1 of the people's court of the Askino district of the Bashkir A.S.S.R. there were 203 cases awaiting investigation at the beginning of the first quarter of 1938, and towards the end of the quarter the number of such cases had grown to 366, including 229 civil cases. In the Iglino district there were 120 cases

awaiting investigation at the beginning of May 1938, and by the end of May the number of such cases had grown to 250.

The figures cited clearly prove that there is a great deal of red tape in the work of some of the judicial bodies.

There are some courts that work well. For instance, the People's Court of the Aurgazin District of the Bashkir A.S.S.R. had 177 cases awaiting investigation at the beginning of the first quarter of 1938, and at the end of the quarter only 66 such cases remained. In the People's Court of the Belokatai district there were 87 cases awaiting investigation at the beginning of May, and at the end of May only 22 remained.

Considering that the Aurgazin and Belokatai courts handle a much larger number of cases than the Askino and Iglino courts, it is clear that where the judges are honest, persistent and accurate in their work, there are fewer delays of cases and fewer judicial errors, whereas in courts in which the judges work without enthusiasm and without a sense of responsibility to the people, cases are delayed for months on end.

The Supreme Court of the Bashkir A.S.S.R. has also been guilty of impermissible delays in acting on complaints and protests. Here is an instance: a case concerning a labour dispute of a railway worker of the town of Beloretsk was received on August 7, 1937, but was not sent for consideration until July 8, 1938. Consequently, the case had been pigeonholed for nearly a year. Or another instance: In the Chishmy District the People's Court of Division No. 2 sentenced Citizen Abrosimov to one year imprisonment for the theft of 29 rubles. The Appellate Collegium confirmed the sentence of the people's court. The Supreme Court of the Bashkir A.S.S.R. dismissed the case on December 23, 1937, but Citizen Abrosimov was not released from custody until July 1938. It turned out that while the Supreme Court had passed its decision on December 23, 1937, it sent this decision for execution on February 18, 1938.

Some members of the Supreme Court of the Bashkir A.S.S.R. still have on their files uninvestigated cases which were referred to them in 1936 and 1937.

There is a similar state of affairs in the Supreme Court of the R.S.F.S.R. There are 200 appeals from Bashkiria which have been referred to the Supreme Court of the R.S.F.S.R., on which no action has been taken to this day.

In citing these facts I do not imply that all our courts work badly. No. These are errors of individual courts and procurators' offices. But we cannot pass by such facts.

I shall now touch on the work of the comrades' courts. We are wont to underestimate their tremendous importance for the education of the masses of the working people. I shall cite one fact relating to the life of the workers of the Ishimbayevo oil fields. Two workers in the oil fields systematically violated labour discipline. Administrative measures taken against them proved of no avail. But when their case came up before the comrades' court, and the attention of all the workers was drawn to this fact, the result was quite different.

More attention must be paid to the work of comrades' courts.

The next question I wish to touch upon is that of creating suitable conditions for the work of the courts. Most of our courts have to carry on their work under difficult conditions. The premises of the courts are as a rule bad and poorly equipped.

Well-furnished, suitable premises must be provided for the courts without delay.

Comrades, we must begin to prepare for the forthcoming elections of people's judges on the basis of the Stalin Constitution. We must arrange on a wide scale for reports of the courts to the electors, and nominate staunch and honest people as candidates for the responsible posts of judges; we must nominate candidates who can be trusted to root out the remnants of the enemies of the people to the last, who will vigilantly and firmly protect the interests of our country and the rights of the citizens of the U.S.S.R., and who will act entirely in conformity with the demands of the Stalin Constitution and thus raise our courts to heights hitherto unattained.

I am firmly convinced that the draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System of the U.S.S.R., and of the Union and Autonomous Republics submitted to the Session for consideration will be approved and adopted, since they fully conform to the demands of the great Stalin Constitution and express the will of the great Soviet people. The new Regulations Governing the Judicial System will play an enormous part in attaining Communism, which we are building, and shall continue to build, under the guidance of the glorious Communist Party, under the guidance of the great leader and friend of peoples, Comrade Stalin. (*Applause.*)

The Chairman: I call upon Deputy Kulov.

K. D. Kulov (*Alagir-Ardon Area, North Ossetian A.S.S.R.*): Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. The draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System of the U.S.S.R., and of the Union and Autonomous Republics submitted by the Council of People's Commissars to the Second Session raise the Soviet courts to the level of the demands of the great Stalin Constitution.

I fully second the motion of the deputies who have spoken here to adopt the draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System.

The proposed new Regulations Governing the Judicial System of the U.S.S.R., and of the Union and Autonomous Republics have been drawn up in conformity with the great principles of the Stalin Constitution, with the principles of Socialist democracy. This draft, which is of tremendous importance in the life of the Socialist state of workers and peasants, corresponds to the demands of the Stalin era, of the era of Socialism victorious.

The Stalin Constitution places Socialist jurisprudence and law, the Soviet courts, on an unprecedentedly high ideological and political plane.

The Soviet courts occupy one of the most honoured places in our entire state system. The Soviet courts are the most democratic in the world; they are genuinely popular courts. In the course of more than twenty

years they have been guarding the achievements of the Great October Socialist Revolution and protecting the interests and rights of the working people of our country, who have created a life of happiness and joy.

The bourgeois courts and bourgeois law protect the foundations of capitalism: private property and the exploitation of man by man.

As early as 1848, Marx and Engels wrote in the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*:

"...Your jurisprudence is but the will of your class made into a law for all, a will whose essential character and direction are determined by the economical conditions of existence of your class."

The bourgeois courts, as class courts, are made up entirely of representatives of the exploiter classes, whose bidding they are doing.

V. I. Lenin pointed out that the bourgeois court is "a subtle instrument for the ruthless suppression of the exploited and for the protection of the interests of the moneybags." The bourgeois courts are an instrument for the ruthless suppression and oppression of the masses of working people.

The Great October Socialist Revolution overthrew the whole bourgeois and landlord court system and created the new, Soviet courts, which were required primarily for the ruthless struggle against the exploiters, for suppressing their criminal activities. At the same time the Soviet courts were necessary also as an organ for the education of the population in the spirit of a Socialist attitude to work and to discipline.

The principles underlying the organization of the Soviet courts are those of Leninism. All of Soviet court legislation, all the Soviet criminal and procedural laws are imbued with these principles.

Socialist jurisprudence, our laws, expresses the will of the working class and of the whole Soviet people, emancipated from exploitation. The sharp edge of the Soviet laws is turned against the enemies of the people—the Trotskyite, Bukharinite and bourgeois-nationalist bandits, spies and diversionists, against plunderers of public property and against rowdies.

Since 1924, tremendous changes have taken place in the life of our vast Soviet Union. It is therefore obvious that the law of 1924 dealing with the principles of the judicial system has to a considerable extent become obsolete, since it does not reflect all the changes that have taken place during this time, and it does not reflect the characteristic features of the era of victorious Socialism.

The tremendous changes that have taken place in the life of the U.S.S.R., which are reflected in the Stalin Constitution, confront the Soviet courts with new tasks. Comrade Stalin defined these tasks with exceptional precision and clarity at the Joint Plenum of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission of our Party in January 1933. Comrade Stalin said at that plenum that "the main concern of revolutionary law at the present time is the protection of public property." And in his historic report on the Draft Constitution at the Extraordinary Eighth Congress of Soviets, Comrade Stalin said: "... we need stability of laws now more than ever."

It is all these new tasks that are reflected in the draft Regulations

Governing the Judicial System submitted by the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. Article 2 of the Regulations states: "It is the task of justice in the U.S.S.R. to protect from any and every encroachment.

"a) the social and state system of the U.S.S.R., the Socialist system of economy and Socialist property established by the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. and the Constitutions of the Union and autonomous republics."

The enemies of the Soviet people turn in their savage hatred against Socialist property—the inviolable and sacred foundation of Socialist society. That is why the Soviet courts must continue to deal ruthlessly with the enemies of Socialism and vigilantly observe the laws protecting Socialist property.

The draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System impose upon the Soviet courts the task of protecting "the political, labour, dwelling and other personal and property rights and interests of citizens of the U.S.S.R. guaranteed by the Constitution of the U.S.S.R., or the Constitutions of the Union and autonomous republics."

The draft Regulations speak of the task "to secure the strict and undeviating observance of Soviet laws by all institutions, official persons and citizens of the U.S.S.R."

Thus, the Soviet courts protect from any and every encroachment the rights of all the Soviet people to a life of happiness, prosperity and culture.

The Soviet courts are genuinely popular courts. Our Soviet courts have always been the most democratic courts in the world. They are the embodiment of the principles of Socialist democracy.

Article 109 of the great Stalin Constitution states:

"People's Courts are elected by the citizens of the district on the basis of universal, direct and equal suffrage and secret ballot for a term of three years."

Comrades, in no other country in the world, outside our Socialist country, does such genuine democracy of justice exist.

In the bourgeois countries the judges are the representatives of the exploiter classes. Only in our flourishing country are the working people actually guaranteed the right to take part in the work of the courts. In our country, any citizen enjoying electoral rights may be elected judge or people's assessor.

One of the most important principles underlying the organization and activities of our Soviet courts is the principle of the independence of judges and their being subject only to the law. This principle is vividly reflected in the draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System submitted to us for adoption. Nobody but the electors themselves can remove a judge from his post.

The procedure for instituting criminal proceedings against a judge is strictly established in the draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System. This procedure unquestionably tends to enhance the role and significance of the courts, to raise their prestige and ensure the passing of correct court decisions based on the law.

The Soviet courts exterminate the enemies of the people—traitors to the Socialist country, terrorists, diversionists, spies and plunderers of Socialist property. At the same time the Soviet courts reform those who violate the Socialist order established in the country because they have not rid themselves of the survivals of capitalism in their minds.

The draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System stress the great role of the Soviet courts as an educating factor. The draft states:

"By all their activities the courts educate the citizens of the U.S.S.R. in the spirit of devotion to the country and the cause of Socialism, in the spirit of Socialist law, of care for Socialist property, of labour discipline, honesty toward state and public duty and respect for the rules of Socialist human intercourse."

The draft Regulations provide for a judicial system, uniform throughout the Soviet Union, that will fully and wholly ensure the interests of the Union and autonomous republics and the autonomous regions. The judicial system fully guarantees the rights and interests of all the nationalities of the great Soviet Union and adapts the Soviet courts to the local conditions of each national republic and autonomous region.

In this respect Article 7 of the draft is of great significance. It states:

"In accordance with Article 110 of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R., judicial proceedings in the U.S.S.R., are conducted in the language of the Union republic, the autonomous republic or the autonomous region, persons not knowing this language being ensured every opportunity of fully acquainting themselves with the material pertaining to the case through an interpreter and likewise the right to speak in court in their own language."

Comrade Stalin pointed out that "to conduct the schools, courts, the administration and organs of government in the native language means precisely putting Soviet autonomy into practice; for Soviet autonomy is but the sum of these various institutions enveloped in a Ukrainian, Turkestanian, or Kirghiz form."

The enemies of the people did a great deal of damage in the organs of the People's Commissariat of Justice and in the courts. The Trotskyite, Bukharinite and bourgeois-nationalist bandits who had wormed their way into leading positions in the organs of the courts in the North Ossetian Republic tried to undermine the role and prestige of the Soviet courts, to undermine the confidence of the working people in the courts. The enemies tried to disrupt the conduct of court proceedings in the native Ossetian language. But they failed. The enemies of the people have been exposed and crushed by the valiant Soviet intelligence service, led by the Stalin People's Commissar, Comrade Yezhov. (*Loud applause.*)

At the First Session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. the work of the People's Commissariat of Justice of the U.S.S.R. and its organs was subjected to serious criticism. However, the People's Commissariat of Justice has so far taken no effective measures to improve the various organs of justice. To this day little is done to train forces for the judicial organs, particularly in the autonomous republics. The People's Commissariat of Justice of the U. S. S. R., and particularly the People's Commissariat of Justice of the R.S.F.S.R., must take a real interest in the training of forces and lend practical assistance to the judicial bodies.

I must say that the People's Commissariat of Justice of our republic has done very little to arrange for the conduct of court proceedings in the national districts of our republic in the Ossetian language. In this respect there is still an enormous amount of work ahead of us.

The whole of Chapter VIII of the draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System deals with court deputies. Thus, the court deputies are assigned an important place in the Soviet judicial system. The court deputies are charged with the responsible and honourable work of carrying court decisions into execution. It must be noted that in the People's Commissariat of Justice the court deputies are the most neglected forces. It often happens that doubtful persons become court deputies; sometimes they are even enemies of the people who discredit the Soviet courts by their criminal actions.

I am confident that the People's Commissar of Justice of the U. S. S.R, Comrade Rychkov, will soon take the necessary measures to improve the work of the court deputies.

Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet. The draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System proceed from the necessity of further consolidating the Soviet courts, of improving their activities, and of the further democratization of the Soviet judicial system.

The Soviet courts have shown no mercy and will continue to show no mercy to the enemies of Socialism—the Trotskyite, Bukharinite and bourgeois-nationalist spies, diversionists, wreckers, and also the plunderers of Socialist property. Our Soviet courts will acquit themselves with honour in carrying out the task of further strengthening Socialist law entrusted to them by the Soviet people, who, led by the Party of Lenin and Stalin, led by the wise and great Stalin, are marching towards new victories for Communism. (*Loud and prolonged applause*).

The Chairman: I call upon Deputy Mussinsky.

V. S. Mussinsky (*Northern Area, R.S.F.S.R.*): Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet. The draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System of the U.S.S.R., and of the Union and Autonomous Republics submitted by the Council of People's Commissars to the Second Session of the Supreme Soviet for consideration and adoption are one of the most important political documents of our country, correctly defining the status of the people's courts, their organization and activity.

The draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System of the U.S.S.R, and of the Union and Autonomous Republics proceed entirely from the Fundamental Law of the U.S.S.R.—the Stalin Constitution.

Comrades, we all remember the words of our great Stalin in his report at the Extraordinary Eighth Congress of Soviets:

"We must at last put an end to a situation in which not one but a number of bodies legislate. Such a situation runs counter to the principle that laws should be stable. And we need stability of laws now more

than ever. Legislative power in the U.S.S.R. must be exercised only by one body, the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R''

"A Constitution does not preclude but presupposes current legislative work on the part of the future legislative bodies,'' Comrade Stalin said in the same report.

We members of the Supreme Soviet are now performing this legislative work in discussing and adopting the draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System of the U.S.S.R., and of the Union and Autonomous Republics.

During the discussion of the first item on the agenda of the Session—the unified state Budget—the members of the Supreme Soviet emphasized the great victories of Socialism in our country. In discussing the question of the judicial system of the U.S.S.R. and of the Union and autonomous republics., we must again note these victories, which are embodied in the Stalin Constitution. We must emphasize that the Soviet courts are genuinely popular courts always guarding the interests of the people. Once the Regulations Governing the Judicial System are adopted by the Session and put into practice, the Soviet courts will become even more closely linked with the masses of the people, they will stand even nearer to the working people. While noting the vast achievements of the Land of Soviets, over which the red banner of Socialism victorious proudly waves, we must not forget that before the Great October Socialist Revolution in 1917 the peoples of our multi-national Socialist state had been oppressed by the bourgeoisie and the landlords. In all the judicial organs of tsarist Russia, from the highest to the lowest, the judges were faithful servants of the ruling classes. Justices of the peace and judges of area courts and superior courts were recruited from the ranks of the nobility, the landlords and the merchants. The Senate, as the highest court, was made up exclusively of noblemen. It is obvious that such courts were willing tools of the ruling class.

The peoples of the Soviet Union will never forget the vengeance wreaked on the Bolshevik group of the State Duma because the members of this group were loyal to the working class.

We shall never forget that the greatest men of our era—Lenin and Stalin—were repeatedly imprisoned or exiled to remote districts on sentences of the tsarist courts.

Many of the finest sons and daughters of the people languished and perished in prisons, exile and penal servitude, sent there by the courts of the bourgeois and landlord government,

We know that in 1917 the bourgeois Kerensky Government made preparations through their courts to murder the genius of humanity, our great Lenin. It was only the wisdom of Comrade Stalin that saved Vladimir Ilyich his life.

We have all heard the report of the People's Commissar of Justice of the U.S.S.R., Comrade Rychkov. He pointed out that in the capitalist countries, particularly in the fascist countries—Germany and Italy—the courts have been transformed into torture chambers to wreak vengeance on the working people. The fascist court proceedings, as shown

by the trial of Comrade Dimitrov and the trial of Edgar André, the leader of the Hamburg Red Front Fighters, are nothing but a shameful farce and a gross travesty of justice.

The fascists have immured in prison the leader of the Communist Party and the working class of Germany, Comrade Thaelmann, without even the formality of a court trial.

In this hall are gathered deputies representing all the nationalities of our great Socialist state. Our victories are the result of the Lenin-Stalin national policy which our Party is carrying out in a struggle against the Trotskyite and Bukharinite agents of fascism, against bourgeois-nationalists and other bitter enemies of the Soviet people.

Comrade Stalin has said that our new power is creating an entirely new law, a new order—revolutionary order.

Our people's courts stand guard over the achievements of Socialism, ruthlessly crushing the enemies of the people—spies, diversionists and wreckers. While waging a resolute fight against thieves, bandits, rowdies and other criminals, the Soviet courts at the same time carry on, and will continue to carry on, extensive work to educate the working people in the spirit of devotion to the Socialist country, in the spirit of respect for and undeviating observance of the Soviet laws.

Comrade Stalin teaches us that the victories of Socialism in our country intensify the class struggle. The enemies of the people shrink from nothing in their fight against our Socialist country.

We know from the trials of the Right and Trotskyite spy gangs, which revealed the vile activities of these gangs, how the enemies hate the Soviet system and the Soviet people, and how they have been organizing espionage, diversions and murders.

The crimes of the agents of fascism have aroused great anger among the people against the dastardly traitors to their country. The people of our country have rallied even more closely around the Soviet Government and the Bolshevik Party. There is no room for the vile enemies of the people on the Soviet earth, and there never will be. The splendid Soviet intelligence service and the Soviet courts will continue to thwart all the criminal attempts of the enemies of the people.

The Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. is absolutely right in raising at the present juncture the question of the judicial system of the U.S.S.R., the Union Republics and the autonomous republics, of placing the work of the people's courts on a level with the new tasks, and of the need for the further democratization of the Soviet courts strictly in conformity with the demands of the Stalin Constitution.

I fully and unreservedly support the draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System of the U.S.S.R., and of the Union and Autonomous Republics, with the corrections and amendments proposed by the Legislative Bills Commission.

The People's Commissar of Justice must take to heart the criticism voiced by the deputies, particularly in regard to the question of training forces. The problems of training forces are taken care of in all branches of the national economy of our country, though not always do they re-

ceive the attention they deserve. Now, it is eight months since I started to work in the Archangel Regional Executive Committee, yet I do not know of any instances of the People's Commissariat of Justice taking the initiative in raising the question of training forces.

It is clear that, as a result of the forthcoming elections of judges, many new people will come to work in the Soviet courts. In order that they may become highly qualified Soviet judges, facilities must be provided for their education.

The People's Commissariat of Justice must become a model People's Commissariat, and we shall help it to become one. The People's Commissariat of Justice and all Soviet judicial bodies must improve their work and bring it in line with the tasks of the present period.

Long live the Party of Lenin and Stalin!

Long live the great leader of peoples, Joseph Stalin! (*Loud applause.*)

The Chairman: I call upon Deputy Khachikyan-Alekyan.

A. A. Khachikyan-Alekyan (*Yerevan Suburban Area, Armenian S. S. R.*): Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. The draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System of the U.S.S.R., and of the Union and Autonomous Republics submitted by the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. to the Session of the Supreme Soviet for consideration and adoption are an extremely important politcal document—absolutely indispensable for the proper organization and work of the Soviet courts.

The draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System reflect the tremendous victories which the Soviet people have achieved under the leadership of the Party of Lenin and Stalin, under the leadership of the genius of the world proletariat, Comrade Stalin. (*Loud applause.*)

Comrades, in the dark years of tsarism, the courts of Russia protected the interests of the landlords and the bourgeoisie. Abroad, in the capitalist countries the judges to this day protect the interests of the exploiter classes, of the capitalists and landlords, whose flunkeys they in fact are. Only our Soviet courts—the only genuinely popular courts in the world—protect the interests of the workers, collective farmers and employees—the interests of all the working people. Moreovers, the judges themselves come from the ranks of the people—they are our workers, collective farmers, employees.

Only in our country, in the U.S.S.R., are people's judges—according to Article 109 of the Stalin Constitution—elected by the citizens of the district on the basis of universal, direct and equal suffrage and secret ballot; this is genuine democracy, such as is not known in any capitalist country.

Comrades, in accordance with Article 110 of the Stalin Constitution, Article 7 of the draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System clearly states that judicial proceedings in the U.S.S.R. are conducted in the language of the Union republic, the autonomous republic or the Autonomous region. Persons not knowing this language are ensured every opportunity of fully acquainting themselves with the material pertaining

to the case through an interpreter and likewise the right to speak in court in their own language. This shows that the national policy of Lenin and Stalin is being undeviatingly carried out in our country.

The enemies of the Armenian people—the bourgeois nationalists, Dashnaks and Trotskyite and Bukharinite agents of fascism—tried to undermine the prestige of the Soviet courts by their vile criminal activities. But in this they did not succeed. They have been exposed and smashed by our valiant workers of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs, headed by the Stalin People's Commissar, Nikolai Ivanovich Yezhov. (*Applause.*)

Comrades, in connection with the discussion on the draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System, I must touch on several questions pertaining to the work of the judicial bodies. In the first place, I want to draw attention to the fact that the fight to remove the effects of the wreckers' activities in the judicial bodies is not being carried on with sufficient vigour. The People's Commissariat of Justice of the U.S.S.R. must bear this in mind. It must take resolute measures to remove the effects of the wreckers' activities in the judicial bodies.

I share the opinion of the deputies who have spoken before me that a great amount of work will have to be done with regard to training and educating forces of judiciary workers. The education and training of forces will ensure the undeviating fulfilment of the tasks set the Soviet courts by the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. and by the new Regulations Governing the Judicial System.

In addition to the district people's courts, we have also village community comrades' courts. The judicial bodies are paying too little attention to these courts; yet these courts need daily concrete assistance. The People's Commissariat of Justice of the U.S.S.R. is in duty bound to arrange for more guidance to be given to the comrades' courts.

A serious problem is presented by the need of creating suitable conditions for the work of the courts. How can we speak of the prestige of the court, if sometimes the courts carry on their work in dirty and wretched premises, located in back-yards?

It must be stated that the People's Commissariat of Justice has done little to create suitable conditions for the people's courts.

Comrades, the draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System submitted by the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. have been elaborated on the basis of the great Stalin Constitution.

We members of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. approve of the draft Regulations, and we will vote for them unanimously.

The Regulations Governing the Judicial System, when put into effect, will enhance the prestige of the Soviet courts and convert them into an even more powerful weapon for the final annihilation of the Trotskyite and Bukharinite agents of fascism and of all the enemies of the people.

The Regulations Governing the Judicial System will demonstrate before the whole world that only in the country of victorious Socialism,

guided by our glorious Bolshevik Party and the wise leader of the people, Comrade Stalin, is the flourishing of genuine democracy possible. (*Loud applause.*)

The Chairman: I call upon Deputy Birkadze.

T. M. Birkadze (*Kapandibi Area, Adjar A.S.S.R.*): Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet. The draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System of the U.S.S.R., and of the Union and Autonomous Republics submitted to us for consideration and adoption fully conform to the interests of our multi-national people.

The Soviet courts have justly earned the universal confidence of the working people. Our courts have protected and continue to protect the sacred principles of the Socialist state from encroachment by the enemies of the Soviet people.

The Principles of the Judicial System of the U.S.S.R. and of the Union Republics, now in operation, were adopted about fourteen years ago and promulgated in the decision of the Second Session of the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R. of October 29, 1924.

The fundamental principles of the judicial system now in force fully corresponded to the political and economic conditions of the U.S.S.R. of the period. But many years have passed since then. During this time our country, guided by the Bolshevik Party and by our leader and teacher, Comrade Stalin (*loud applause*) has rapidly advanced in the building of Socialism. Socialism has triumphed in our country, and we are rapidly marching ahead, to Communism.

The victories of the working people of the Soviet Union are recorded in the greatest document of humanity—in the Constitution of the U.S.S.R., given to us by the great leader of the working people of the whole world, our own and beloved Comrade Stalin. *(Loud and prolonged applause.)* Our achievements are recorded in the Constitution of the U.S.S.R., which the Soviet people unanimously call the Stalin Constitution.

The Stalin Constitution devotes great attention to the Soviet courts, to Soviet justice. With the adoption of the Stalin Constitution, the Principles of the Judicial System now in force have become obsolete in quite a number of details.

The Stalin Constitution has considerably extended and consolidated the democratic foundations of the Soviet state. That is why we come to the courts today with new, more exacting demands.

The draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System of the U. S. S.R., and of the Union and Autonomous Republics submitted by the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. to the Second Session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. for consideration and adoption quite correctly reflect the new demands made on the Soviet courts.

What are the new principles underlying the draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System of the U.S.S.R., and of the Union and Autonomous Republics?

In the first place the draft establishes a single principle for the organizational structure of the courts in all the Union and autonomous republics.

Secondly, it establishes the system of the election of judges: people's judges and people's assessors are elected by the citizens of the district on the basis of universal, direct and equal suffrage and secret ballot. All the former restrictions with regard to the right to be elected to the office of judge are being eliminated. Any citizen enjoying electoral rights and the love and confidence of the people may be elected judge.

Consequently, broad masses of working people are being enlisted to perform judicial duties. Our courts are genuinely popular courts, reflecting the great principles of the organization of the Soviet state. Our courts are the courts of the people themselves, and they are different in principle from the courts of the capitalist countries.

Thirdly, cases in all courts of the U.S.S.R. are heard in public, unless exceptions are specially provided for by law. Consequently, our courts are public.

The Soviet courts not only punish criminals, but also reform them.

Only the Soviet courts are genuinely popular courts. In the capitalist countries, the working people for the time being can only dream of such courts.

In the capitalist countries, particularly in the fascist countries, the courts are a weapon for the savage and ruthless oppression of the working people in the interests of the exploiter classes. The fascist courts are a weapon for wreaking vengeance upon the working people. The fascist courts are a vile travesty of justice, a means of trampling down the workers and peasants.

Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. The enemies of the people who were active in the judicial bodies of the Georgian S.S.R. endeavoured in every way to discredit revolutionary law and tried to arouse discontent with the policy of the Soviet government among the working people. The enemies have not succeeded in their designs, nor will they ever succeed. The splendid Soviet intelligence service, led by the Stalin People's Commissar, Nikolai Ivanovich Yezhov (*loud applause*), smashed and wiped out the principal nests of the Trotskyite, Bukharinite and bourgeois-nationalist spies, bandits, diversionists and murderers.

While destroying the enemies, the people of thriving Socialist Georgia, in common with the whole united family of the peoples of the Soviet Union, have rallied even more closely around the Party of Lenin and Stalin, around the Soviet Government and the beloved leader of peoples, Comrade Stalin. (*Loud applause.*)

Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet. In discussing the judicial system, we must speak of the defects in the work of the People's Commissariat of Justice of the U.S.S.R. in respect of the guidance given by it to the judicial bodies in the localities. At the First Session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., Comrade Molotov, the head of the Soviet Government, correctly criticized the work of the People's Commissariat of Justice of the U.S.S.R. However, the judicial bodies

still fail to display sufficient energy in reorganizing their work. Many judiciary workers and people's judges of our republic maintain little contact with the masses, and it is very seldom that they report to the masses about their work.

I join in the opinion expressed by the deputies who have here spoken of the unsatisfactory state of affairs with regard to the training of forces for the people's courts. Many workers in the people's courts in Georgia have had no legal education or practical experience. Lately many young people have been promoted to work in the judicial organs in the Georgian S.S.R. It is necessary to give serious training to these workers and lend them practical assistance. However, the training of the forces of young judges in the Georgian Republic is still badly organized.

The deputies who have spoken here have rightly pointed out that women are being promoted to work in the judicial bodies in insufficient numbers. This is particularly felt in the national republics. It is therefore necessary to display more boldness in promoting active women to work in the people's courts.

A considerable proportion of the new forces in the organs of justice is made up of young people.

The Lenin-Stalin Young Communist League, which sends its best representatives to work in our people's courts, must give these young people every assistance. The Young Communist League members working in the people's courts are carrying out a responsible and honourable commission of the Young Communist League organization.

Comrades, the draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System of the U.S.S.R., and of the Union and Autonomous Republics submitted by the Soviet Government to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. for adoption are entirely based on the great democratic principles of the Stalin Constitution. The Regulations Governing the Judicial System create all the conditions necessary for the judicial organs to work in a model way.

I second the motion of the members of the Supreme Soviet who have spoken here to adopt the Regulations Governing the Judicial System of the U.S.S.R., and of the Union and Autonomous Republics.

The mighty Soviet people are firmly united around their own Communist Party, around the Soviet Government, and around our own beloved and great Stalin. (*Loud applause.*)

Under the banner of Lenin and Stalin we are confidently and enthusiastically marching onward, to new victories for Communism. (*Loud applause.*)

The Chairman: I call upon Comrade Bukanov.

V. V. Bukanov (*President of the Moscow Regional Court*): Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet. The discussion and adoption of the new Regulations Governing the Judicial System, and the introduction of a uniform judicial system throughout the Soviet Union, will constitute a very important new measure designed to improve the work of the courts and enhance their role and importance. The Regulations

Governing the Judicial System will still more enhance the stability of the Socialist laws.

The adoption of the Regulations Governing the Judicial System will be welcomed by the people with universal approval; for our people are profoundly interested in the efficient work and organization of the courts, whose mission it is to guard the achievements of the Great October Revolution and mercilessly punish the enemies of the people.

The Regulations Governing the Judicial System now in operation in every Union republic have become obsolete, and a number of their clauses are clearly in contradiction to the Stalin Constitution, which reflects the radical changes that have taken place in the life of the U.S.S.R.

The election of people's courts on the basis of universal suffrage, the independence of judges and their being subject only to the law, and the further democratization of court proceedings, guaranteeing the accused the right of counsel of defence, are all incorporated in the new Regulations Governing the Judicial System.

According to the existing laws, people's judges are elected by the Soviets. Like any elective body, the people's court must regularly give an account of its work to the population, as well as to the body that elected the people's judge. Actually, however, there are district executive committees which do not request the people's judges to report to them on their work; nor do they ever raise the question of new elections. As for the judges themselves, they do not consider it their first duty to render an account of their work. In 1938 only 100 people's courts in the Moscow Region reported to the population on their work. Only ten district executive committees out of 53 in the region arranged for reports of people's judges to be heard at their plenary sittings.

The principle of the independence of judges, proclaimed in the Stalin Constitution and embodied in the new Regulations Governing the Judicial System, does away with the dependence of the people's judges on the local organs of government.

The new Regulations Governing the Judicial System establish a different procedure for the election of people's assessors. According to this new procedure, people's assessors are elected on the basis of universal, direct and equal suffrage and secret ballot. This procedure will further enhance the role of the people's assessors in the courts.

The election of millions of citizens of our country to serve as people's assessors meets one of the most important demands of the program of the Communist Party, calling for the enlistment of all working people in the exercise of judicial functions. This is the great role assigned by the new Regulations to the people's courts—the lowest, but most important link in the judicial system.

It is an honour to work in the capacity of a Soviet people's judge. Only those who fight the enemies of the people like real Bolsheviks, and who vigilantly guard the rights of the citizens against the least

encroachment, will be worthy of the honour of being elected to the organs of Soviet justice.

The new Regulations Governing the Judicial System introduce essential changes in the functions and tasks of the intermediate link of the judicial system—the territorial and regional courts. According to the new Regulations, the territorial and regional courts hear the cases over which they are given jurisdiction and hear the appeals from and protests against sentences and judgments of the people's courts.

According to the Regulations Governing the Judicial System now in operation, the territorial and regional courts, in addition to performing their main, judicial functions, have to take care of the material and financial needs of the people's courts, to concern themselves with the training and re-qualification of forces and to establish the staffs and the areas of the court divisions. Up to the present the workers in charge of the regional courts have been spending more time on the questions of financing the people's courts than on their direct judicial functions.

Comrades, care for the material and financial needs of the people's courts and the training of forces of judiciary workers are not matters of secondary importance. They are of vital significance for ensuring precision and organization in the work of the people's courts. As an example, I may point to the fact that even in the Moscow Region there are people's courts that have no premises of their own, which leads to serious violations of revolutionary law in the administration of justice.

But, important as are the questions of administration, they must not distract the attention of the judiciary workers from their main duties.

That is why the provision in the new Regulations Governing the Judicial System, relieving the regional courts of administrative functions, is timely and correct. The administrative functions must be transferred to the People's Commissariat of Justice.

Once the workers in charge of the regional courts are relieved of functions that are outside their province, the work of the courts will improve considerably. There will be fewer violations of revolutionary law in the people's courts, and the gainers will be the population, who are vitally interested in the judicial bodies working better.

The question of raising the political and practical qualifications of the judiciary workers must occupy an important place in the work of the People's Commissariat of Justice. At present over 60 per cent of the judiciary workers have had no legal education. After the elections of people's judges a large number of new, young judiciary workers will appear in our courts—people who are supremely devoted to the cause of Lenin and Stalin, but who lack a legal education.

The People's Commissariat of Justice is in duty bound to take prompt measures to organize the proper training of judiciary workers, so as to enable them in a short space of time to master the principles of Soviet jurisprudence and the technique of judicial work.

The organs of the People's Commissariat of Justice should learn

from the Bolshevik Party, from its Stalinist Central Committee, how to promote and train forces.

We are confident that as a result of the promulgation of the new Regulations Governing the Judicial System, the conditions of work of the people's courts and the training of forces will improve decidedly in the very near future, and the people's courts will become model institutions, working with precision and worthy of the place assigned to them in the Fundamental Law of the Socialist state—the Stalin Constitution.

The new Regulations Governing the Judicial System introduce radical changes in the existing procedure for the exercise of supervision over judicial cases.

In the Regulations Governing the Judicial System of the R.S.F.S.R., now in operation, the right to demand the records of judicial cases for the purpose of supervision is conferred upon a great number of judicial and procuratorship bodies.

According to the present Regulations, judicial sentences and judgments which have become legally effective may be protested, on the strength of the exercise of supervision, by the district Procurator (with the sanction of the regional Procurator), the President of the regional court, the regional Procurator, the President of the Supreme Court of the republic, the Procurator of the republic, the Procurator of the U.S.S.R. and the President of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. On the strength of the exercise of supervision, a case, after it has been heard in the Appellate Collegium, may be further reviewed by the Presidium of the regional court, the Supreme Court of the R.S.F.S.R. and the Supervisory Court Collegium of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. Owing to this procedure, judicial sentences and judgments lack finality, which gives rise to red tape.

Article 16 of the draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System clearly states:

"Judicial sentences, judgments and orders which have become legally effective can be protested only by the Procurator of the U.S.S.R. or the Procurator of the Union Republic, the President of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. or the President of the Supreme Court of the Union Republic. . . ."

Consequently, in accordance with Article 16 of the draft Regulations, only four official persons have the right to demand the records of cases on the strength of the exercise of supervision. The Presidiums of the regional courts are to be abolished. The Presidents of regional courts and the regional Procurators will have no right to file protests on the strength of the exercise of supervision. This important change will lend more finality to judicial sentences and judgments, and will help to do away with red tape in the judicial bodies.

The establishment of this procedure demands a decisive improvement in the work of the courts, particularly the people's courts, which hear an absolute majority of all judicial cases.

In order to improve the quality of the work of the courts, it is nec-

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The establishment of this procedure demands a decisive improvement in the work of the courts, particularly the people's courts, which hear an absolute majority of all judicial cases.

In order to improve the quality of the work of the courts, it is nec-

As I have already said, all these changes will render the formulations of the enumerated articles more correct and more accurate.

Comrades, I cannot agree to the amendments suggested by the Legislative Bills Commission of the Soviet of Nationalities to clause "b" of Article 21 of the draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System.

The Commission proposes to amend clause "b" of Article 21, which states that the people's courts hear civil cases "relating to property suits, relating to suits arising out of violations of labour laws, relating to suits for the payment of alimony, relating to suits concerning inheritance, and other criminal and civil cases over which it is given jurisdiction by law," by adding the words, "relating to suits connected with infringement of dwelling rights."

It would be wrong to accept this amendment, because infringements of the dwelling rights of citizens are not always heard as civil cases relating to suits.

Infringements of the dwelling rights of citizens involving arbitrary action, abuse of office and the like, are heard in court as criminal cases. Therefore it would be wrong to state that the court hears cases relating to infringements of dwelling rights only as civil cases.

In my opinion, clause "b" of Article 21 should be left in the wording of the draft submitted by the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R.

Moreover, the protection of the dwelling rights of citizens is referred to in clause "b" of Article 2 of the draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System submitted by the Council of People's Commissars. This clause states that it is the task of justice in the U.S.S.R. to protect from any and every encroachment "the political, labour, dwelling and other personal and property rights and interests of citizens of the U.S.S.R. guaranteed by the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. or the Constitutions of the Union and autonomous republics."

Consequently, the task of the courts to protect the dwelling rights of citizens is fully taken care of in the draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System of the U.S.S.R., and of the Union and Autonomous Republics.

As for the amendments suggested by the Legislative Bills Commission of the Soviet of Nationalities to Article 28 and Articles 36, 43 and 51, I agree with them in substance, but I think that it would be better to word these amendments differently.

In the draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System submitted by the Council of People's Commissars, clause "d" of Article 28 reads as follows: the people's judge "gives orders to summon the accused, the witnesses and the expert witnesses to court."

The Legislative Bills Commission of the Soviet of Nationalities proposes that clause "d" of Article 28 should be worded as follows: the people's judge "gives orders to summon to court the accused, the plaintiffs and defendants, the witnesses and the expert witnesses."

In my opinion it would be better to word clause "d" of Article 28 to read: "gives orders to summon the accused, the witnesses and the expert witnesses to court and notifies the plaintiffs and defendants of the times when their cases will be heard."

Why am I of the opinion that it would be more correct to formulate this clause as stated? Because court summons are obligatory on witnesses, accused and expert witnesses. As for the appearance in court of the plaintiff and defendant in a civil case, it is not obligatory according to our law. The plaintiff and defendant may attend the hearing of a civil case relating to a suit, or they may not attend it.

It seems to me that the wording proposed by the Legislative Bills Commission, namely, to the effect that the court summons the plaintiffs and defendants, would be wrong.

Further, I see no reason for reversing the order of Articles 59 and 60 of the draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System of the U.S.S.R. and of the Union and Autonomous Republics, as proposed by the Legislative Bills Commission.

In the draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System, the Articles in Chapter VI, dealing with the special courts of the U.S.S.R., are arranged in the following order: Article 52 states: "On the basis of Article 102 of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. there function the following special courts of the U.S.S.R.: a) military tribunals; b) railway line courts; c) water transport line courts."

Consequently Article 52 provides for the organization of special courts, and states where these special courts are organized.

Article 59 deals with the jurisdiction of the railway line and the water transport line courts, and Article 60 states where these courts are organized. It seems to me that this is the proper and logical order, and therefore there is no reason for reversing it and putting Article 60 in place of Article 59, and Article 59 in place of Article 60.

Comrades, as a result of the discussion on the report on the draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System and the co-report of the Legislative Bills Commission, the Soviet of the Union has unanimously adopted the draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System of the U.S.S.R., and of the Union and Autonomous Republics submitted by the Council of People's Commissars, with a number of changes which I, as the speaker who introduced the draft on behalf of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R., fully support, and I ask the Soviet of Nationalities to accept them when they adopt the draft Regulations submitted by the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R.

The Soviet of the Union has decided to add to Chapter II of the Regulations a new article—Article 29—stating:

"People's judges account to the electors for their work and the work of the People's Courts."

In my opinion, this article is of great political significance, since it emphasizes the democratic nature of the people's courts, their close contact with the population. This article is fully in harmony with the spirit of the Stalin Constitution, according to which the electors always have the right to demand of their deputies an account of their

work, and to recall them, as Comrade Stalin has said, "if they forget that they are dependent on the people, on their electors."

I ask the Soviet of Nationalities to consider this article and adopt it in the wording of the Soviet of the Union.

The Soviet of the Union has decided to change the title of the draft from "Regulations Governing the Judicial System of the U.S.S.R., and of the Union and Autonomous Republics" to "Act Concerning the Judicial System of the U.S.S.R., and of the Union and Autonomous Republics."

I support this decision as conforming to Articles 39 and 40 of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R., in which it is stated that the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. adopts and passes laws.

In addition to these, the Soviet of the Union has adopted editorial changes in Articles 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 10, 13, 14, 16, 19, 21, 23, 24, 26, 27, 31, 39, 44, 45, 54, 55, 56 and 78. I consider these changes correct and I ask the Soviet of Nationalities to discuss and accept them when they adopt the draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System of the U.S.S.R., and of the Union and Autonomous Republics.

In the debate on the draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System, some of the members of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.—Comrades Tyurkin, Yefremov, Manukyants, Yonychev, Gorbachov, Barmashov, and others—have made a number of critical remarks concerning the defects in the work of the People's Commissariat of Justice of the U.S.S.R.

While I fully agree that there still are quite a few defects in the work of the People's Commissariat of Justice of the U.S.S.R. and the People's Commissariats of Justice of the Union and autonomous republics, I must report that the People's Commissariat of Justice of the U.S.S.R. has carried out, and is carrying out, a great deal of work to organize the judicial bodies, promote new people to work in these bodies, improve the training of new forces and the additional training of old forces, and prepare for the elections of people's judges and people's assessors.

The People's Commissariat of Justice of the U.S.S.R. has accomplished a great deal of work in the sphere of compiling text-books and manuals for law colleges and schools.

The People's Commissariat of Justice has prepared for publication codes of laws and other law manuals needed by judiciary workers. By October this work will be completed.

The People's Commissariat of Justice of the U.S.S.R. has done a great deal to provide for the training of judges who have recently come to work in the judicial bodies. We have organized six-months' training courses, in which over 600 people's judges have already completed a course of study.

Resolute measures are being adopted to properly organize the divisions of the people's courts, determine their precise boundary-lines and create normal conditions for the work of the people's courts.

The People's Commissariat of Justice of the U.S.S.R. has adopted a number of measures to improve the work of the higher legal educational establishments under its jurisdiction. We have reorganized the leading staffs of these establishments and worked out a uniform curriculum and uniform programs.

We are taking measures to increase the student quota. There has been a considerable increase in the number of fellows in the institutes. This will enable us to solve the problem of training instructors for the higher educational establishments, of whom there is an inadequate number at present, particularly in the national republics.

The People's Commissariat of Justice of the U.S.S.R. is adopting resolute measures to improve the work of the People's Commissariats of Justice of the Union and autonomous republics, and to strengthen their contact with the localities.

Comrades, all the criticism that has been voiced here will be taken into consideration, and the People's Commissariat of Justice of the U.S.S.R. will adopt all the measures necessary to improve its work and organize the judicial bodies fully in conformity with the requirements dictated by the tasks set the courts in the Regulations Governing the Judicial System and in the Stalin Constitution. (*Loud applause.*)

The Chairman: I call upon Deputy Tyurkin, the Chairman of the Legislative Bills Commission of the Soviet of Nationalities, to reply to the debate.

P. A. Tyurkin (*Leningrad Rural Area, R.S.F.S.R.*): Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet. The many members of the Soviet of Nationalities who have spoken in the debate were unanimous in their approval of the draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System of the U.S.S.R., and of the Union and Autonomous Republics submitted by the Government of the U.S.S.R. for the consideration of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. They all qualified it as fully corresponding to the demands of the Stalin Constitution, as exhaustively determining the fundamental principles that must underlie the organization and the work of the Soviet courts. Therefore there is no need for me to dwell again upon the various points of the draft, and there is certainly no need to speak again in support of the draft. I therefore consider it possible to confine myself to the following remarks.

First remark. I fully support the decision adopted by the Soviet of the Union to change the title of the draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System of the U.S.S.R., and of the Union and Autonomous Republics, now under discussion. By adopting the Regulations as an *Act* we shall enhance their importance and the binding character and indefeasibility of this law.

Second remark. I also fully support the motion adopted by the Soviet of the Union to incorporate an additional article—Article 29—in the draft Judicial System Act, to read as follows:

"People's judges account to the electors for their work and the work of the People's Courts."

Comrades, the guarantee of the successful work of the Soviet courts

is their close and indissoluble bond with the masses of the working people. The realization of obligatory accountability of people's judges to the electors will bring the Soviet courts still closer to the people, and thereby contribute to the successful work of the judicial bodies. I move that the change and amendment adopted by the Soviet of the Union be adopted also by the Soviet of Nationalities.

Third remark. I consider it inexpedient to change the wording of the first paragraph of Article 21 of the draft Regulations. Comrade Rychkov has just explained it here. It seems to me that this editorial change would add nothing essential to the draft as first proposed by the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. The wording of Article 21 defines exhaustively and precisely both the tasks and the content of the work of the people's court. Therefore I think that it would be expedient to drop this editorial change.

In view of the considerations of which I have just spoken, the Legislative Bills Commission also deems it inexpedient to insist on the change which it proposed with regard to the arrangement of the paragraphs in Article 21 of the draft. We proposed to put the fourth paragraph in place of the third, and the third in place of the fourth. I move that Article 21 be adopted in its entirety in the wording of the draft as submitted by the Government of the U.S.S.R.

And, finally, the fourth remark. I consider the argument cited by the People's Commissar of Justice of the U.S.S.R. in support of his opinion that it would be inexpedient to accept the amendments proposed by the Legislative Bills Commission of the Soviet of Nationalities to Article 21 (clause "b") and with regard to Articles 59 and 60, as well founded, and I do not insist on these amendments.

The Legislative Bills Commission also considers it possible not to insist on some editorial corrections of little significance, which it proposed to introduce in Articles 25, 27 (clause "c"), 35, 73, 74 and 75 of the draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System.

The People's Commissar of Justice has agreed that the amendment proposed by the Legislative Bills Commission of the Soviet of Nationalities to Article 28, clause "d," is of essential importance; only he suggests that it should be worded somewhat differently. I consider this suggestion acceptable and I ask the Soviet of Nationalities to adopt clause "d" in the following wording: "gives orders to summon the accused, the witnesses and the expert witnesses to court and notifies the plaintiffs and defendants of the times when their cases will be heard." In this connection I ask that the wording in Articles 36, 43 and 51 be changed accordingly.

The Chairman: We shall proceed to vote on the draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System of the U.S.S.R., and of the Union and Autonomous Republics. There is a motion to vote on the draft section by section. Are there any other motions?

Voices: No.

The Chairman: Those in favour of voting on the draft Regulations section by section, please raise their hands. Anybody against? No.

Any abstentions? No. Adopted unanimously. Section I. Article 1. Are there any remarks?

Voices: No.

The Chairman: Article 2. Are there any remarks?

Tyurkin: The Legislative Bills Commission of the Soviet of Nationalities moves that in clause "a" of Article 2 the words "social and state system" be changed to "organization of society and of the state." In clause "c" after the words "the rights and" the words "legally protected" should be inserted. In the second paragraph after the words "by all institutions" the word "organizations" should be inserted.

The Chairman: Are there any other motions on Article 2?

Rychkov: I second the motion of the Legislative Bills Commission of the Soviet of Nationalities to insert these corrections in Article 2.

The Chairman: Are there any other amendments to Article 2? No. Those in favour of adopting this article with the proposed amendments please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

We shall pass on to Article 3. Are there any remarks on this article?

Tyurkin: In clause "b" after the words "the examination" the words "and determination" should be inserted.

The Chairman: Are there any other motions or remarks?

Rychkov: I move that in clause "a" of Article 3 the words "directed against traitors to the country, wreckers," etc., be changed to read: "to traitors to the country, wreckers," etc.

The Chairman: Are there any other amendments to Article 3? No. Those in favour of adopting this article with the amendments, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Article 3 is adopted unanimously.

Are there any motions or remarks on Article 4?

Rychkov: I move that in the second paragraph of Article 4 the phrase "in the spirit of devotion to the country and the cause of Socialism, in the spirit of Socialist law" be changed to read: "in the spirit of devotion to the country and the cause of Socialism, in the spirit of strict and undeviating observance of Soviet law."

The Chairman: Are there any other amendments to Article 4? No. Those in favour of adopting Article 4 with the amendment proposed, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Rychkov: I move that Article 3 be put in place of Article 4, and Article 4 in place of Article 3.

The Chairman: Are there any objections to this motion? No. Those in favour of putting Article 3 in place of Article 4, and Article 4 in place of Article 3, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

We shall pass on to Article 5. Are there any remarks on this article?

Tyurkin: I move that in clause "a" of Article 5, after the words "uniform courts equal for all," the word "citizens" be inserted, and that the words "nationality or race" be added at the end of the clause.

The Chairman: Are there any other motions or remarks? No. Those in favour of adopting this article with the proposed amendments, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

We shall pass on to Article 6. Are there any motions or remarks on this Article? No. Those in favour of adopting this article, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Are there any motions or remarks on Article 7?

Tyurkin: I move that Article 7 be worded as follows:

"*Article 7.* In accordance with Article 110 of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R., judicial proceedings in the U.S.S.R. are conducted in the language of the Union republic, the autonomous republic or the autonomous region, persons not knowing this language being ensured every opportunity of fully acquainting themselves with the material pertaining to the case through an interpreter and likewise the right to speak in court in their own language."

The Chairman: Are there any other amendments? No. I shall take a vote on Article 7 with the amendments. Those in favour of adopting this article, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Are there any remarks on Article 8? No.

On Article 9? No.

On Article 10?

Tyurkin: The Legislative Bills Commission of the Soviet of Nationalities moves that Article 10 be worded as follows:

"*Article 10.* In accordance with Articles 105, 106, 107, 108 and 109 of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R., courts in the U.S.S.R. are elective, being formed in the manner established by the present Regulations."

The Chairman: Those in favour of adopting Article 10 in the new wording, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Are there any remarks on Article 11? No.

On Article 12? No.

On Article 13?

Tyurkin: I move that in Article 13, in the second paragraph, after the words "In all other cases people's assessors are reimbursed the expenses they incurred," the words "in the performance of their duties in court" be inserted.

The Chairman: Are there any other motions or amendments to this article? No. Those in favour of adopting Article 13 with the amendments proposed, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Are there any remarks on Article 14?

Rychkov: I move that in Article 14 the phrase "are heard by three permanent judges" be changed to "are heard by three members of the court."

The Chairman: Those in favour of adopting this article with the change proposed, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Are there any remarks on Article 15? No.

On Article 16?

Tyurkin: I move that in Article 16 the reference to Articles 49, 62 and 73 of the present Regulations be changed to a reference to Articles 50, 63 and 73.

The Chairman: Are there any other motions or remarks on Article 16? No. Those in favour of adopting this article with the change proposed, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Are there any remarks on Article 17?

Tyurkin: I move that in Article 17 the words "and also" be changed to "or."

The Chairman: Are there any other motions or remarks on this article? No. Those in favour of adopting Article 17 with the change proposed, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Are there any remarks on Article 18? No.

Are there any remarks on Article 19?

Rychkov: I move that Article 19 be worded as follows:

"*Article 19.* In case the office of people's judge becomes vacant before the expiration of his term, a new election for people's judge to fill the vacancy is arranged for not later than two months from the day it has occurred.

"The new election of the people's judge is arranged by the People's Commissariat of Justice of the Union republic, and in an autonomous republic by the People's Commissariat of Justice of the autonomous republic.

"If vacancies occur in the membership of area, territorial or regional courts or the Supreme Courts of Union or autonomous republics, or in the membership of the special courts or of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R., the elections of the new members of the courts are held at the next regular session of the Soviets of Toilers' Deputies of the region, territory or area, of the Supreme Soviet of the Union or autonomous republic, or of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R."

The Chairman: Are there any remarks or amendments? No. Those in favour of adopting Article 19 as read, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Are there any remarks on Article 20?

Rychkov: I move that Article 20 be worded as follows:

"*Article 20.* The institution of criminal proceedings against judges and their consequent removal from office, arraignment and trial are effected in the following manner:

"In respect to people's judges, members of territorial, regional or area courts and of courts of autonomous regions, and members of the Supreme Courts of Union or autonomous republics—by decision of the Procurator of the Union republic with the sanction of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union republic;

"In respect to members of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. and of the special courts of the U.S.S.R.—by decision of the Procurator of the U.S.S.R. with the sanction of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R."

The Chairman: Those in favour of adopting Article 20 as read, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Rychkov: I move that Article 20 be put in place of Article 18, Article 18 in place of Article 19, and Article 19 in place of Article 20.

The Chairman: Those in favour of putting Article 20 in place of Article 18, Article 18 in place of Article 19, and Article 19 in place of Article 20, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No. Adopted unanimously.

I shall now take a vote on section I, entitled "General Principles," as a whole. Those in favour of adopting this section as a whole, please raise their hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Section I, entitled "General Principles," is adopted unanimously.

We shall now proceed to vote on Section II: "The People's Courts."

Are there any remarks on Article 21?

Tyurkin: I move that this article be adopted as worded in the draft submitted by the Government. The Legislative Bills Commission of the Soviet of Nationalities withdraws its motion to change certain passages.

The Chairman: I shall take a vote on Article 21 in the wording proposed by the Government. Those in favour of adopting this article, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Are there any remarks on Article 22? No.

On Article 23?

Rychkov: I move that Article 23 be worded as follows:

"*Article 23.* People's judges and people's assessors are elected by the citizens of the districts according to election areas; the election

area for the election of people's judges and people's assessors comprises the total population residing on the territory under the jurisdiction of the particular people's court."

The Chairman: Are there any other motions or remarks on Article 23? No. Those in favour of adopting this article as read, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Are there any remarks on Article 24?

Rychkov: I move that in Article 24 the words "the right to promote" be changed to "the right to nominate," and the words "is exercised by public organizations," etc., be changed to "is secured to the public organizations," etc., and that at the end of the article the words "of state farm workers and employees held on the respective state farms" be added.

The Chairman: Are there any other motions? No. Those in favour of adopting Article 24 with the changes proposed, please raise their hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

The article is adopted unanimously.

Are there any remarks on Article 25? No.

On Article 26?

Rychkov: I move that Article 26 be worded as follows:

"*Article 26.* The number of people's courts for each district is fixed by the Council of People's Commissars of the Union republic on the recommendation of the People's Commissar of Justice of the Union Republic. In the autonomous republics the number of people's courts for each district is fixed by the Council of People's Commissars of the autonomous republic on the recommendation of the People's Commissar of Justice of the autonomous republic."

The Chairman: Those in favour of adopting Article 26 as just read, please raise their hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Are there any remarks on Article 27?

Rychkov: I move that the beginning of Article 27 be worded as follows:

"Before hearing a case at a sitting of the court, the people's court:"

In clause "b," the word "considers" should be changed to "decides."

The Chairman: I shall take a vote on Article 27 with the changes proposed. Those in favour of adopting this article, please raise their hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Are there any changes or amendments to Article 28?

Tyurkin: I move that Article 28, clause "d," be worded as follows: "gives orders to summon the accused, the witnesses and the expert witnesses to court and notifies the plaintiffs and defendants of the times when their cases will be heard."

The Chairman: I shall take a vote on Article 28 as read by Comrade

Tyurkin. Those in favour of adopting this article, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Tyurkin: I move to add to the section on "The People's Courts" Article 29, to read as follows:

"*Article 29.* People's judges account to the electors for their work and the work of the People's Courts."

The Chairman: Those in favour of adding to the section on "The People's Courts" Article 29 in the wording proposed, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

I shall now take a vote on section II, "The People's Courts," as a whole. Those in favour of adopting section II, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Section II, entitled "The People's Courts," is adopted unanimously.

We shall pass on to section III, "The Territorial, the Regional and the Area Courts and the Courts of the Autonomous Regions." Are there any motions on Article 29?

Voices: No.

The Chairman: Are there any remarks on Article 30? No. On Article 31?

Rychkov: I move that a new paragraph be added to Article 31, to read as follows:

"The territorial, the regional and the area courts and the courts of the autonomous regions in addition hear appeals from and protests against sentences, judgments or orders of the People's Courts."

The Chairman: Those in favour of adopting Article 31 with the amendment proposed by Comrade Rychkov, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Are there any changes or amendments to Article 32? No.

To Article 33? No.

To Article 34?

Tyurkin: I move that in Article 34, the words "are composed of three permanent members of the court" be changed to "are composed of three members of the court in question."

The Chairman: Those in favour of adopting Article 34 with the change proposed, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Are there any remarks on Article 35? No.

On Article 36?

Tyurkin: I move that the end of Article 36 be worded as follows: "gives orders to summon the accused, the witnesses and the expert witnesses to court and notifies the plaintiffs and defendants of the times when their cases will be heard."

The Chairman: I shall take a vote on Article 36 with the amendment proposed. Those in favour of adopting this article, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Those in favour of adopting section III as a whole, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Section III, entitled "The Territorial, the Regional and the Area Courts and the Courts of the Autonomous Regions," is adopted unanimously.

We shall now pass on to section IV, "The Supreme Courts of the Autonomous Republics."

Are there any remarks on Article 37? No.

On Article 38? No.

On Article 39?

Rychkov: I move that Article 39 be amended by adding to it a new paragraph, to read as follows:

"The Supreme Courts of the autonomous republics in addition hear appeals from and protests against sentences, judgments or orders of the People's Courts."

The Chairman: Those in favour of adopting Article 39 with the amendment proposed, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Article 39 is adopted unanimously.

Are there any changes or amendments to Article 40? No.

To Article 41? No.

To Article 42? No.

To Article 43?

Tyurkin: I move that the end of Article 43 be worded as follows: "gives orders to summon the accused, the witnesses and the expert witnesses to court and notifies the plaintiffs and defendants of the times when their cases will be heard."

The Chairman: Those in favour of adopting Article 43 with the amendment proposed, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Those in favour of adopting section IV as a whole, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Section IV, entitled "The Supreme Courts of the Autonomous Republics," is adopted unanimously.

We shall now pass on to section V, "The Supreme Courts of the Union Republics." Are there any remarks on Article 44?

Tyurkin: I move that in Article 44, after the words "the autonomous republics" the words "the territories" be inserted.

The Chairman: Those in favour of adopting Article 44 with the amendment proposed, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

We shall pass on to Article 45. Are there any remarks?

Tyurkin: I move that in Article 45 the word "selected" be changed to "elected."

The Chairman: Those in favour of adopting Article 45 with the change proposed, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Are there any remarks on Article 46? No.

On Article 47? No.

On Article 48? No.

On Article 49? No.

On Article 50? No.

On Article 51?

Tyurkin: I move that the end of Article 51 be worded as follows: "gives orders to summon the accused, the witnesses and the expert witnesses to court and notifies the plaintiffs and defendants of the times when their cases will be heard."

The Chairman: Those in favour of adopting Article 51 with the amendment proposed, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously

Those in favour of adopting section V as a whole, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Section V, entitled "The Supreme Courts of the Union Republics," is adopted unanimously.

We shall now proceed to vote on Section VI, "The Special Courts of the U.S.S.R."

Are there any remarks on Article 52? No.

On Article 53? No.

On Article 54?

Tyurkin: I move that in Article 54, after the words "Supreme Soviets of the Union," the parenthesis be deleted, and the words "and autonomous" follow.

The Chairman: Those in favour of adopting Article 54 with the change proposed, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

We shall now pass on to consider Article 55. I call upon Comrade Tyurkin.

Tyurkin: I move that in Article 55 the words "composed of three permanent judges" be changed to "composed of three members of the court in question."

The Chairman: Those in favour of adopting Article 55 with the change proposed, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

Are there any remarks on Article 56?

Rychkov: I move that in Article 56 the words "the military tribunals are formed" be changed to "the military tribunals are organized."

The Chairman: Those in favour of adopting Article 56 with the change proposed, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

We shall pass on to Article 57.

Are there any remarks on this article? No.

On Article 58? No.

On Article 59? No.

On Article 60? No.

On Article 61? No.

I shall take a vote on Section VI as a whole. Those in favour of adopting this section, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Section VI, entitled "The Special Courts of the U.S.S.R.," is adopted unanimously.

We shall now proceed to vote on Section VII, "The Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R."

Are there any changes or amendments to Article 62? No.

To Article 63? No.

To Article 64? No.

To Article 65? No.

To Article 66? No.

To Article 67? No.

To Article 68? No.

To Article 69? No.

To Article 70? No.

To Article 71? No.

To Article 72? No.

To Article 73? No.

To Article 74? No.

To Article 75? No.

To Article 76?

Voices: No.

The Chairman: I shall take a vote on Section VII as a whole. Those in favour of adopting this section, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Section VII, entitled "The Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R.," is adopted unanimously.

We shall now pass on to Section VIII: "Court Deputies."

Are there any remarks on Article 77? No.

On Article 78?

Tyurkin: I move that in Article 78 after the words "to the people's courts," the words "the area" be inserted.

I move that the end of the article be worded as follows:

"and are appointed by the People's Commissariats of Justice of the Union republics, and in the autonomous republics, by the People's Commissariats of Justice of the Autonomous Republics."

The Chairman: Are there any other motions or remarks?

Rychkov: I second the motion of the Legislative Bills Commission of the Soviet of Nationalities.

The Chairman: Those in favour of adopting Article 78 with the amendments proposed, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Adopted unanimously.

I shall take a vote on Section VIII as a whole. Those in favour of adopting this section as a whole, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Section VIII, entitled "Court Deputies," is adopted unanimously. I call upon Deputy Tyurkin.

Tyurkin: In view of the considerations which Comrade Rychkov, the People's Commissar of Justice of the U.S.S.R., has explained and I have supported, I move that we accept his proposal to change the title "Regulations Governing the Judicial System of the U.S.S.R., and of the Union and Autonomous Republics" to "Act Concerning the Judicial System of the U.S.S.R., and of the Union and Autonomous Republics."

The Chairman: Those in favour of adopting this motion, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

The motion is accepted unanimously.

I shall now take a vote on the Act Concerning the Judicial System of the U.S.S.R., and of the Union and Autonomous Republics as a whole. Those in favour of adopting the Act as a whole, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

The Act Concerning the Judicial System of the U.S.S.R., and of the Union and Autonomous Republics as a whole is adopted unanimously. (*Applause.*)

I call upon Deputy Yemtsov for a motion on the procedure for the discussion of the question of the election of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. and on the Citizenship of the U.S.S.R. Bill.

V. Y. Yemtsov (*Tashkent-Lenin City Area, Uzbek S.S.R.*): Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet. I move that the next item on the agenda—election of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R.—be discussed and decided at a joint sitting of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities.

I also move that the report on the Citizenship of the U.S.S.R. Bill be heard at a joint sitting of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities.

I move that the joint sitting of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities to elect the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. and to hear the report on the Citizenship of the U.S.S.R. Bill be held on August 17, at 1 p.m.

The Chairman: Are there any other motions on this question?

Voices: No.

The Chairman: I shall take a vote on Deputy Yemtsov's motion. Those in favour of adopting Deputy Yemtsov's motion, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Deputy Yemtsov's motion is adopted unanimously.

The joint sitting of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities will be held on August 17, at 1 p.m.

The next sitting of the Soviet of Nationalities will be held on August 19, at 11 a.m.

This closes the sitting.

SEVENTH SITTING

August 19, 1938

N. M. Shvernik, Chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities, and C. A. Aslanova, Vice-Chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities, take their seats on the dais, and the members of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. and the leaders of the Party and the Government enter the boxes. They are greeted with loud and prolonged applause. All rise.

N. M. Shvernik: (*in the chair*): I hereby open the sitting of the Soviet of Nationalities. We shall proceed to the debate on the Citizenship of the U.S.S.R. Bill.

I call upon Deputy Vershkov.

P. A. Vershkov (*Tbilisi Twenty-Six Communards Area, Georgian S.S.R.*): Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet. I wholeheartedly support the Citizenship of the U.S.S.R. Bill introduced by the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. There can be no doubt but that both our Chamber and the Soviet of the Union of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. will give it their unqualified support.

To be a citizen of our country is a very great honour, for the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is the first and only country in the world where, under the inspiring leadership of Lenin and Stalin, the great ideas of the founders of scientific Communism, Marx and Engels, have been put into practice, for itis the hearth and home of the world proletarian revolution.

The Citizenship of the U.S.S.R. Bill follows in its entirety from the Stalin Constitution.

Our Constitution, as Comrade Stalin said at the Extraordinary Eighth Congress of Soviets of the U.S.S.R. is, "consequently . . . the registration and legislative consolidation of what has already been achieved and won in actual fact." In our country all citizens are ensured the right to work, rest, education and material maintenance in old age.

"Equality of rights of citizens of the U.S.S.R.," reads Article 123 of the Stalin Constitution, "irrespective of their nationality or race, in all spheres of economic, state, cultural, social and political life, is an indefeasible law.

"Any direct or indirect restriction of the rights of, or, conversely, any establishment of direct or indirect privileges for citizens on account of their race or nationality, as well as any advocacy of racial or national exclusiveness or hatred and contempt, is punishable by law."

Every word of the Stalin Constitution is living reality.

In bourgeois countries, especially in countries where the fascists are in power, the constitution is pure fraud practised upon the working people. The rights granted by these constitutions are such only for the propertied, the exploiters. The constitutions of bourgeois countries reflect the system which accords full power to the capitalists. The bourgeois constitutions delude the working people and legalize the rule of violence of the exploiters over the exploited, the working people.

The constitutions of bourgeois countries only give rise to the illusion in the minds of the masses that they actually participate in the administration of the state. Most bourgeois constitutions, of course, contain not even a suggestion that might be construed as a guarantee to the working people of a right to work, education and rest.

For instance, the Polish constitution of 1921 stated on the subject of work for citizens that "every citizen has the right to state protection for his labour." As you see, this formulation was rather loose. Instead of an actual guarantee of work, the Polish Constitution promised the working man only "the right to state protection for his labour."

In the Polish constitution of 1935 no trace remains of even this sham right, which did not commit anyone to anything. In the fascist countries the working people are altogether deprived of freedom of speech, of the press and of assembly.

In this same Polish constitution of 1935, it is stated: "The state ensures citizens the opportunity of developing their personal worth, guarantees freedom of conscience, of speech and of association"; but all this is brought to nought by the succeeding clause of the same article, in which it is stated that "these liberties are limited by the common weal." It is obvious that by the term "common weal" are meant the interests of the exploiters—the capitalists and landlords.

The extent to which the rights of the working people in Poland are guaranteed appears quite clearly in Article 2 of the constitution of the Polish republic.

This article reads: "The president of the republic is the head of the state. He is responsible before God and history for the destiny of the state."

It is difficult for the Polish citizen to count on the realization of his rights when the president answers only to history and to God, or, to put it plainly, to nobody.

It is a well-known fact that this year Japan is expending only 1.8 per cent of her budgetary revenue for purposes of education. In point of fact, this appropriation is included in the Japanese Budget only for

the sake of decency. And this is easily understood, for it is not in the interests of the Japanese bourgeoisie to educate the working people of their country.

The Stalin Constitution imposes on every citizen of our country great but at the same time noble and honourable duties. Daily and hourly the citizens of our country set examples of how to carry out the duties assigned to them by the Stalin Constitution.

Article 130 of our Constitution reads: "It is the duty of every citizen of the U.S.S.R. to abide by the Constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, to observe the laws, to maintain labour discipline, honestly to perform public duties, and to respect the rules of Socialist human intercourse."

Revolutionary law has deeply penetrated into the consciousness of the masses. Every day fewer cases of law-breaking may be observed. The Stakhanov movement is spreading and growing in our country. The ranks of the heroes of Socialist labour are swelling.

Article 131 of the Stalin Constitution reads:

"It is the duty of every citizen of the U.S.S.R. to safeguard and fortify public, Socialist property as the sacred and inviolable foundation of the Soviet system, as the source of the wealth and might of the country, as the source of the prosperous and cultured life of all the toilers.

"Persons encroaching upon public, Socialist property are enemies of the people."

This proposition laid down by our Constitution, this proposition, which is the cornerstone of the Soviet system, has penetrated the minds of all the millions of citizens of our country. It is profoundly recognized not only by adults but likewise by the youth and the children. At factories and mills, on collective farms and in government institutions, the working people of our country, under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, are waging an energetic struggle against plunderers of Socialist property. Soviet patriots display genuine heroism in the struggle for the protection of the sacred and inviolable foundations of our state. We know numerous examples of members of the Pioneers and schoolchildren, frequently at the risk of their lives, defending Socialist property from misappropriators, from enemies of the people.

Comprehension of the fact that Socialist property is the sacred and inviolable foundation of the Soviet system has become part and parcel of the lives of the working people of our fatherland.

Article 132 of the Stalin Constitution reads:

"Universal military service is law.

"Military service in the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army is an honourable duty of the citizens of the U.S.S.R."

Soviet youth is enthusiastically aspiring to join the ranks of the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army and Navy. Our Red Army, headed by the valorous People's Commissar, Kliment Yefremovich Voroshilov, enjoys the universal love of the Soviet people.

The events on the Far Eastern frontier vividly show that the citizens of our country in the ranks of our glorious Workers' and Peasants' Red Army are fully able valorously and heroically to discharge their civic duty to their Socialist fatherland. And there is no doubt but that at the first call of the Soviet Government, of our great leader and teacher, Comrade Stalin, the whole Soviet people will rise as one man to the defence of their great Socialist fatherland. (*Applause.*)

The Stalin Constitution and the Citizenship of the U.S.S.R. Bill now under discussion raise the name of citizen of the Soviet Union to an unprecedented height. Each citizen of our country, wherever he may be, on whatever sector of economic, cultural, scientific or other work he may be engaged, must make every endeavour to raise the name and dignity of citizen of the Land of the Soviets.

The Soviet people, the Party and Government, our leader, Comrade Stalin, all know how to esteem the heroism and valour of their citizens. In our country the heroes of the *Chelyuskin* and Papanin exploits, our brave aviators and heroes of labour, are covered with undying glory.

In his report at the Extraodinary Eighth Congress of Soviets of the U.S.S.R. on the draft Constitution of the U.S.S.R. Comrade Stalin said: "It will be a document testifying to the fact that what has been achieved in the U.S.S.R. is fully possible of achievement in other countries also."

We do not doubt this, for it was Comrade Stalin who said it, and what Comrade Stalin says always comes true without fail. (*Applause.*)

Comrades, it is a pleasure and a joy to live and work in the greatest and mightiest country in the world, in a country such as the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Each one of us sons and daughters of the great Soviet people is filled with great joy, pride and confidence, for all of us are working, training ourselves and struggling for the cause of Communism, under the leadership of the great and wise first citizen of our country, our leader and teacher—Comrade Stalin. (*Applause.*)

The Chairman: I call on Deputy Novikov.

I. V. Novikov (*Shumerlya Area, Chuvash A.S.S.R.*): Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet. We have heard the report of Deputy Bulganin on the Citizenship of the U. S. S. R. Bill. This bill, submitted by the Council of People's Commissars of the U. S. S. R. for the consideration and approval of the Second Session of the Supreme Soviet, is of great state and political importance. It establishes who is and who may become a citizen of the U. S. S. R. and raises the name of citizen of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to a still higher plane.

The Citizenship of the U. S. S. R. Bill has been elaborated on the basis of the Stalin Constitution. It expresses the will, aspirations and desires of all the people of our vast Soviet, Socialist state. For this reason I fully support the motion to pass the Bill before us concerning citizenship of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

This citizenship law is imbued with the great solicitude, characteristic of Stalin, for the human being, for the working people of the Socialist fatherland. As in the other acts adopted by the Session of the

Supreme Soviet of the U. S. S. R., so in this act the steadily increasing might of the Socialist state, the strength and greatness of the free citizens of the Land of the Soviets, is demonstrated in all clarity and still more forcefully confirmed.

Thanks to the correct policy of our Party, of its Leninist-Stalinist Central Committee, of our leader and teacher, Comrade Stalin, our Socialist economy is growing and gaining strength, the power and might of our splendid Socialist fatherland is increasing, and the material and cultural welfare of the working masses is improving.

The working people of town and country have begun to lead cultured, rich and joyous lives. Poverty, unemployment and tyranny have been abolished in our country completely and forever. All this is the result of the Great October Revolution, carried out under the leadership of our glorious, invincible Communist Party of Bolsheviks, the Party of Lenin and Stalin. We have achieved all this owing to the tireless daily solicitude for the citizens of the U.S.S.R. displayed by the great genius of mankind, Comrade Stalin. (*Applause.*)

Everywhere we see the solicitude of the Party and the Government for the citizens of our country. This is also brought out strongly by the Judicial System Act which we have just passed. Article 2 of this Act states that it is the task of justice in the U. S. S. R. to protect from any and every encroachment "the political, labour, dwelling and other personal and property rights and interests of citizens of the U. S. S. R. guaranteed by the Constitution of the U. S. S. R. or the Constitutions of the Union and autonomous republics."

The Judicial System Act, like the Citizenship of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics Bill, has been drawn up in full conformity with and on the basis of the most democratic Constitution in the world—the Stalin Constitution. They protect and actually secure the rights of the citizens of our Socialist fatherland, rights won by the Great October Socialist Revolution.

The Stalin Constitution and our laws consolidate and protect the great achievements of Socialist society and safeguard the indefeasibility of the rights of the citizens of our free land.

It is a very great honour to be a citizen of Socialist society. To be a citizen of the U. S. S. R. means, together with the whole people, under the leadership of the Party of Lenin and Stalin, under the guidance of our great leader, Comrade Stalin, actively to participate in Socialist upbuilding, to consolidate the might and defensive power of our country. To be a citizen of the Soviet Union means resolutely to smash and destroy all enemies of the people.

All the working people of our country, irrespective of their racial or national distinctions, have a common Socialist state, dear to all of them—the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics—formed on the basis of the voluntary association of Soviet Socialist republics endowed with equal rights. Our Soviet people direct all their thoughts, desires and actions towards the further development of Socialist construction and

culture, the improvement of the conditions of the working people, the consolidation of the defensive power of our country.

That is why the moral and political unity of the working masses of the Soviet Union is so strong, and the love of our citizens for their motherland, for the Bolshevik Party, for the beloved friend, teacher and father of all the working masses, for the greatest of men—Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin—is so boundless. (*Loud and prolonged applause.*)

Our multi-national, multi-millioned people live as one friendly family, setting an example to the working people of the whole world of how a happy and joyous life should be built. All our people are full of but one desire—to move forward more rapidly and confidently towards the building of Communist society.

The people of the Soviet Union are free and happy. And there is no force on earth that can take from our people all they have won in the October days and built up in the past twenty years under the inspiring and wise leadership of Lenin and Stalin.

He who attempts to encroach on our conquests will encounter a granite wall in the united, friendly and monolithic family of the working citizens of our Soviet Socialist state, and will be completely smashed and destroyed.

At any moment, at the first call of the Party and the Government, all the people of the Soviet Union will rise as one man in defence of the sacred borders of our Socialist state.

Our glorious Red Army, led by a captain without peer—one of the closest companions in arms of Comrade Stalin, the First Marshal of the Soviet Union, Kliment Yefremovich Voroshilov (*loud and prolonged applause*), enjoys and will always enjoy the fullest and most ardent support of the millions of the Soviet people.

The base hirelings of fascism, those traitors to the Socialist fatherland, those enemies of the free and happy Soviet citizens, those enemies of the people, attempted to restore capitalism in our country and thereby again put the yoke of capitalist exploitation on the working masses, deprive them of the rights they have won and make slaves of them.

But these vile and contemptible traitors, these hirelings of fascism, miscalculated. The glorious organs of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs, headed and led by the Stalin-inspired People's Commissar, Nikolai Ivanovich Yezhov (*applause*), broke up their hornets' nests, thus preventing all encroachment on the rights of the citizens of the U.S.S.R.

Let the fascists and their agents in the Trotskyite and Bukharinite bands remember that the organs of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs and the whole Soviet people will continue to deal mercilessly with the enemies of the people and to destroy them like malodorous reptiles.

Comrades, the Citizenship of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics Bill raises still higher the name of Soviet citizen.

The Stalin Constitution guarantees to the citizens of the Soviet Union the right to work, the right to education, the right to rest, and so forth.

Take, for example, the Chuvash A. S. S. R. In 1913 there were 29,000 persons attending schools in Chuvashia. Now there are 180,000. In the cursed days of the tsars we could count the intermediate schools on our fingers, while now over 40,000 children are studying in the intermediate schools of Chuvashia. Formerly we had no higher educational establishments at all in our republic, while now we have four of them, with more than 2,000 students. These figures are convincing proof of how the right to education of the citizens of the Land of Socialism is being brought to fruition.

There is no need to speak about how the right to work is being realized in our country. For in our country there are no unemployed, and can be none. Under the Soviet system labour is not arduous or burdensome—it has become a matter of honour, of glory, of valour and heroism.

That is why the army of heroes of labour, the army of Stakhanovites of industry, of Socialist agriculture and other branches of our economy, is growing in our country every day. Every citizen of our Socialist fatherland feels secure about tomorrow, for he knows that he will not be left without work either tomorrow or thereafter. He is daily aware of the Stalin-fostered solicitude felt for him.

Under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, under the leadership of the great Stalin, the toiling masses are marching to new victories, to new achievements, are marching to build Communism. (*Applause.*)

The Chairman: I call on Deputy Trutnev.

V. K. Trutnev (*Kazan Rural Area, Tatar A.S.S.R.*): Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet, the Government of the U. S. S. R. has submitted a Bill on Citizenship of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics for the approval of the Second Session of the Supreme Soviet.

This bill is of tremendous state importance, for it specifies what persons are citizens of our great Socialist fatherland, are members of our multi-millioned family. Beyond a doubt, the Second Session of the Supreme Soviet of the U. S. S. R. will vote unanimously to approve this Bill, for it is based on the principles of the great Stalin Constitution. The Citizenship of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics Bill fully answers the interests of our mighty state, the interests of the great Soviet people.

Article 21 of the Stalin Constitution reads:

"One Union citizenship is established for all citizens of the U. S. S. R.

"Every citizen of a Union republic is a citizen of the U. S. S. R."

The national policy of Lenin and Stalin has completely destroyed all national dissension, artificially kindled by the tsarist government. The national policy of Lenin and Stalin has created in the Soviet Union a single fraternal family of peoples, animated by one aspiration and victoriously advancing to the creation of a Communist society. The national policy of Lenin and Stalin has created the conditions needed for the boundless development of all the creative powers of the working people of our country. The national policy of Lenin and Stalin has ensured and realized the development of the culture of each people entering into the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, a culture national in form and Socialist in content.

The Land of Soviets is marching at the head of the column of cultural progress. It was on our own Soviet machines that our heroic airmen flew across the grim North Pole and reached America. It was Soviet heroes that set up and organized the North Pole station, and by their painstaking, heroic work enriched world science with their highly important contributions. The achievements of Soviet science and Soviet technique have received universal recognition.

Our ardent patriots—the border guards and Red Army men—are vigilantly guarding the frontiers of our Socialist fatherland. They have taught the Japanese militarists a splendid lesson.

Soviet citizens have set examples in unsurpassed labour productivity in all sectors of the national economy.

The talents of the Soviet people, which have blossomed forth in all their splendour, arouse well merited admiration throughout the world. Only in our country are all creative forces called into play, and the product of the activity of these creative forces is devoted to the welfare of the people.

The bright stars of the Moscow Kremlin are the beacon lights towards which the eyes of all progressive mankind are lovingly turned.

The working people of our fatherland well know that the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics has achieved successes and victories only because their struggle and work is led by the heroic Communist Party, by the Party of Lenin and Stalin. (*Applause.*)

The great Soviet people are firmly convinced that under the wise leadership of our brilliant teacher and guide—our great Stalin—our country will achieve one new success after another. (*Applause.*)

Many are the lofty ideas associated with the conception "Soviet citizen." It is a great honour to be a citizen of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the first and only Socialist state of workers and peasants in the world. The holder of a Soviet passport is guaranteed all those good things in life that are recorded in the Stalin Constitution. The most just of laws—Soviet law—is arrayed in defence of the political, labour, dwelling, property and other rights of the Soviet citizen.

The firm Leninist-Stalinist principles which underlie the organization of our state and all its functions also underlie the Citizenship of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics Bill, based upon the great Stalin Constitution.

The laws of capitalist countries stipulate all sorts of conditions to impede the granting of citizenship to aliens. Most frequently a prolonged residence on its territory is required before any capitalist country grants citizenship to aliens. The Citizenship of the U. S. S. R. Bill submitted for the consideration of the Second Session of the Supreme Soviet of the U. S. S. R. contains no such restrictions. They were never part of Soviet legislation. All honest people, worthy of the name of Soviet citizen, imbued with the same ideas as inspire the Soviet people,

may count on having their petitions for Soviet citizenship granted.

The Citizenship of the U.S.S.R. Bill is of enormous importance to progress.

In obscurantism and misanthropy the legislation of the fascist states surpasses the legislation and practices of the Middle Ages. It is a well known fact that German fascism, after proclaiming the "theory" of racialism and dividing the citizenry into groups in accordance with the degree of "purity" of their blood, judged by the percentage of German blood it contains, legalized the rule of barbarism, the rule of misanthropy. In this respect Italy is on a par with Germany.

We are in full agreement with Deputy Bulganin, who stated in his report: "The U. S. S. R. is the most progressive country in the world; it stands opposed to all obscurantism and misanthropy. Only in the Land of Socialism is it possible to have a law on citizenship such as ours. This law is the most revolutionary legislative enactment on citizenship in the history of mankind."

The Second Session of the Supreme Soviet of the U. S. S. R. will undoubtedly approve also that part of the Bill which provides that certain people may be deprived of citizenship. People who by their conduct defame the proud name of Soviet citizen, will, by sentence of court in cases where the law so provides, or by virtue of a ukase of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U. S. S. R. specially issued in each case, be cast out of our Socialist society like that much useless rubbish.

Soviet law, while ensuring to citizens of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics all the rights recorded in the Stalin Constitution, imposes on each of them the highly honourable duties they owe to the Socialist fatherland.

Every citizen is obliged to observe the Soviet laws, to do his utmost to consolidate the might of our state. He must always remember that the main, the most sacred of his duties is the defence of the Socialist fatherland.

The Bill submitted to our consideration is a document of state importance. It testifies to the power of the Soviet state, to the monolithic nature, the unity and equality of rights of all the peoples of our multinational country. This document will raise still higher the prestige of the Soviet citizen.

I express my firm conviction that the Second Session of the Supreme Soviet of the U. S. S. R. will approve the proposed Bill; for it fully expresses the will of the people, reflects the distinguishing features of the great Stalin era, and fully conforms to the Fundamental Law of our country, the author of which is our leader and teacher—our great Stalin. (*Applause.*)

The Chairman: I call on Deputy Petrov.

A. S. Petrov (*Rybnitsk Area, Moldavian A.S.S.R.*): Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet. The victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution marks a new era in the history of all the peoples. In our country the exploiting classes have been smashed and destroyed

forever, and together with them have gone crises, unemployment, famine and poverty, never to return.

The numerous nationalities of our country have united in a single family of fully enfranchised citizens of the only Socialist state in the world—in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the only country in the world where the relations between peoples are based on mutual trust and fraternal collaboration. This collaboration among peoples, never before known to history, serves as a mighty beacon for the whole of mankind that is oppressed by capitalism, for all the warriors against fascism, against barbarism and violence, illumining the road that leads to a happy and joyous life.

Comrades, the Citizenship of the U. S. S. R. Bill submitted by the Council of People's Commissars of the U. S. S. R. for the consideration and approval of the Session of the Supreme Soviet is a most important political document, as it determines the right of citizenship in the only multi-national, Socialist state in the world. The Citizenship of the U. S. S. R. Bill is wholly based on our great Stalin Constitution. Therefore, comrades, I shall but express the general opinion if I say that the Bill will be approved and passed.

Comrades, the right to citizenship of the U. S. S. R. is the right to active participation in all of the political, economic and cultural life of our country.

The right to citizenship of the U. S. S. R. is the right to forge one's own happiness, one's own joyous, happy, prosperous life.

The right to citizenship of the U. S. S. R. is the right to rest, to work, to education, to material maintenance in old age.

The right to citizenship of the U. S. S. R. is the right to freedom of speech, to freedom of the press, of street processions and demonstrations, and so forth.

All these rights of the citizens of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics are safeguarded by our Fundamental Soviet Law—the great Stalin Constitution—and guaranteed by the whole system of our Socialist economy.

Only in the Land of Socialism is a citizenship possible under which all nations, large and small, enjoy equal rights.

The working people of capitalist countries have not and cannot have such civil rights. There, the working citizens are doomed to arbitrary rule, to unemployment, poverty, ruin and starvation, doomed to extinction. There, only the capitalists enjoy full rights. The laws of capitalist countries classify citizens according to blood, colour, race, etc. In tsarist Russia the population was subdivided into those who enjoyed full rights, partial rights and no rights. In tsarist Russia the term "citizen" did not exist at all; the term "subject" was used in its place. Thus, all persons residing on the territory of the former Russian Empire, with the exception of persons of foreign citizenship, were Russian subjects, with all that this implied for the working people. The national minorities in tsarist Russia, as now still in all capitalist and especially the fascist countries, were doomed to suffer the most grievous disabilities and

unjust humiliations at the hands of the ruling classes—the capitalists, landlords and kulaks. The working people of the national minorities in the Russian Empire were not considered human beings altogether. Alien Jewish workers could not obtain Russian citizenship, nor were alien women granted Russian citizenship in their own right, apart from their husbands.

In our country one Union citizenship has been established for the citizens of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Citizenship may be conferred upon aliens, irrespective of their nationality or race, upon their petition, by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U. S. S. R., or the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union republic in which they reside, if they are worthy of this honour.

Comrades, it is indeed a great honour to be a citizen of the Land of Socialism and discharge the duties of a citizen of the U. S. S. R. It is a great honour to live and work in the country in which the working class and the peasantry are in power, the country which is led by the great, battle-tested Party of Lenin and Stalin (*applause*), which is directed by our wise leader, the author of the world's most democratic Constitution—our great Stalin. (*Loud applause.*)

The Trotskyites, Bukharinites, Zinovievites and other despicable, thrice-cursed hirelings of fascist intelligence services, together with the bourgeoisie all over the world, attempted to sell our great Socialist fatherland lock, stock, and barrel, tried to restore capitalism. They attempted to deprive the working people of their rights as citizens of the Land of Socialism, and to deliver them again in bondage to the capitalist, the landlord, the kulak. They attempted to break up the mutual friendship of the multi-national Soviet people, for they know the strength and power of this friendship. They realize that the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is the grave-digger of capitalism and of the bourgeoisie throughout the world.

That is why the enemies of the people, sensing that their doom is irrevocably sealed, resorted, in their last death-agony, to the lowest, vilest, basest devices and methods of struggle against the Land of Socialism.

Our glorious Soviet intelligence service, under the leadership of the Stalinist People's Commissar, Nikolai Ivanovich Yezhov, has smashed, is smashing and will continue, together with the whole of the multi-national Soviet people, to smash mercilessly all this scum, these dregs of human society. (*Applause.*)

We will most ruthlessly crush all who try to hold back our victorious advance along the path leading to Communism, along the path leading to the world proletarian revolution.

The great leader of peoples, Comrade Stalin, says:

"...The friendship between the peoples of the U.S.S.R. is a great and important achievement. For while this friendship exists, the peoples of our country will be free and invincible. We fear no one, neither internal nor external foe, while this friendship lives and thrives."

Comrades, the mutual friendship of the peoples of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is expressed in the passionate Soviet patriotism of the working people of our multi-national country.

This patriotism of the citizens of our country was very strikingly manifested during the elections to the Supreme Soviet of the U. S. S. R. and the Supreme Soviets of the Union and autonomous republics.

On that occasion the citizens of the U. S. S. R. demonstrated their might, their monolithic character, the moral and political unity with which they rally around the Communist Party, around the great and beloved Stalin. (*Loud applause.*)

The working people of our country feel honoured to bear the name of citizen of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and fulfil their duty as citizens of the Land of Socialism with love and boundless devotion.

Can there be a more magnificent demonstration of the proper performance of civic duty than the unexampled exploits of our heroes—Papanin, Shirshov, Krenkel and Fyodorov, or our proud Stalinist eagles—Chkalov, Baidukov, Belyakov, Gromov, Kokkinaki, Proskurov and scores of other incomparable heroes and heroines of our industry, agriculture, science, art, of our glorious, valorous Workers' and Peasants' Red Army? (*Applause.*)

Soviet citizens number within their ranks hundreds of thousands of such heroes and heroines, who will yet show the whole world what the citizens of the Land of Socialism are capable of.

Our citizens are continually establishing new world records in all spheres of Socialist endeavour, for they have been reared by our great and beloved Stalin. (*Loud applause.*)

All honour and glory to our heroic Soviet citizens who on the frontiers of the Far East dealt a crushing blow to the Japanese *samurai* when they dared to encroach on the liberties prevailing in the Land of Socialism.

Comrades, before I left to attend the Session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., the men, commanders and political workers of the borderguard troops and the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army, the workers, collective farmers and employees of our Soviet Socialist Moldavia asked me to convey with full assurance to the Party, the Government and our great, beloved Stalin that our western frontiers are in firm and reliable hands. (*Loud applause.*)

Let not the Japanese *samurai*, the German barons and other vile fascist war-lords of their breed rattle their sabres and try to frighten us. We always remember, we never forget and shall not forget the words of our great and beloved Stalin on preparedness and mobilization.

At the first call of the Party, the Government and our great Stalin, and under the leadership of our iron Stalinist People's Commissar and First Marshal of the Soviet Union, Kliment Yefremovich Voroshilov (*loud applause*), the Red Army will prove in any battles which the fascist aggressors may force upon us that it not only knows full well how to defend, together with the multi-national Soviet people, the civil liberties of our country, the Land of Socialism, but will also afford the

working people of the whole world the opportunity of securing similar civil rights. (*Loud applause.*)

Let us cheer for our Soviet citizenship, for our happy, joyous lives, let us cheer for our great Stalin! (*All rise. Loud applause and cheers in honour of Comrade Stalin.*)

The Chairman: I call upon Deputy Ibraihmov.

M. Ibrahimov (*Kazakh Area, Azerbaidjan Soviet Socialist Republic*): Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet. I fully support the motion of the deputies who have already spoken in favour of passing the Citizenship of the U.S.S.R. Bill submitted by the Council of People's Commissars of the Soviet Union.

In doing so, we shall be passing the citizenship law of the first Socialist land in the world, our free and mighty fatherland, beloved of all of us—the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. This law will enhance still more the honourable name of Soviet citizen.

The Unified State Budget of the U.S.S.R. for 1938 approved by this Session reflects the political and economic might of the Soviet Union. Our country is a first-class industrial power, our agriculture is equipped with up-to-date machinery, our Red Army is an army invincible and distinguished for its political consciousness, its discipline, its fighting capacity, its might.

For all these achievements, for our whole life of happiness and joy, we, the peoples of the Soviet Union, owe gratitude to the great Party of Lenin and Stalin, to this great man of our era, this leader of peoples—Comrade Stalin. (*Loud applause.*)

Comrades, to be born on our sacred soil, to be a citizen of our country, to live under the inspiring leadership of the continuer of the cause of Lenin, of our wise leader, Comrade Stalin, is a cause of great happiness and pride to any human being. The rights of the citizens of the Soviet Union are recorded and made secure in the Stalin Constitution. No one in the world has such rights and opportunities to lead a free and creative life as has the citizen of our fatherland. All Soviet citizens are equal in their rights. Our Constitution "does not simply proclaim equality of rights for citizens, but ensures it by the legislative consolidation of the fact that the regime of exploitation has been abolished, of the fact that the citizens have been emancipated from all exploitation." (*Stalin.*)

At the dawn of its development the bourgeoisie solemnly proclaimed its Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen. Men are born and remain free and equal, the bourgeoisie proclaimed in those days. But this was all sham and hypocrisy, a screen behind which to perpetuate the rightlessness of the working people, class oppression and social injustice.

"The modern bourgeois society that has sprouted from the ruins of feudal society," the *Communist Manifesto* states, "has not done away with class antagonisms. It has but established new classes, new conditions of oppression, new forms of struggle in place of the old ones." The bourgeoisie "has resolved personal worth into exchange value,

and in place of the numberless indefeasible chartered freedoms, has set up that single, unconscionable freedom—Free Trade."

Such is the practical meaning of the bourgeois declaration of the rights of man and citizen.

For the working man, to be a citizen of bourgeois society means to be a slave, to be deprived of the natural rights of man, to suffer thousands of physical and moral indignities and humiliations.

The history of bourgeois society does not know a single great thinker, writer or artist who considered himself fortunate to be a man of his times, who was content with and proud of the social and political conditions under which he exercised his rights of citizenship. All the great minds of the past hated and despised the bourgeois system of government.

The contemporary bourgeoisie, standing on the threshold of its ruin, ever more brazenly displays its anti-human, brutal nature. Far from being an attribute of the bourgeoisie, genuine humanism is alien to it. In our day, even in the so-called democratic countries, the dignity and liberty of the working people, the personality of the human being and citizen, are trampled in the mud.

What freedom, what human dignity is there to speak of, when people are deprived of shelter and a crust of bread? "They speak of the equality of citizens, but forget that there cannot be real equality between master and workman, between landlord and peasant, if the former possess wealth and political weight in society while the latter are deprived of both, if the former are exploiters while the latter are exploited." (*Stalin.*)

Comrades, it is well known that the fascists—this raving, misanthropic band of imperialism—have turned the countries in which they rule into prisons of peoples. To be a citizen of a fascist country means to be subjected to spiritual impoverishment, to leave one's inner self desolated, to be doomed to physical annihilation. Under the fascist regime whole peoples, whole nations, are by official authority deprived of the right to work, to creative work, to freedom, to life.

In the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, everyone who is a citizen of this great, fraternal, Socialist union of peoples, be he Russian or Ukrainian, Byelorussian or Azerbaidjanian, Georgian or Armenian, Uzbek or Kazakh, Kirghiz, Bashkir or Tadjik, everyone, irrespective of his or her nationality, has the same rights.

In his report on the draft Constitution of the U.S.S.R., Comrade Stalin said that it "proceeds from the fact that neither difference in colour or language, cultural level or level of political development, nor any other difference between nations and races, can serve as grounds for justifying national inequality of rights. It proceeds from the fact that all nations and races, irrespective of their past and present position, irrespective of their strength or weakness, must enjoy equal rights in all spheres of the economic, social, political and cultural life of society."

The Lenin-Stalin national policy of the Bolshevik Party has ensured the peace, fraternal friendship and equality of rights of the peoples in our country. In the family of peoples our eldest brother is the great Russian people.

Under the autocracy, the tsarist hangmen and gendarmes mercilessly oppressed and enslaved the Russian working population. The finest sons of the Russian people perished in the poisoned atmosphere of tsarist Russia.

The peoples inhabiting the borderlands of the country eked out their existence in absolutely inhuman conditions. Tsarism restricted all, even merely formal, rights of the overwhelming majority of citizens, provoked pogroms, massacres of various nationalities, and the like.

A decree of the Soviet power issued in the first days of the Great Proletarian Revolution put on record that:

"In the epoch of tsarism the peoples of Russia were systematically incited against each other. The results of this policy are well known: massacres and pogroms on the one hand, enslavement of the peoples on the other.

"This shameful policy of nation-baiting is gone, never to return. It must henceforth be superseded by a policy of *voluntary* and *sincere* union among the peoples of Russia."

We peoples of Transcaucasia only too well remember the provocative policy of tsarism. We shall never forget and never forgive the bourgeois nationalists, these henchmen of the tsar, these hangmen and traitors, these despised enemies of the peoples of Transcaucasia, for having shed the blood of our peoples.

Now the autocracy has passed into oblivion, for the Russian people overthrew and destroyed Russian military-feudal imperialism and proclaimed the independence, freedom and fraternity of the peoples.

The great Russian people fully merit the love and the glory that attaches to being the foremost champion and standard-bearer in the struggle for the emancipation of mankind. It is no mere accident that the word *rus*—Russian—evokes joy and affection in the heart of every Azerbaidjanian, Georgian, Ukrainian, Byelorussian, Uzbek—in the hearts of all the citizens of our multi-national fatherland. To us the word *rus* means *kardash*, *yoldash*, *dost*—brother, comrade, friend.

The vile enemies of the people—the agents of fascist intelligence services, the Trotskyite and Bukharinite bandits, the spies, diversionists and wreckers, the bourgeois-nationalist scoundrels—all tried to dismember the U.S.S.R., to destroy the great Stalinist family of peoples, to bring back the capitalists and landlords, to restore "the shameful policy of nation-baiting."

The retributive hand of the glorious workers of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs, led by that true Stalinist—Comrade Yezhov—has wiped the despicable and vile traitors from the face of the earth.

The Stalinist family of peoples is inviolable and strong. And we shall continue mercilessly to destroy the enemies of Socialism, the foes of fraternity and freedom among our Soviet citizens.

Man—that sounds so proud! said the great writer A. M. Gorky. Yes, to be a man of the Land of Soviets does sound proud. For he is a citizen of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. He has been given

every opportunity, has been supplied with every prerequisite for the broad development of all his abilities, of all his talents. In our country everything that is done is done only for the human being, the citizen, to enhance his worth, to improve his life.

The classical expression of this solicitude for the citizen of our fatherland, for the individual, are the words of Comrade Stalin that of all the capital the world possesses, the most valuable is people. In no other country is there or has there ever been so fortunate a person, nowhere is the citizen held in such honour as in the land of victorious Socialism! In our country all the wealth, all material values of society belong to the people, belong to the citizens of our great fatherland.

Every citizen of the U.S.S.R. is at ease about tomorrow: he is not threatened by such calamities as unemployment, poverty or starvation. The greatest document of our era, the Stalin Constitution, guarantees to all citizens of the U.S.S.R. a prosperous, cultured and happy life.

"Citizens of the U.S.S.R. have the right to work, *i.e.*, are guaranteed the right to employment and payment for their work in accordance with its quantity and quality," says Article 118 of the Stalin Constitution.

The Soviet Government is tirelessly solicitous to improve the health of its citizens, to prolong their lives. Billions of rubles are assigned annually for the protection of public health. Every year the network of health resorts, rest homes, and similar establishments increases. More and more sanatoriums, hospitals, parks of culture and rest, clubs, and so forth are being built.

The citizens of the U.S.S.R. spend their periods of rest surrounded by the richest natural scenery, housed in splendidly equipped rest homes and sanatoria. The right to rest is ensured by Article 119 of the Stalin Constitution.

To be a citizen of the first Socialist land in the world means to be an enlightened, cultured, educated person, free of all prejudices and superstitions.

The doors of numerous elementary and intermediate schools, of training schools, colleges, universities and scientific research institutes are open to all citizens of the U.S.S.R.

What country in the world except our glorious fatherland has so many professors, scientists and writers, men of science and of the arts, who have sprung from the very midst of the people, from workers and peasants!

The equality of rights of men and women, an equality impossible in any capitalist country, is a great achievement of our revolution.

Equality of rights of citizens, irrespective of nationality or race, is an indefeasible law of our Soviet Socialist country.

The Soviet citizen is guaranteed by law freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of assembly, including the holding of mass meetings, and freedom of street processions and demonstrations.

The great Stalin Constitution has broadened still more the foundations of Soviet democracy, has given us a new electoral system which ensures

that each and every citizen who has reached eighteen years of age takes part in the elections to public office. Everyone knows that even in the most democratic bourgeois countries the overwhelming majority of the citizens are, in actual practice, shorn of electoral rights.

The vast rights accorded to the citizens of our fatherland by the Stalin Constitution immeasurably enhance the distinction of being a Soviet citizen. These rights of the Soviet citizen are ensured by the material wealth created by the Socialist revolution.

There is no greater happiness than to be a citizen of such a country! It is a great honour and a cause of pride to be a citizen of a country that is led by the genius of mankind—the wise Stalin! It is a pleasure and a joy to live and work in such a country, the great Land of Soviets, to be one of its warriors and protect its sacred frontiers.

One must merit the name of Soviet citizen by honest, endlessly devoted labour. Boundless love for his fatherland, fearlessness, courage, honesty and devotion—these are the qualities which distinguish the citizen of the U.S.S.R. We are aware of our worth as citizens of the flourishing Land of Socialism, and this accounts for our high spirits, this accounts for our spirit of heroism. There is an urge in everyone of us to work indefatigably for the weal of our fatherland, so that Socialist culture and art may flourish to a still greater extent.

Our country is the birthplace of heroes. Our own beloved father, our great leader, Comrade Stalin, is rearing worthy citizens in such heroes of our fatherland as Chkalov, Mazuruk, Stakhanov.

Comrades, these heroic figures, as also those of our valorous Red Army, are prototypes of what a Soviet citizen should be.

The heroic Red Army, surrounded by the care and attention of the great Stalin, the love of the whole people, led by the Stalinist People's Commissar, Comrade Voroshilov, stands guard over the borders of our fatherland, defends the interests, the happy life of the Soviet citizens.

Recently the First (Maritime) Army taught the militarist hoodlums, the Japanese *samurai*, an instructive lesson.

The glorious warriors of the Far Eastern front, which has been decorated with the Order of the Red Banner, showed the whole world that we are not afraid of force, however great, that no bloc of aggressors can withstand our valorous Red Army, that the sacred frontiers of our Socialist land are impregnable.

Let the Japanese *samurai* and all fascist aggressors have it well in mind that the whole population of the Soviet Union, one hundred and seventy million strong, is ready to rise at any moment in defence of the sacred frontiers of our fatherland. The citizens of our Union will never forget the reminders of Lenin and Stalin that our country is surrounded by capitalist states.

At any moment, at the first call of our Government, we shall rise as one man to fight in the ranks of our glorious Red Army. We shall defend every inch of our land, and shall destroy the enemy on his own territory.

Comrades, our life has become one of happiness and culture. We

bask in the bright sun of the Stalin Constitution. People sprung from nations that were exploited for centuries have risen to be administrators of the state. Azerbaidjan women pined under their veils; for centuries they had absolutely no human rights. Now an Azerbaidjan woman sits at the Chairman's table in our Socialist parliament and helps decide questions of greatest state importance.

Playing his saz, the Azerbaidjan ashug sings about him who has given us these rights, who has given us this happy life, who has raised so high the name and worth of the Soviet citizen—about him who inspired our victories:

"The tyrants kept us in sorrow,
They set brother against brother and kin.
We never saw the sun before
You brought us spring, O wise Stalin!"
(*Loud applause.*)

The Chairman: I call upon Deputy Fyodorov. (*Applause.*)

E. K. Fyodorov (*Naukat Area, Kirghiz Soviet Socialist Republic*): Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet. I support the Citizenship of the U.S.S.R. Bill introduced by the Council of People's Commissars, but consider that the formulation of Article 3 of this Bill requires some alteration.

Article 3 speaks of the procedure of conferring Union citizenship on aliens. It is formulated as follows: "Citizenship of the U.S.S.R. may be conferred upon aliens, irrespective of their nationality or race, upon their petition, by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. or the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union republic in which they reside."

In his report on the Citizenship of the U.S.S.R. Bill Deputy Bulganin pointed out that there is a difference between the conferring of citizenship of the U.S.S.R. by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union and that of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of a Union republic. The difference is that the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union may confer citizenship of the U.S.S.R. upon aliens who do not reside on Soviet territory, while the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of a Union republic may confer such citizenship only upon aliens who reside on the territory of the given Union republic.

It seems to me that if we agree to such a distinction, Article 3 should be formulated differently. For instance, as follows: "Citizenship of the U.S.S.R. may be conferred upon aliens irrespective of their nationality, race or place of residence, upon their petition, by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. Citizenship of the U.S.S.R. may be conferred upon aliens residing in one of the Union republics by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union republic."

The main idea of the Soviet citizenship Bill is absolutely clear, simple and obvious to each of us, obvious to the whole population of our country. It implies that everyone who works honestly for the good

of our fatherland is a citizen enjoying full rights. On the other hand, we shall deprive of citizenship anyone who tries to hamper our progress, who tries to harm our state.

Soviet citizenship differs from citizenship of any capitalist country in that the Soviet citizen is an active figure in all spheres of life of his country.

In our country there are no exploiters; we work for ourselves, and therefore the more ability, knowledge and effort each one of us puts into his work, the greater the speed with which our country moves ahead, the happier the life of our whole people and consequently, of each individual citizen. Therefore Soviet patriotism is a sentiment much stronger than the "patriotic sentiments" which the governments of capitalist countries try to stir up among their populations.

The bourgeois state is hostile to the vast majority of its population, hostile because such a state sanctions and lends every support to the exploitation of the majority of the population—the working people.

For this reason the working people of capitalist countries cannot consider the state in which they live their fatherland. Their eyes, their sympathies, their hopes are turned towards the Soviet Union, the fatherland of the working people of the whole world.

When we were in Tallinn we received many letters from Esthonian workers. It was touching to see what sympathy and love they bear our country. Unemployed workers spent their last pennies to buy flowers which they sent to us. They asked us to convey their enthusiastic greetings to the Soviet Union. They requested us to convey their greetings to the leaders of our country, to our Government.

Our fatherland, comrades, implies—we ourselves, it implies our land, our factories, our families, our Party, it implies the best and most beloved citizen of the Soviet Union, Comrade Stalin!

Every Soviet citizen is firmly bound up with his fatherland. He knows that every one of his achievements will be marked according to its deserts and appraised collectively by his fellow-workmen, he knows that the fatherland will help him, uphold him, assist him out of any danger or difficulty.

It is good to feel oneself a member of a huge, mighty and rich collective body, which attentively follows everything you engage in. This consciousness of a firm bond with the fatherland, this confidence in the support which it always extends, gives rise to wonderful examples of Stakhanovite work, helps our fearless aviators to win world records, inspires our Red Army men to brave deeds.

The knowledge that the country was solicitous of our welfare enabled us to go about our work on our ice-floe calmly. We were certain that any assistance we might require would be rendered us at a moment's notice.

The solicitude of our state for the individual arouses in every Soviet patriot the desire to devote his strength, ability and knowledge as fully and completely as possible to the good of our cherished fatherland.

Citizenship in our Union is uniform for all republics. The interests

of any republic, of any corner of our vast Soviet Union are equally dear to every Soviet citizen.

Even our children understand that neither national nor racial traits can serve as the criterion for determining whether any particular individual shall be given complete or partial rights, shall be deemed of full value or of partial value, nor can they influence the determination of citizenship, nor can they affect the attitude of society to the individual. To us this is obvious. But we must not forget that our country is the first and only country to apply these simple truths in practice.

The class principle of dividing society into rulers and ruled, into people deemed of full value and those deemed of partial value, into people enjoying full rights and those enjoying partial rights, exists in various forms in all capitalist countries. But this principle has assumed particularly savage and fanatical forms in the countries where fascism is in power.

In the former Russian Empire the subjects of the tsar included Jews who were confined to ghettoes, and so-called aliens who were forbidden to use their native tongue in the public life of the country, and were deprived of the right to develop their national culture.

Only the Great October Socialist Revolution put an end to inequality, in law and in fact, to inequality of nations and races.

In its time the tsarist government subjected and enslaved the small nations living in the border districts of Russia. But the Russian proletariat, after securing its own emancipation, helped the small peoples to emancipate themselves from national oppression and capitalist exploitation.

The full equality of rights of all nationalities in the Soviet Union has given rise to indestructible bonds of friendship among the various peoples; it accounts for the monolithic nature of our multi-national Socialist state. Such friendship, hewn of one stone, as it were, cannot even be dreamt of in capitalist countries. The nations and peoples making up the Soviet Union trust each other. The elections to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. and the Supreme Soviets of the Union and autonomous republics serve as an expression of this trust, in proof of which I shall cite just one example. Papanin was elected a deputy to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. from the Karelian A.S.S.R., Krenkel from the Bashkir A.S.S.R., and I from the Kirghiz S.S.R., although we are not of the same nationality as the majority of the inhabitants of the respective republics.

Then why were we elected there? Because to the citizens who elected us our nationality was of no importance. What they did consider important was that we were nominated by the Communist and non-Party bloc. The voters felt confident that we would be able to cope with the responsible tasks entrusted to us by the country. And this gave them confidence in us.

I move that the Citizenship of the U.S.S.R. Bill be passed. This Bill is based on the principles of the Stalin Constitution. It is as plain and clear as the Stalin Constitution.

Comrades, many of our countrymen have perished in the fight for the achievements which are now recorded in the Stalin Constitution.

We still have a big struggle before us in order to make secure once and for all that which we have already gained, and in order to achieve new victories.

In the struggle against fascism, and for the cause of Communism, in the struggle to uphold our splendid fatherland, and the finest of all men—Comrade Stalin—every Soviet patriot will prove, arms in hand, his right to the high name of citizen of the Socialist fatherland! (*Loud and prolonged applause.*)

The Chairman: A motion has been made to adjourn for fifteen minutes. Are there any objections?

Voices: No.

The Chairman: Adjournment for fifteen minutes.

(*Adjournment.*)

N. M. Shvernik: (*in the chair*): The sitting is resumed. A motion has been made to close the debate. Does anyone wish to speak on this motion? No. I shall put it to a vote. Those in favour of closing the debate, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anyone against? No. Any abstentions? No. The debate is closed.

I call on Deputy Bulganin to reply to the debate. (*Applause.*)

N. A. Bulganin (*Moscow City Area, R.S.F.S.R.*): Comrades, a motion has been made to strike from the text of the Bill as distributed among you Article 9, which concerns the repeal of the laws which lose their force with the passage of the new law.

In conformity with the Constitution of the U.S.S.R., I move that the repeal of decisions and orders made necessary by the passage of this law be referred to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

On this ground it is moved that Article 9 be stricken from the Bill.

Deputy Fyodorov, who has just spoken here, expressed the desire to improve the wording of Article 3; actually he introduced a new motion. Having made a careful study of Deputy Fyodorov's motion, I am of the opinion that this motion does not improve the wording of Article 3, and that in reality Comrade Fyodorov's proposal to transfer the right of conferring citizenship to the Union republics is unacceptable, as it would weaken the power of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. I move that the wording of Article 3 be left as it stands in the Bill.

No other amendments or motions have been offered by the deputies. Nor have any other objections been raised on the part of the deputies to the Bill submitted. I think that the Soviet of Nationalities may proceed to vote on the Bill. (*Applause.*)

The Chairman: We shall proceed to vote on the Citizenship of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics Bill. Are there any amendments to the Bill? None.

M. I. Kalinin: What will be done about striking out Article 9?

The Chairman: We shall take a vote on this now. There is one correction offered—to strike out Article 9. Are there any other corrections bearing on this point? None. I shall then take a vote. Those in favour of striking out Article 9, please raise their hands. Please lower them. Anyone against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Article 9 is stricken out.

Does anyone want to make any other alteration in the text of the Bill? If not, I shall take a vote on the Bill as a whole. Those in favour, please raise their hands. Please lower them. Anyone against? No. Any abstentions? No.

The Citizenship of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics Act is passed unanimously. (*Loud and prolonged applause.*)

I call on Deputy Rocheva, who has asked leave to make a motion on the procedure in discussing the items on the agenda of the Session.

E. S. Rocheva, (*Ust-Usa Area, Komi Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic*): Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet. I move that the fifth item on the agenda of the Session—the Bill concerning the Procedure for Ratifying and Denouncing International Treaties—be heard and debated at a joint sitting of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities.

I also move that the report on the sixth item of the agenda of the Session—the state Horse Tax on Individual Peasant Farms Bill—be heard at a joint sitting of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities.

I move that the joint sitting be held at 1 p.m. on August 20.

The Chairman: Are there any other motions on this question? None. Then we shall vote on the motion of Deputy Rocheva. Those in favour of this motion please raise their hands. Please lower them. Anyone against? No. Any abstentions? No.

The motion is passed.

The next sitting of the Soviet of Nationalities will be held on August 20, at 6 p.m.

This closes the present sitting of the Soviet of Nationalities.

EIGHTH SITTING

August 20, 1938

N. M. Shvernik, Chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities, and C. A. Aslanova, Vice-Chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities, take their seats on the dais, and the members of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. and the leaders of the Party and the Government enter the boxes. They are greeted with loud and prolonged applause. All rise.

N. M. Shvernik (*in the chair*): I hereby open the sitting of the Soviet of Nationalities.

We shall proceed to discuss the Bill on the State Horse Tax on Individual Peasant Farms. I call on Deputy Ivanov.

G. I. Ivanov (*Urmary Area, Chuvash A.S.S.R.*): Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet. I fully support the Bill on the State Horse Tax on Individual Peasant Farms introduced by the Legislative Bills Commission for the consideration of the Session of the Supreme Soviet and move that it be adopted.

This Bill is in full conformity with Article 130 of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R.

The agriculture of our country is a collective farm agriculture. During the period that they have existed, the collective farms have brought about a fundamental change in agriculture.

Individual peasant farming hampered the growth of agricultural production. It offered no opportunity of mechanizing it and putting it on a scientific basis.

When individual peasant economy represented the main basis, the main form of agricultural organization in our country, it was impossible for the peasants to put an end to their poverty and backwardness, which they inherited from the old, accursed tsarist regime, from the bourgeois-landlord system.

Long before the Great October Socialist Revolution, the teachers of Communism—Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin—pointed out that for the masses of the peasantry the only way to achieve Socialism is to combine, to organize large-scale, Socialist farming, and that this becomes possible only after the conquest of power by the workers and peasants.

The peasants of our country in their millions saw before them hundreds of examples proving the advantages of the collective farm system. Once they were convinced that this is a correct system, it did not take them long to change over to the Socialist form of agriculture, which change they effected in a very short period of time with the active assistance of Russia's great working class and under the direct leadership of our Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Stalin.

Millions of individual peasant farms united in collective farms. Now the collective farm system dominates agriculture, and we are marching firmly and steadily towards Communism.

I am a deputy from the Chuvash Autonomous Republic and would therefore ask you to let me cite a few facts showing the successes achieved by the collective farms of our republic.

In the olden days, as history relates, the Chuvash were driven by the nobles and landlords from the desirable lands to the most barren and unfavourable spots. There is practically no black soil in the Chuvash Republic; nearly the whole surface of Chuvashia is cut up by numerous gullies. Over the vast expanses of the old Russia, no place could be found for the Chuvash. Thus the Chuvash were settled on unproductive soil.

The Chuvash people were doomed to extinction. Only Soviet power and our Bolshevik Party brought new life to this people. The Chuvash were given freedom and equality of rights in the brotherly family of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. They received land, livestock and implements, good selected seeds, harvester combines, tractors, automobiles, mineral fertilizer; they received the aid of science, of agronomists; they were helped with agricultural credits; they had the assistance of Bolshevik organizers of agriculture, such as members of the army of twenty-five thousand workers sent to help collectivization, and the workers of the political departments. The Chuvash people have completely changed their system of agriculture.

Now the collective farms hold undivided sway in Chuvash agriculture. They sow 91 per cent of the total cultivated area of the republic. The collective farms have fundamentally changed the aspect of the countryside and of the whole republic. Our land, on which the peasants toiled in the sweat of their brow in the days of individual farming, when the husbandmen used primitive wooden ploughs, yielded only 42-50 poods of grain per hectare. But since collective farms have been established, the harvest yields of the Chuvash lands have doubled.

In the struggle to fulfil Stalin's call for a harvest of 7,000,000,000-8,000,000,000 poods of grain annually, in the struggle to carry out the decisions of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. and the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. (B.) on the organizational and economic consolidation of the collective farms and the advancement of agriculture in the regions, territories and republics of the non-black-soil belt, the collective farms of Chuvashia gathered an average grain

harvest of 97 poods per hectare in 1937. A sharp increase in the productivity of agriculture has been achieved on virtually all the collective farms and in all departments of agriculture.

Every collective farm in our republic has a meat and dairy department. With the aid of the state, the collective farms are engaged in improving the stock. We now have many cattle-breeding farms in which each fodder-fed cow gives from 1,500 to 2,500 litres of milk.

In 1933 the spring sowing lasted more than thirty days, while in 1937 it lasted only thirteen days and in 1938—eight days. Similarly, the length of time required for harvesting work has been noticeably reduced.

All this is the result of the widespread mechanization of agriculture and the correct organization of labour in the large, Socialist economic units, the collective farms.

Against the background of this general powerful rise of agriculture, particular distinction has been won by the collective farms and collective farmers who set true Stakhanovite examples in their work. Everyone knows the Stalin Collective Farm in the Vurnarsk district, for instance, in which Sergei Korotkov, order-bearer and deputy to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., now promoted to the post of People's Commissar of Agriculture of the Chuvash A.S.S.R., worked as chairman for nine years. In 1936, which was a drought year for Chuvashia, this collective farm raised a grain harvest of 100 poods per hectare, while in 1937, when the collective farms of the republic as a whole had an average crop of 97 poods per hectare, this collective farm harvested 180 poods.

We have a whole number of districts, such as the Batyrev district, for instance, which have raised harvests of 125 poods per hectare. The Red Toisy Collective Farm, the chairman of which is Comrade Ostryakov, order-bearer and deputy to the Supreme Soviet of the R.S.F.S.R., harvested 160 poods per hectare. Brigade-leader Petukhov of the Stalin Collective Farm in the Batyrev district has set many an example in the campaign for a big harvest, having garnered 426 poods of oats per hectare. Brigade-leader Stepanova of the Kirov Collective Farm attained a harvest of 287 poods of wheat per hectare in a region in which wheat had never been sown at all before the collective farms were formed.

The greatly increased incomes of the collective farms also serve as an index of the successes achieved by the collective farm system. There are now quite a few collective farmers who annually earn 1,000 poods of grain and thousands of rubles in cash. For instance, the collective farmer Panfilov, a Young Communist League member of the Lenin Collective Farm, earned 1,100 poods of grain and 2,431 rubles in cash.

The collective farms have been building clubs, radio substations, cinemas, power houses, etc. They are carrying on extensive work in developing the amenities of life in the villages, so as to make life in the countryside still more joyful, more cultured and prosperous. Now the countryside has radio, telegraph, telephone and postal communication with the town, is connected with it by excellent roads well adapted for its fast Soviet automobiles, as well as by air-routes.

Socialism is no longer a dream; with us it has become a reality. On the basis of the Stalin Constitution and the struggle for the general line of the Party, through the powerful development of Socialist industry and the further consolidation of the collective farms, under the leadership of our Party and of our great Stalin, we shall arrive at Communism. Communist society will be built! (*Loud applause.*)

We have achieved tremendous victories because Socialist industry has been doing a great deal for the Socialist organization and improvement of agriculture. The working class has been equipping our agriculture with first-rate machinery, transport, means of communication, etc. The working class has been sending its finest representatives into the countryside. That is why there is such great friendship, such a strong bond and mutual trust between the working class and the peasantry.

Never will any enemies of the people be able to sever these ties of friendship!

With the help of the great Russian people all the formerly oppressed peoples emancipated themselves from age-old oppression and slavery.

The friendship of the Russian people with all the peoples of the Land of Soviets is great and strong.

We have attained this happy life under the leadership of our Party and our great Stalin, by a resolute struggle against all enemies of the Party and the people.

That is why our Soviet people cherish such love for our great Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Stalin, for our own father and teacher, Comrade Stalin (*loud applause*), our Stalinian Chekist, Comrade Yezhov, who has smashed the despicable Trotskyite, Bukharinite, Rykovite and bourgeois-nationalist gang of fascist spies, diversionists and assassins.

The collective farmers of our country are honestly and scrupulously fulfilling their duty to the state. But this cannot be said of the individual peasants.

The decision of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. and the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. (B.) of April 19 states that "Party and Soviet organizations in the republics, territories and regions have been violating the policy and decisions of the Government and the Party with regard to individual peasants. Soviet laws establish the state obligations of individual peasant farms as regards taxes and grain and meat deliveries. However, instead of securing the fulfilment by the individual peasant farms of the state obligations established by law, local Party and Soviet organizations allow the individual peasants virtually to evade fulfilling their obligations to the state. In a number of regions and territories individual peasants are virtually exempted from meat deliveries, and the fulfilment of the district quotas of meat deliveries devolves on the collective farms. Thus, Soviet and Party organizations virtually give the individual peasant farms an advantage over the collective farms, which is in fundamental contradiction to the existing laws.

"As a rule individual peasants use their horses, which are exempt from taxation, not for agricultural work on their farms but as a means of profiteering.

"It often happens that, with the acquiescence of district Soviet and Party organizations, the management of collective farms, acting in violation of the statutes of the Agricultural Artel, hire individual peasants to perform work in the collective farms, offering them a higher pay than the rate received by the collective farmers for their workdays, which cannot but undermine discipline in the collective farms.

"This incorrect attitude towards individual peasant farms jeopardizes the cause of winning over more individual peasants to join collective farms.

"All this testifies to the fact that grave mistakes have been committed by Soviet and Party organizations in the republics, territories and regions in dealing with individual peasants."

Many facts can be cited confirming the truth of the above.

While in the Chuvash Republic as a whole the year's plan for grain deliveries in 1938 was fulfilled by 38 per cent on August 15, the individual peasants had fulfilled only 17 per cent of their plan. 64 per cent of the individual peasant farms have not done anything as yet in the current year to fulfil their obligations to the state with regard to meat deliveries, and 43 per cent with regard to milk deliveries.

The individual peasant farms participate very little in the carting of timber, in road work, etc. But all the benefits of the Soviet country—schools, including higher schools, hospitals, clubs, libraries, excellent roads, automobiles, transport, the products of all our industry and, finally, protection by our Red Army against attack from without—in general, all that has been created and is being created by the work of our huge family of peoples of the Soviet Union—are enjoyed by all of us without exception. And these rights are guaranteed in the Stalin Constitution.

Consequently, all citizens of the Soviet Union, without exception, must actively fulfil their duties to the state.

Up to now, we workers in the localities have not given any real thought to this.

Up to now we have not paid proper attention to the individual peasants, who, as the less organized part of the rural population, represent that part of the population among whom more educational work must be carried on. Wittingly or unwittingly we have been spoiling the individual peasants: we have allowed them habitually to avoid the fulfilment of their obligations to the state and of local duties, thereby actually helping them to violate state discipline, and we have given the individual peasant the opportunity of using his horse not for agricultural work on his farm, but for profiteering.

This situation must be remedied. The Bill establishes definite obligations for individual peasants in connection with the use they make of their horses.

I assume that the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. will unanimously

adopt the Bill which Deputy Ugarov of the Legislative Bills Commission reported on to us. (*Applause.*)

The Chairman: Deputy Heckmann.

A. I. Heckmann (*Grimm Area, Volga German A.S.S.R.*): Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet. The Bill on the State Horse Tax on Individual Peasant Farms introduced by the Legislative Bills Commission of the Soviet of the Union is of great political importance. It will secure the further consolidation of the collective farm system and the strengthening of state discipline. The law is aimed against those who evade Soviet laws and violate state discipline.

Comrades, our country, under the guidance of the Party of Lenin and Stalin, under the guidance of the great leader of peoples, Comrade Stalin, has won historic victories in the sphere of the Socialist reconstruction of agriculture. Instead of petty, scattered individual farms we now have collective farms and state farms equipped with up-to-date technique. The Soviet Union has become a country of the most advanced, Socialist agriculture, run on the largest scale in the world.

In his speech at the First All-Union Congress of Collective Farm Shock-Brigade Workers in 1933, Comrade Stalin told the collective farmers: "From you only one thing is demanded—to work honestly, to distribute collective farm incomes according to the amount of work done, to take good care of collective farm property, to take good care of the tractors and the machines, to organize proper care of the horses, to fulfil the tasks set by your workers' and peasants' state, to consolidate the collective farms and expel from the collective farms the kulaks and their henchmen who have managed to get into them."

By fulfilling these precepts of our great leader and teacher—Comrade Stalin—the collective farm peasantry, guided by the Party of Lenin and Stalin, have attained to a life of joy, prosperity and culture.

The Great October Socialist Revolution has forever done away with the rule of the landlords and capitalists, has forever abolished private ownership of land, and has freed millions of peasants from age-old bondage, oppression and slavery.

The collective farm system has shown in practice the correctness of the policy of the Party of Lenin and Stalin in regard to the peasantry. It has shown that only by joining in collective farms can the peasants rid themselves of want, poverty and lack of culture.

In common with the brotherly family of all the peoples of the Soviet Union, the working people of the Volga German Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, with the aid of the great Russian people, under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, and enjoying the daily attention and solicitude of our great Stalin, have achieved tremendous victories.

In the past the working German colonists of the Volga region were disfranchised and doubly oppressed: by tsarism and by their local national bourgeoisie. The toiling Germans were doomed to national and cultural degeneration. Today, under Soviet power, they enjoy every right and take part in the administration of the state side by side with all the working people of our country.

During the years of Soviet power, and, in particular, during the period of the two Stalin Five-Year Plans, a new, Socialist industry has been built up in the Volga German Republic, and culture, national in form and Socialist in content, has developed on an unprecedented scale. The Volga German Republic has achieved great victories in the sphere of Socialist agriculture as well.

The republic has 425 collective farms, uniting 99.9 per cent of all the peasant farms. The entire sown area is cultivated only by collective farms and state farms. The collective farms of the Volga German Republic have received 2,344,600 hectares of land from the Soviet state for their free use forever.

Under tsarism 75 per cent of this area was in the hands of the kulaks and landlords, who brutally exploited the working peasantry. All the collective farms of the Volga German Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic are served by machine and tractor stations. 5,900 tractors, 1,778 harvester combines, over 1,000 automobiles and many other complex agricultural machines and implements are operating on our Socialist fields.

The main work in the fields has been mechanized to the extent of 97 per cent. This year combines harvested over 70 per cent of the sown area of the collective farms. In the Volga German Republic selected seeds are universally used in the sowing of wheat. In 1932 only 14,800 hectares were sown with selected wheat seeds, while in 1937, 616,000 hectares were thus sown. In other words, the entire area under wheat is sown with selected seeds.

Electric power is being extensively applied in the collective farm economy of the Volga German Republic. Until the revolution the population of the present-day Volga German Autonomous Republic had no conception at all of electric power, while now we have 75 collective farm power houses and 540 km. of high-voltage transmission lines, and we have electrified 35 machine and tractor stations and 52 collective farm dairies. The "lamp of Ilyich" is becoming a customary thing in the houses of the collective farmers—8,000 houses of collective farmers have been electrified.

During the last few years the cattle herd has increased considerably and the productivity of cattle-breeding has risen. In 1934 there were only 159,000 head of cattle in the republic, while in 1937 the number had increased to 219,200 head. The collective farms of the Volga German Republic have many dairies.

There are many Stakhanovites and shock-workers in the republic who set examples in looking after and raising the young animals in the meat and dairy departments of our collective farms. There are outstanding collective farmers, such as Comrade E. D. Grauberger—woman manager of the dairy department of the Bolshevik Collective Farm and deputy to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., who succeeded in getting over 2,000 litres of milk per cow by July 1.

The republic has developed its own technical forces. We have

13,400 tractor drivers, 1,685 combine operators, 385 mechanics, 320 agronomists and other agricultural experts.

In the struggle for the collective farm system, in the struggle for Socialism, in the struggle against the enemies of the people, there have come to the fore Party and non-Party Bolsheviks, people boundlessly devoted to the Party of Lenin and Stalin, who have come forward as the organizers and leaders of Socialist agriculture, and who set examples of Stakhanovite work and Bolshevik leadership.

The collective farm system has brought the peasantry great material abundance. The harvests and the incomes of the collective farms and the collective farmers are growing from year to year. In the struggle for the fulfilment of Comrade Stalin's call for an annual production of 7,000,000,000-8,000,000,000 poods of grain, the collective farms of the Volga German Republic succeeded in raising an unprecedented harvest in 1937. Approximately 70 per cent of the collective farms distributed from 10 to 15 kg. of grain per workday to the collective farmers. More than 10 per cent of the collective farms distributed over 15 kg. of grain per workday. We have quite a few families of collective farmers that have received 1,000 and 1,500 poods of grain.

These successes have been achieved through collective labour and the advantages of large-scale, technically equipped collective farming, based on a high level of agricultural technique.

The advantage of the collective farm system over the old individual peasant economy has this year been demonstrated by the collective farms with exceptional force and cogency.

In some districts of the republic the weather conditions were unfavourable this year, but despite this the harvest of grain crops in these districts is incomparably higher than the average harvests in the pre-revolutionary peasant farms of the Trans-Volga regions.

All the collective farms are well provided with grain and are easily in a position to carry out their obligations to the state and build up the reserves they need.

The Party and the Government, and Comrade Stalin personally, show tireless concern for the collective farm peasantry. Our collective farm peasantry has received thousands of tractors, harvester combines and other excellent agricultural machines during these years. Millions of rubles in credits for irrigation developments, for electrification, the development of stock-breeding and cultural and social services have been assigned to the Volga German Republic by the Government of the Soviet Union.

Comrades, here at the Session we have adopted the Budget of our Socialist state of workers and peasants for 1938. What huge sums are allocated in our Budget to the purposes of increasing our national wealth, of further improving the material conditions and raising the cultural level of the working people, and of enhancing the defensive power of our country!

No other government in the world devotes so much attention to the interests of its people and to the interests of the working peasantry

as does the Soviet Government. At the First All-Union Congress of Collective Farm Shock-Brigade Workers, Comrade Stalin said: "Only in our country, in the Land of Soviets, does a government exist which stands solidly for the workers and collective farm peasants, for all the toilers of town and country against all the rich and the exploiters."

The collective farm peasantry of the Volga German Republic have responded to the solicitude of the Soviet Government with new and still greater political activity and labour enthusiasm, and by rallying still more closely around the invincible banner of the Party of Lenin and Stalin, around our beloved leader, Comrade Stalin, who is leading the working class and the collective farm peasantry of our country towards Communism. (*Applause.*)

As prosperous and joyous as the life of the collective farmers is in the Soviet Union, so hard and dismal is the life of the peasants in the capitalist countries. The lot of the peasants is particularly hard in the fascist countries—Germany, Italy, Poland, Japan. The fascist government of Germany has utterly crushed the peasants under the burden of taxes beyond their means and of compulsory measures regulating the sale of agricultural produce, which are completely ruining the working peasants. In Germany, 73.6 per cent of all the peasant farms own only 19 per cent of the cultivated land. The rest of the land, its main part, is in the hands of the Junkers and other landowners, who brutally squeeze the small peasants. The peasants in fascist Germany are doomed to hunger, poverty and extinction. The picture is the same in Italy, Poland and Japan, where fascism also reigns.

The progress of the Soviet collective farm peasantry, the story of its struggle, under the leadership of the working class and the Bolshevik Party, for emancipation from the oppressive and dismal past, and its present happy, prosperous and joyous life are a palpable example showing the peasants of the capitalist countries that only Socialism brings them liberation from perpetual poverty and oppression. Only the working class, only the Communist Party, is able to extricate the peasantry from landlord and kulak bondage, from hopeless poverty and ignorance, and lead it on to the road of a free, prosperous and cultured life, on to the road of collective farms, on to the road of Socialism.

Comrades, the enemies of the people—the Trotskyite, Bukharinite and bourgeois-nationalist agents of fascism—these despicable curs, wanted to deprive the working people of our country of the great victories of Socialism and again put on them the yoke of capitalism. But they did not succeed, nor will they ever succeed, in this! The glorious Soviet intelligence service, under the leadership of the Stalinian People's Commissar, Nikolai Ivanovich Yezhov, smashed and destroyed the despicable traitors. (*Applause.*)

Under the leadership of the Party of Lenin and Stalin, the working people of the Volga German Republic, devoted to the great Stalinian friendship of the peoples of the U.S.S.R., are removing the effects of the wreckers' activities and destroying all enemies.

Comrades, the Stalin Constitution accords the working people of our country great rights.

Citizens of the U.S.S.R. have the right to work, to rest, to education, to maintenance in old age and also in case of sickness or loss of capacity to work. These rights are ensured by our Socialist system.

All the citizens of the Soviet Union enjoy all the rights and benefits that we have in our country. But citizens of the U.S.S.R. also have duties. Article 130 of the Stalin Constitution states:

"It is the duty of every citizen of the U.S.S.R. to abide by the Constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, to observe the laws, to maintain labour discipline, honestly to perform public duties, and to respect the rules of Socialist human intercourse."

We have some citizens who violate these duties, who do not want to observe strictly the laws of the Soviet state. Among them are some individual peasants who have become corrupt and have engaged in profiteering. They have horses, but they use them not for agricultural work on their farms but for purposes of profiteering on the side. They do not cultivate or sow the land but look for easy profits. They try by every means to evade our laws and not to pay taxes to the state. It is mainly those individual peasants who have horses and earn big incomes through them who do not fulfil their obligations.

The collective farms and the collective farmers honestly fulfil their duties to the country.

The collective farmers of the Volga German Republic request that the question of the individual peasants who have horses but do not engage in agriculture, using them instead as a means of making easy profits, be settled.

Until now the horses of individual peasants have not been taxed separately. At the same time the individual peasants have received big incomes from the use of their horses. They have concealed these incomes from the state by every means.

There are quite a few cases in our Republic of some individual peasants who, in order to evade paying taxes to the state, sell their horses and property and move to other territories and regions, where they again purchase horses and continue to engage in profiteering. It is time that a stop be put to this anti-Soviet practice. Such individual peasants do not want to work in collective farms, but neither do they care to work honestly on their own farms.

The Bill on the State Horse Tax on Individual Peasant Farms introduced by the Legislative Bills Commission of the Soviet of the Union is unquestionably opportune and fully corresponds to the interests of the state and the interests of the collective farm peasantry.

Comrades, the Party of Lenin and Stalin and the Soviet Government show tireless solicitude for the happiness of the workers and peasants of our country, and are constantly working to consolidate the collective farm system.

The decisions adopted by the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. and the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. (B.) on

April 19, 1938, "On the Prohibition of the Expulsion of Collective Farmers from Collective Farms" and "On the Incorrect Distribution of Incomes in Collective Farms," have been important measures for consolidating the collective farm system in our country. The Bill on the State Horse Tax on Individual Peasant Farms is also aimed at consolidating the collective farms.

I wholeheartedly second the motion of Deputy Ivanov to pass the Bill on the State Horse Tax on Individual Peasant Farms presented by the Legislative Bills Commission of the Soviet of the Union.

Comrades, the collective farm peasantry of the Soviet Union, scrupulously observing the Statutes of the Agricultural Artel, is marching forward, under the guidance of the Party of Lenin and Stalin, under the guidance of our great leader, Comrade Stalin, towards ever new victories for Communism. (*Loud applause.*)

The Chairman: I call upon Deputy Inkizhekov.

S. E. Inkizhekov (*Sarala Area, Khakass Autonomous Region*): Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. I wholeheartedly approve of the Bill on the State Horse Tax on Individual Peasant Farms presented by the Legislative Bills Commission of the Soviet of the Union for adoption by the Session. I fully subscribe to the opinion of Deputy Ugarov, who introduced the Bill, and to the motions of the deputies who have spoken here for its unanimous adoption and confirmation. The passing of the Bill will not only be a unanimous decision of the Session of the Supreme Soviet, but will likewise represent the unanimous opinion of all the collective farmers of our country.

In the Soviet Union Socialist society has been built up. The collective farm system has won a final victory in all the Union and autonomous republics and autonomous regions.

I should like to tell you about the life of the collective farmers of our Khakass Autonomous Region.

It was only thanks to the Great October Socialist Revolution, which was led by the geniuses of mankind, Lenin and Stalin, that the working people of Khakassia were freed from the oppression of and bondage to the hated *bais*. (*Loud applause.*)

In 1910 a certain tsarist official wrote that in another twenty years the Khakass would cease to exist as a nationality.

Now we see that the tsarist autocracy and the enemies of the people who did their nefarious work in our region did not succeed in preventing the Khakass people from building a happy and joyous life The despicable enemies of the people have been exposed by our valiant Chekists, under the leadership of the Stalinian People's Commissar, Nikolai Ivanovich Yezhov. (*Applause.*)

With the help of the great Russian people, under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin, the working people of Khakassia have finally and permanently emancipated themselves from slavery and poverty.

Until the revolution the greater part of the Khakass people engaged in stock-breeding. There was no industry in Khakassia. The Khakass were illiterate and backward.

Now the Khakass Autonomous Region, under the leadership of the great Communist Party of Lenin and Stalin, is becoming a region of large-scale, Socialist agriculture.

The number of livestock is growing each year, and extensive work is being carried on to improve the productivity of Socialist stock-breeding. We have quite a number of thoroughbred horses in Khakassia now, which we are raising for our Workers' and Peasants' Red Army.

Industry—gold, coal and timber—is developing at a rapid rate. Local industry—the quarrying of alabaster, barites, marble and other minerals—is growing.

Before the revolution the Khakass people had neither schools nor hospitals. Instead there were scores of churches. The Khakass people were the victims of the shamans' quackery.

During the years of Soviet power more than 200 schools have been built in Khakassia. Illiteracy has, in the main, been eliminated among the Khakass people. Scores of hospitals and dispensaries, three training colleges and two regional collective farm schools have been built.

By January 1, 1938, over 96 per cent of the peasant farms were collectivized. As compared with 1930, the sown area of the collective farms and state farms has increased by more than 100 per cent; 99.5 per cent of the sown area belongs to the Socialist sector. Tractors, harvester combines and other complex agricultural machines are operating on the fields of the state farms and collective farms of our region. 80 per cent of the field work of the collective farms is performed with the help of machine and tractor stations.

Aided by the Party and the Government, the collective farms of Khakassia have achieved big successes in the mechanization of agriculture, the application of scientific agricultural methods and the irrigation of our collective farm fields. More than 200 collective farms and 12 state farms in Khakassia now raise rich harvests. In 1937 the harvest yield of grain crops amounted to over 12 centners per hectare, as against the 4 or 5 centners formerly gathered by individual peasants.

There is no doubt that Comrade Stalin's slogan calling for an annual production of 7,000,000,000-8,000,000,000 poods of grain will be carried out within the next few years. It will be carried out because it is a slogan given by the genius of mankind, our great Stalin. (*Applause.*)

New forces have grown up in Khakassia who have mastered the technique of complex agricultural machines: tractor drivers, harvester combine operators, chauffeurs, etc.

The organizational and economic consolidation of the collective farms, the growth of the harvests of the collective farm fields, the increased productivity of stock-breeding, the growth in the productivity of labour, and the development of the Stakhanov movement in the collective farms—all this contributes to strengthening the economy of the collective farms and improving the living conditions of the collective farmers. Like the collective farmers all over the Soviet Union, the collective farmers of the Khakass Autonomous Region are leading a life of culture and prosperity.

In 1937 more than 30 collective farms in the region gathered harvests of over 100 poods per hectare. More than 100 collective farms in the region distributed over 10 kg. of grain per workday to the collective farmers in 1937.

The Kalinin Collective Farm in the Bagrad district distributed an average of 23 kg. of grain per workday to the collective farmers.

A fifty-six year old collective farmer of the Izykh Agricultural Artel named Chertygashev, who has worked as a shepherd for more than forty years, obtained 132 lambs from 100 ewes and a large amount of fleece in 1937. Chertygashev's flock brought the collective farm an income of 32,000 rubles. For his work Chertygashev received from the collective farm 648 poods of grain and about 3,000 rubles in cash. For his own personal use he now has a horse, five head of cattle and twenty sheep.

For his excellent, honest work, Comrade Chertygashev has been decorated with the Order of the Red Banner of Labour. The working people of the Ust-Abakan electoral area have sent him as their deputy to the Supreme Soviet of the R.S.F.S.R.

This former farm labourer has become a statesman.

Such things cannot happen in capitalist countries; they are possible only in our country, in the Land of Socialism.

The Stalin Constitution has given all the working people the right to work, the right to rest, the right to maintenance in old age and in case of loss of capacity to work, the right to education. The individual peasants should take advantage of these rights, recorded in our Stalin Constitution, in the interests of our Socialist state, in the interests of all the people of the Soviet Union.

Many individual peasants who have horses on their farms do not use them for agricultural work. They engage more in profiteering for their own personal ends.

The Second Session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. has passed the Citizenship of the U.S.S.R. Act. The individual peasants, as citizens of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics enjoying equal rights with all other citizens, see the daily growth of the prosperity and culture of the collective farmers of our Soviet Union, and they will undoubtedly join the collective farms in the near future. The individual peasants of today are our collective farmers of tomorrow, said our beloved leader, Comrade Stalin. (*Applause.*)

The finance bodies and the organizations of the People's Commissariat of Agricultural Stocks are doing very little work among the individual peasants in our region; the inventory of taxable objects is in an exceptionally poor state. Taxes are collected with great delay. This makes it possible for the individual peasants to violate our Soviet laws.

The work of the finance and agricultural stock organizations must be improved.

The laws of the Soviet state are indefeasible and no one may violate them.

Comrades, under the leadership of the great Party of Lenin and Stalin the working people of the fraternal republics and of the whole Soviet Union will march towards ever new victories, towards the building of Communist society, setting an example to the working class and the working peasantry of the whole world.

Hurrah for Comrade Stalin! (*Loud applause and cheers.*)

The Chairman: I call upon Deputy Kandarakov.

C. M. Kandarakov (*Ongudai Area, Oirot Autonomous Region*): Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet!

The Bill on the State Horse Tax on Individual Peasant Farms introduced by the Legislative Bills Commission for the consideration of the Second Session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. is of enormous political importance.

Before the eyes of the working people of the whole world the Soviet people are creating their revolutionary law, based on the principles of the Stalin Constitution, the founder and author of which is the great, beloved leader of peoples, Comrade Stalin. (*Applause.*)

The Bill on the State Horse Tax on Individual Peasant Farms presented to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. for its consideration meets the desires of the collective farmers and will contribute to the further organizational and economic consolidation of the collective farms.

The constantly multiplying successes of our Oirot Autonomous Region are the splendid result of the Lenin-Stalin national policy pursued by the Bolshevik Party.

For centuries Oirotia was doubly oppressed. Not only the local *bais* but also the Russian landlords and capitalists exploited the Oirot people.

It was only thanks to the Great October Socialist Revolution, under the leadership of the Party of Lenin and Stalin and with the aid of the great Russian people, that the Oirot people emancipated themselves from age-old oppression. Now the working people of Oirotia actively participate in Socialist construction on an equal footing with all the peoples of the multi-national Soviet Union.

Since the first days of Soviet power, the working people of Oirotia have carried on a struggle for the economic and cultural advance of their region, and for the fraternal, international friendship of the peoples.

For a number of years bourgeois nationalists and Trotskyite and Bukharinite bandits carried on their nefarious work in the Oirot Autonomous Region. They wanted to restore capitalism in Oirotia and enslave the Oirot people to Japanese fascism. But they did not succeed in this. The Oirot people, jointly with the valorous Cheka members headed by the glorious Stalinian People's Commissar, Nikolai Ivanovich Yezhov, have smashed and destroyed the Bukharinite and Trotskyite gang and their allies—the bourgeois nationalists.

As a result of the national policy of Lenin and Stalin, the Oirot Region has been transformed into a flourishing land of joy, with highly developed Socialist agriculture.

The collective farmers of Oirotia, consolidating the collective farms from year to year, are leading a life of happiness and joy.

In tsarist times the people of Oirotia were deprived of all rights. In those times the peasants of Oirotia were not considered as human beings at all. Only the *bais* and the kulaks, who had a lot of cattle and land, were considered.

Today there are 375 collective farms in the Oirot Region. They unite over 90 per cent of all the peasant farms. The collective farms of Oirotia have 45,500 horses, 73,500 head of cattle, 215,900 sheep and goats and 5,000 hogs. Collective farm stock-breeding is growing each year.

For instance, in the Ongudai district the "Twelve Years of October" Agricultural Artel alone has more than 1,000 head of cattle, more than 3,000 head of sheep and goats and more than 1,000 horses. The collective farmers of this agricultural artel expect to receive over ten rubles per workday by the end of 1938. They have for their own use two or three milch cows, one horse and 15 sheep each.

During the years of Soviet power a fundamental change has taken place in the economic and cultural aspect of the Oirot Region. Formerly only 6 per cent of the Oirot population could read and write. Only the children of capitalists, landlords and *bais* attended school in those times. The working people were all illiterate. Now, under the Soviet power, 94 per cent of the population can read and write.

Under the leadership of the Party of Lenin and Stalin, and under the leadership of the Soviet Government, the Oirot Region is improving its economy and developing its culture from year to year.

I fully support the Bill on the State Horse Tax on Individual Peasant Farms and am of the opinion that not only the members of the Supreme Soviet will acclaim it with enthusiasm, but all the collective farmers as well.

In connection with the decision of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. and the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. (B.) of April 19, 1938, we have checked up on the individual peasant farms in a number of districts. This check-up has revealed that the individual peasants are very lax in fulfilling their obligations to the state. They neither sow all their land, nor deliver meat, nor pay their taxes in full. Of course, to a great extent the local Soviet bodies are to blame for this.

In a number of districts individual peasants make as much as four to five thousand rubles from one horse. The profiteering practices of the individual peasants have a bad influence on the backward section of the collective farmers. Many collective farmers are justly indignant at the fact that individual peasants pay very little taxes, while receiving big incomes that are not earned by work.

The collective farmers will undoubtedly welcome the new law with great enthusiasm. This law will compel the individual peasants to carry out all their obligations to the state in full. This law will further encourage all honest individual peasants to join collective farms.

Under the guidance of the glorious Communist Party and our great leader and teacher, Comrade Stalin, the working people of the Soviet

Union are marching from one victory to another. No enemy can hinder our victorious advance—to the final victory of Communism. (*Loud applause.*)

The Chairman: I call upon Deputy Yevmenova.

S. S. Yevmenova (*Bykhov Area, Byelorussian S.S.R.*): Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet. Having heard the report of Deputy Ugarov and become acquainted with the Bill on the State Horse Tax on Individual Peasant Farms, I should like to make a few remarks.

I am the chairman of a collective farm, and I see every day how the individual peasants are working and what use they are making of their horses. I also know what income they get from working with their horses. In addition, I have studied the material of the People's Commissariat of Finance of the Byelorussian S.S.R.

In our village of Studenov the individual peasants use their horses to haul timber, goods, firewood, etc. Some individual peasants also trade in horses. These individual peasants make considerable sums of money.

The individual peasants in Byelorussia sow only 3 per cent of the cultivated area, but they have over 50,000 horses. It is perfectly obvious that these horses are not used for agricultural work on their own farms, but for profiteering purposes.

A study of the earnings of individual peasants in the Bobruisk, Rogachev, Vitebsk, Borisov, Rechitsa, Gomel, Moghilev and other districts elicited the fact that the individual peasants in these districts make from eight to fourteen thousand rubles a year by working with their horses outside of their farms.

All this goes to prove that we must pass this bill. It fully conforms to the desires of the broad masses of collective farmers.

The tax rates which the bill provides for the Byelorussian Republic—400 rubles for the first group and 500 rubles for the second group for one horse, and for each additional horse, over and above one, 700 rubles for the first group and 800 rubles for the second group—are, in my opinion, correct. They should not be changed.

I should consider it necessary to introduce an amendment to the bill providing for the procedure of exacting taxes from farms which do not pay them promptly. This provision is lacking in the Bill.

Comrade Ugarov was right when he said that the collective farms open up to the peasants a broad path towards a life of prosperity and culture. Indeed, there are only three individual peasant farms left in our village. All the rest have joined the collective farm. He who works honestly lives well, becomes an active fighter for the consolidation of the collective farms, and participates actively in carrying out the tasks set by our Party, our Government and Comrade Stalin.

In our Byelorussian S.S.R. there are about 10,000 collective farms, 215 machine and tractor stations, 8,140 tractors, 1,000 harvester combines, about 4,000 threshing machines, 3,500 automobiles, 1,200 flax-pullers, and other agricultural machines.

We have a great deal of land, timber and peat. We have many agron-

omists, breeding experts, veterinary surgeons, mechanics, tractor drivers, harvester combine operators. We have hundreds of thousands of men and women collective farmers who have mastered the most up-to-date scientific agricultural methods. We have everything to ensure a prosperous and cultured life in the collective farms. We have our Bolshevik Party, we have our Soviet power, and we have our great Stalin, leading us towards ever new victories in all spheres of Socialist construction.

Long live the great Stalin! (*Loud applause.*)

The Chairman: I call upon Deputy Shamsutdinov.

G. S. Shamsutdinov (*Zeleny-Dol Area, Tatar A.S.S.R.*): Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet. I fully approve and second the motion of the deputies who have spoken before me to pass the Bill on the State Horse Tax on Individual Peasant Farms.

As a result of the great victories achieved by the peoples of the Soviet Union in the struggle for the Stalin Five-Year Plans, for the development of national economy, the aspect of our great country has fundamentally changed.

The Socialist system of economy holds undivided sway in the Soviet Union. Unemployment, poverty and ruin—the dreadful scourges of the working people in the capitalist countries—have disappeared from our country forever. The cultural and material conditions of the working people of our country have improved beyond measure.

The great victories of Socialism are recorded in the Stalin Constitution.

In our country the principle of Socialism has been realized: "From each according to his ability, to each according to the work performed." The right to work, to rest, to education, to maintenance in old age and in case of loss of capacity to work have been realized.

While the working people of capitalist countries, especially of fascist Germany, Italy and Japan, are always threatened with unemployment, hunger and ruin, the peoples of the Soviet Union, as a result of the victories of the Great October Socialist Revolution, have rid themselves of unemployment, of the tribulations of poverty, and of the yoke of exploitation.

Socialism has become part of the life of the working people of town and countryside. The collective farm system in the countryside has opened up tremendous prospects for the development of agriculture, which is confidently advancing towards the realization of the task set by Stalin—to produce 7,000,000,000-8,000,000,000 poods of grain annually.

These successes have been achieved as a result of the guidance given by the Bolshevik Party, the Soviet Government and the great leader and friend of all the peoples, Comrade Stalin. (*Loud and prolonged applause.*)

The national policy of Lenin and Stalin has united the peoples of the Soviet Union in a multi-national commonwealth and has transformed our national border regions into flourishing republics with highly developed industry and agriculture.

The peoples that were formerly oppressed and backward have put an end to their age-old backwardness and are successfully developing their culture, national in form and Socialist in content.

In the eighteen years of its existence, the Tatar Republic, which has been awarded the Order of Lenin, has achieved remarkable successes under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet Government. The aspect of the former Kazan Province has changed fundamentally. The national policy of Lenin and Stalin has made it possible for it to develop at a tempestuous rate.

Under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party and the Government of the Soviet Union, the Tatar Republic has fundamentally reconstructed its agriculture in the eighteen years of its existence. The formerly scattered, poverty-stricken individual peasant farms have united in large, mechanized collective farms.

The collective farm system in the countryside has triumphed finally and forever. The former poverty-stricken and scattered individual farms, having organized in collective farms, have attained, under the leadership of the Party of Lenin and Stalin, a life of culture and prosperity.

I shall cite a few examples. Comrade Khikmat Shaidulin, formerly a farm labourer and now a member of the Lenin Collective Farm in the Nurlat district, has become a Stakhanovite and a prosperous collective farmer. He has a good house, outbuildings, a cow, small livestock and grain in plenty.

Zigni Khisameyeva, member of the Activist Collective Farm in the same district, was formerly also a farm hand; now she has become a prosperous collective farmer.

There are many such men and women collective farmers—Stakhanovites of Socialist agriculture—in the collective farms of our republic. Their ranks are constantly growing.

All this is the result of the constant solicitude of the Communist Party, the Soviet Government and our great leader and friend, our dear Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin, for the collective farm peasantry. (*Loud and prolonged applause.*)

Comrades, the Bill on the State Horse Tax on Individual Peasant Farms presented to us for consideration is an absolutely correct and timely measure.

Each one of us knows that quite a few individual peasants keep horses not for farm work but for profiteering. This is confirmed by the fact that the individual peasants have not been fulfilling their farming plans and state obligations. Many individual peasants, when they purchase a horse, leave their farms to make money on the side, and by all sorts of shifty methods manage to conceal their incomes from the state, thereby shirking their duties as citizens of our Socialist country.

In our Tatar Republic individual peasant farms constitute about 8 per cent of the total number of farms. Many of them have horses but do not engage in agriculture.

The existing tax laws do not secure the taxation of horses of individual

peasant farms in accordance with the actual income they bring in. Tax-rates on the horses of individual peasant farms are very low.

Many individual peasants are profiteering, carting goods, as a rule, not within the bounds of their district or village but in remote places, and concealing their incomes to evade taxation. Local officials do not pay sufficient attention to this, and do not help the finance bodies in the home villages and districts of these individual peasants to establish their actual incomes, thereby making it impossible to tax them accordingly.

We know that aged individual peasants receive a great deal of assistance from the Soviet Government, and that they are exempt from taxes. But there are some among the aged individual peasants who make use of the assistance of the government for profiteering. In the village of Islyakovo, Kzyl-Armeisk district, two young individual peasants bought a horse and registered it in the name of an aged individual peasant, thereby evading the state tax. Many such cases of anti-state practices on the part of individual peasant owners of horses can be cited.

All the collective farmers of the Tatar Republic demand a change in the manner of taxing the horses of individual peasant farms. That is why I am in full agreement with the Bill on the State Horse Tax on Individual Peasant Farms.

I also consider it absolutely correct that with regard to the tax-rates, the republics, territories and regions are divided into two categories and in each of them two groups of districts are established. This will make it possible to differentiate in fixing the tax.

I move that the proposed Bill on the State Horse Tax on Individual Peasant Farms be passed, since it fully conforms to the principles of the Stalin Constitution. The passing of this law is entirely in agreement with the desires and requests of the collective farmers, and will strengthen the collective farm system still more.

Long live the great Party of Lenin and Stalin!

Long live our great leader and teacher, our beloved Comrade Stalin! (*Applause.*)

The Chairman: Comrades, we have received a motion to adjourn for fifteen minutes. Are there any objections? None.

Adjournment for fifteen minutes.

(*Adjournment*)

N. M. Shvernik (*in the chair*): The sitting is resumed.

I call upon Deputy Smakulov.

I. A. Smakulov (*Grakhovo Area, Udmurt A.S.S.R.*): Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet. The Bill on the State Horse Tax on Individual Peasant Farms introduced by the Legislative Bills Commission of the Soviet of the Union is of great importance for the further development of the collective farm system. This Bill, which the Session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. is now considering, is indeed a timely measure.

I fully subscribe to the motion of the deputies who have spoken here to approve the Bill on the State Horse Tax on Individual Peasant Farms. The Bill conforms to the principles of the Stalin Constitution, which has consolidated the victories of Socialism.

I am a deputy from the autonomous Udmurt Republic, and I shall tell you in brief what Udmurtia was like in the past and what it has become during the years of Soviet power.

Before the Great October Socialist Revolution Udmurtia was a backward, downtrodden and oppressed semi-colony of tsarist Russia. The people of Udmurtia were almost all illiterate. They were doomed by the tsarist autocracy to degeneration and extinction.

The Great October Socialist Revolution destroyed the cursed tsarist system. It emancipated all the peoples from the oppression of the landlords and capitalists and from national disfranchisement.

With the powerful fraternal support of the heroic Russian working class, under the guidance of the Communist Party and the leader of peoples, our beloved Stalin, Udmurtia became an equal member of the great family of the peoples of the Soviet Union. From an agrarian, backward territory with primitive agriculture and scanty harvests, Udmurtia under the Soviet power has become transformed into a cultured, Socialist republic.

Formerly, under the tsarist regime, the entire industry on the territory of the present-day Udmurt A.S.S.R. was represented by 33 semi-handicraft enterprises. Under the Soviet power, during the period of the two Stalin Five-Year Plans, 185 new enterprises have been erected in the Udmurt Republic. The Izhevsk steel plant, the Votkinsk machine-building and the Izhevsk motorcycle plants, the powerful saw-mills, the wood-working plant, the food processing plants and other enterprises are the pride of the working people of the Udmurt A.S.S.R. The development of industry has brought about a fundamental change in the aspect of the Udmurt A.S.S.R. During the years of the Stalin Five-Year Plans, it has become an industrial-agrarian republic.

Thousands of splendid Stakhanovites, people of Stalinian tempering, have come to the fore in the Socialist enterprises. The Stakhanovites, the masters of Socialist labour, are the gold reserve of Udmurtia.

Agriculture has also been developing. Before the Great October Socialist Revolution, 47 per cent of the land on the territory of present day Udmurtia belonged to landlords and kulaks. The peasant land was divided up into 120,000 small farms. Harvests were extremely low—6 centners of grain per hectare. Now, over 97 per cent of the peasant farms in the Udmurt A.S.S.R. are united in collective farms, operating with powerful modern machinery. The republic has 50 machine and tractor stations, nearly 3,000 tractors, 230 harvester combines, 380 flax-pullers and thousands of other modern complex agricultural machines.

The mechanization of agriculture and the introduction of scientific agricultural methods have created favourable conditions for the expansion of the sown area and for raising the harvest yields. Between

1928 and 1936 alone, the sown area of the socialized sector increased by 189,000 hectares.

The Socialist system of economy, the collective farm system, has ensured the high fertility of the fields of Udmurtia, such as formerly could not even be dreamed of. Some collective farms and brigades have been gathering as much as 50 centners of rye per hectare. The sown area of the leading agricultural crop of the republic—flax—has been extending. In 1937 the best Stakhanovite flax-growers obtained a record harvest: up to 15.7 centners of flax fibre and 10-11 centners of flax seeds per hectare.

As a result of the stubborn struggle for a high harvest, the Udmurt A.S.S.R. gathered about 12,000,000 centners of grain in 1937. Such are the harvests raised in the collective and state farms of flourishing Udmurtia.

Thanks to the daily solicitude of the Party, the Government and the great leader of peoples, Comrade Stalin, the collective farmers of the Udmurt Republic have firmly entered on the path of prosperity and culture. This is confirmed by the fact, for instance, that last year a great number of collective farmers received 14, 16 and more kilograms of grain per workday.

The number of livestock in the collective farms has also increased: horses from 76,000 in 1932 to 120,500 head in 1937, and cattle from 15,400 to 78,500 head.

There is no doubt that the successes of the working people of the Udmurt A.S.S.R. would have been still greater if not for the wrecking activities of the despicable hirelings of fascism—the Trotskyites, Bukharinites and bourgeois nationalists. Their hornet's nests have been smashed by the glorious People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs, directed by the Stalinian People's Commissar, Nikolai Ivanovich Yezhov. (*Applause.*)

The Udmurt Republic has achieved big successes in the sphere of its cultural development. Before the revolution only about 16 per cent of the total population could read and write, and among the Udmurts the percentage was still less; today, however, 90 per cent of the working people of the republic can read and write. Under tsarism Udmurtia had no written language of its own, while now scores of newspapers and thousands of books are published in our native tongue.

Before the Great October Socialist Revolution there were no universities or colleges on the territory of present-day Udmurtia. Since then pedagogical and medical institutes, a college of agriculture and other higher educational establishments have been founded in Udmurtia. The pedagogical institutes have a total enrollment of 2,747 students, of whom 1,182 are Udmurts. A total of 1,615 children of workers, collective farmers and intellectuals are studying in four higher educational establishments. 22 training colleges and other special schools have an attendance of 4,490.

A new intelligentsia, Bolshevik-tempered, has arisen.

The Udmurt people have their notables: the names of the foremost

flax-growers and stock-breeders, Comrades Vasilyeva, Smolina and Nevstruyeva, are known to all the working people of our republic. Hundreds and thousands of other Party and non-Party Bolsheviks are doing their part to increase the wealth and ensure the further development of the Udmurt A.S.S.R.

Comrades, the working people of the Udmurt Autonomous Republic are boundlessly happy that on the day of the elections to the Supreme Soviet of the Udmurt A.S.S.R. they unanimously cast their votes for the candidates of the Communist and non-Party bloc, for the leader of all the working people, our great Stalin. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Under the leadership of the Party of Lenin and Stalin the working people of the Udmurt A.S.S.R. will march, together with the entire multi-national people of the Soviet Union, towards ever new victories for Communism. (*Applause.*)

The Chairman: I call upon Deputy Chembulatov.

M. A. Chembulatov (*Ardatov Area, Mordovian A.S.S.R.*): Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet. Since the Great October Socialist Revolution a new revolutionary order and new revolutionary laws, expressing the interests of the working people—the working class and the peasantry—have been established in our country, which is led by the Party of Lenin and Stalin. The power of the exploiters—the landlords, capitalists and kulaks—has been overthrown forever; the means and implements of production have been taken from them and handed over to the working people.

The great Soviet people have achieved enormous successes. National creative art is flourishing as never before. The productive forces of the Land of Socialism have developed beyond compare. From a country of wood and straw, as Russia was in the past, our country has been transformed into a great industrial power with first-class technique.

The industrialization of the country has fundamentally transformed our agriculture. Over 243,000 collective farms have been created, embracing 93 per cent of all the peasant farms and 99 per cent of the sown area of peasant farms.

Before the Great October Socialist Revolution the peasant farms had 214,700,000 hectares of land, of which over 80,000,000 hectares belonged to the kulaks. The landlords, the monasteries and the first Russian landlord—the tsar—owned 152,500,000 hectares.

Now our collective farm peasantry have received over 400,000,000 hectares of land for their free use forever; it is the land which for many centuries constituted the object of the struggle of the working peasantry against the landlords and kulaks.

In his speech at the First All-Union Congress of Collective Farm Shock Brigade Workers on February 19, 1933, Comrade Stalin said: "Under the old system the peasants worked singly, they employed the ancient methods of their grandfathers, they employed ancient implements of labour, they worked for the landlords and capitalists, for the kulaks and profiteers, they worked and lived in a state of semi-starvation and enriched others. Under the new, collective farm system, the

peasants work collectively, co-operatively, they work with the aid of new implements—tractors and agricultural machinery, they work for themselves and for their collective farms, they live without capitalists and landlords, without kulaks and profiteers, they work in order, day after day, to improve their material and cultural conditions.''

A little more than five years have elapsed since these words were uttered. Now the collective farms are still better armed with up-to-date machinery. Hundreds and thousands of tractors, harvester combines, trucks and other complex machines are working on the collective farm fields. There are no destitute people in the countryside now, no farms without horses, without stock and implements or without land. The peasants—both poor and middle peasants—have joined the collective farms; they have now attained security and are building their life of culture and prosperity. The collective farm system has triumphed, and ''the toiling peasantry, our Soviet peasantry has completely and irrevocably come under the red flag of Socialism.'' (*Stalin.*)

All this is the result of the victory of the general line of the Party, pursued by the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. (B.) and by our beloved leader and teacher—our great Stalin. (*Loud and prolonged applause.*)

Together with our whole Soviet land, our Mordovian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, of which I am a representative, is also growing.

We have 1,500 collective farms organized in our republic; they embrace 84 per cent of the peasant farms and together with the state farms cover 98.6 per cent of the sown area. 2,600 tractors, 480 harvester combines and many other complex agricultural machines are working on the fields of the republic.

In 1937 the collective farms of Mordovia gathered an average of 11 centners of grain per hectare, and some collective farms attained record harvests—25-30 centners per hectare. The majority of the collective farms in the republic distributed more than 5 kg. of grain per workday to each collective farmer, and some collective farms distributed as much as 10, 11 and even up to 16 kg. of grain.

Stock-breeding has been developing in the collective farms of Mordovia. In 1933 the collective farms of the republic had 278 dairy and stock-raising farms with 29,133 head of cattle, and in 1937 the number of such farms had already reached 659, with 34,419 head of cattle.

In 1933 there were 294 hog-breeding farms with 24,741 hogs. In 1937 their number had reached 700, with 52,598 hogs.

The flock of the sheep-breeding farms has increased by 80 per cent in comparison with 1933.

In six months of 1938—between January 1 and July 1—the number of horses has increased considerably in the republic. It must be mentioned that in this field the enemies of the people did a great deal of harm. The exposure of the enemies of the people, who had wormed their way into a number of organizations in the republic, helped us to achieve a marked improvement in the development of horse-breeding.

The enemies of the people, striving to undermine the strength of the collective farms, encouraged the tendency among some individual peasants to engage in profiteering, and deliberately created for them a position of advantage as compared with the collective farmers.

A check-up effected in a number of districts in the Mordovian Republic has established that the majority of individual peasants do not engage in agriculture but use their horses for profiteering. Thus, for instance, a group of individual peasants in the Shiringush district, consisting mainly of former kulaks and tradesmen, systematically stole timber belonging to the state and sold it at profiteering prices outside the district and the republic. During the last year and a half or two years this group of individual peasants stole and sold 40,000 rubles' worth of timber.

In the Ichalkov, Saransk and Ruzayevsk districts individual peasants engage not in agriculture, but in carting goods at profiteering prices. There are cases of individual peasants using their horses for the performance of work for some collective farmers (cultivating the plots of land in their personal use, etc.) at profiteering prices.

In the Shiringush and Saransk districts some individual peasants undertook to perform certain agricultural work on the collective farms. In collective farms which had class enemies in their management, these individual peasants received for their work a great deal more grain and money than the collective farmers received for the same kind of work. This aroused the anger of the collective farmers and undermined labour discipline in the collective farms.

All these facts prove that some individual peasants engage in profiteering and have a bad influence on the unstable section of the collective farmers.

Many individual peasants who leave for other districts in order to make money on the side conceal their horses and their incomes, so as to evade paying taxes. There have been cases of individual peasants selling their horses just before tax levies are fixed, and then again purchasing them, thereby evading taxation. Many individual peasants fail to make deliveries to the state, and evade their other obligations to the state.

Alongside the Socialist system of economy, which is the dominant form of economy in the U.S.S.R., the Stalin Constitution permits small private economy of individual peasants and handicraftsmen based on their personal labour and precluding the exploitation of the labour of others. The facts cited here by Deputy Ugarov and a number of other deputies indicate that many individual peasants violate the principle of personal labour.

Comrades, I fully support the Bill presented to the Session of the Supreme Soviet for consideration and adoption, and hope that the Session will pass it unanimously.

This Bill is fully in line with the interests of the collective farm peasantry and all the Soviet people in their struggle for the further

organizational and economic consolidation of the collective farms, and for a still happier and more prosperous collective farm life.

Under the great, invincible banner of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, under the guidance of the Central Committee of the Party and the beloved leader of all working people, Comrade Stalin, we are marching, and will march in still greater unity and solidarity, towards ever new victories for Communism. (*Applause.*)

The Chairman: I call upon Deputy Fyodorov.

A. I. Fyodorov (*Sernur Area, Mari A.S.S.R.*): Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet. At the joint sitting of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities we heard the report of Deputy Ugarov on the Bill on the State Horse Tax on Individual Peasant Farms. This question has been rightly brought up for discussion at the Session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. The collective farm system has won finally and irrevocably. The peasantry has become convinced that only the collective farm system brings a life of happiness, culture and prosperity.

Comrades, under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party the working people of the Mari Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic have achieved tremendous successes in the development of Socialist agriculture and the improvement of the material and cultural welfare of the people.

The toilers of the Mari Republic were in the past subject to the oppression of the tsarist autocracy and the local national bourgeoisie. The Mari people were doomed to starvation and extinction. Only the Soviet power regenerated our people and gave them a happy and joyous life.

In the sphere of agriculture the Mari Republic has achieved great successes in 1937. Capital investments in agriculture last year amounted to 7,567,000 rubles.

A great improvement has taken place in the application of scientific agricultural methods. In 1937, 2,375 tons of mineral fertilizers were utilized. The application of scientific agricultural methods has secured the collective farms big harvests. The average harvest yield of grain crops last year amounted to 13.5 centners per hectare. Hundreds of collective farms in the republic harvested from 18 to 25 centners per hectare. The Red Perekop Collective Farm, in the Yurino district, for instance, obtained from 18 to 25 centners per hectare and the Ukeche Collective Farm in the Sernur district from 17 to 39 centners per hectare.

A great deal has been done in training forces for the collective farms. 1,500 chairmen of collective farms attended five-day courses organized in the republic.

Hundreds of Stakhanovites of Socialist agriculture have come to the fore. Thus, the tractor brigade of Comrade Komarov, of the Sotnursk machine and tractor station, cultivated on an average 1,067 hectares per wheel tractor, the tractor driver Comrade Anna Domracheva, of the Toryalsk machine and tractor station—675 hectares, the tractor drivers Mansurov and Blinov, of the Orshansk machine and tractor station, cultivated 1,732 hectares each, and the combine operator Kuzminikh, of this same Orshansk machine and tractor station, harvested 583 hectares.

The increase in the political activity of the collective farmers, the growth of the Stakhanov movement, and the big harvests of our fields have become possible only as a result of the leadership and constant solicitude of our Bolshevik Party and of Comrade Stalin personally. (*Applause.*)

To characterize the prosperous and cultured life of our collective farms and collective farmers, it is sufficient to say that 1,133 tractors (an increase of 375 tractors in comparison with 1936), 118 harvester combines and 190 tractor-drawn threshing machines are working on the collective farm fields of the Mari Republic. Over 73 per cent of the ploughing and 40 per cent of the threshing is performed with the aid of tractors.

Thus in our republic, just as throughout the Soviet Union, all conditions have been created for the annual attainment of big harvests of grain and industrial crops.

Stock-breeding is being developed in our republic at an intense rate. The number of livestock in the collective farms has increased by 11,789 head. The increase in the number of hogs and sheep is especially great. Together with the growth of the stock-breeding farms the number of livestock owned by the collective farmers is also growing.

The successes in the sphere of Socialist agriculture and stock-breeding would have been immeasurably greater if not for the wrecking activities of the enemies of the people, who operated in the land departments of the Mari Republic. These vile wreckers disrupted the crop rotation, confused the work of seed selection, hindered the development of the raising of thoroughbred stock, etc. Now these inveterate enemies of the people have been exposed by the valiant People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs. It is our task to fight in a Bolshevik manner for the most rapid elimination of the consequences of the wreckers' activities.

Comrades, I shall relate about the work and achievements of the collective farm of which I was chairman. The Ukeche Collective Farm, Sernur district, raised a harvest of 17 to 39 centners of grain per hectare in 1937. The collective farmers received 16 kg. of grain per workday. Some Stakhanovites, such as Comrade Anna Alexandrovna Gavrilova, for instance, earned 285 poods, Comrade Stepan Kuzmich Semenov—345 poods of grain. The family of the collective farmer Polikarp Fedorovich Milyutin earned 845 poods of grain, the family of the collective farmer Nikolai Vasilyevich Fedorov—960 poods. The collective farmers of the Mari Republic are leading a life of culture and prosperity. 93 per cent of the peasant farms are united in collective farms. They sow 97 per cent of the cultivated area of the republic.

There are still a number of peasants in our republic who have not joined collective farms. Many of the individual peasants who have

horses do not cultivate their land but use the horses for purposes of profiteering.

In my opinion the Bill on the State Horse Tax on Individual Peasant Farms introduced by the Legislative Bills Commission of the Soviet of the Union is absolutely correct. I move that the Bill be passed *in toto*.

Comrades, our collective farms are expanding and growing stronger. Each year they become more prosperous and cultured.

The elections to the Supreme Soviets of the U.S.S.R., of the R.S.F.S.R. and of the Mari A.S.S.R. demonstrated forcefully the moral and political unity of the working people of the Mari Republic, who are now more than ever united around the Party of Lenin and Stalin, around their leader and friend, Comrade Stalin. (*Applause.*)

I convey the ardent greetings of the working people of the Mari Republic and their hearty thanks to Comrade Stalin for their cultured, prosperous and happy life! (*Prolonged applause.*)

The Chairman: I call upon Deputy Batalova.

M. S. Batalova (*Komi-Permyak National Area, Sverdlovsk Region*): Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet. Vladimir Ilyich Lenin pointed out to our peasantry the road to a happy and prosperous life. Following this road under the leadership of Comrade Stalin, our countryside and our peasantry have changed completely.

Our agriculture now has at its disposal machines of which the peasants formerly could not even dream. Our agriculture is equipped with tractors, harvester combines and other complex agricultural machinery. The collective farm peasantry, not only of the central regions but also of the most remote national districts of our Soviet Union, are leading a full, prosperous and cultured life.

Under tsarism, the Komi-Permyak people had no political rights whatever, nor any opportunity of developing their culture; they did not even have their own written language.

Now, thanks to our Party of Lenin and Stalin, thanks to Comrade Stalin, the Komi-Permyak people, like all the peoples of the U.S.S.R., are working in harmony, building their culture, national in form and Socialist in content.

We achieved all our successes, comrades, because we are led by the Party of Lenin and Stalin, by the best friend and associate of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin—our leader and beloved teacher, Comrade Stalin. (*Loud applause.*)

All the peoples of the Soviet Union enjoy equal political rights and have every opportunity of taking a most active part in all spheres of state work. Were it not for the Party of Lenin and Stalin, we here would not now be participating in administering the state.

Our state, comrades, is a multi-national state. While at the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics it consisted of four republics, now we have eleven republics. Our Party, our Soviet Government, our leader—Comrade Stalin—are equally solicitous of the development of each of the eleven republics of our Soviet Union. (*Loud applause.*)

Comrades, the collective farm system has triumphed in the countryside finally and irrevocably. Therefore in speaking of the individual peasants, we cannot forego mentioning our collective farms.

How do our collective farms and our collective farmers live now? Together with the workers they live with one single thought, with one desire—to build Communism. And, comrades, we will build Communism!

Our collective farms are growing stronger every day. In our area there are 500 collective farms. In them, as in all the collective farms of the country, heroes and heroines of labour are being brought up. They are being brought up by our Party, by Comrade Stalin.

Who does not know Maria Demchenko, Pasha Angelina and other famed people of our country, who are present here as members of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.? But think how many more such heroes and heroines of labour there are! There are thousands of them, because our Party is solicitous of every working man and woman, because, as Comrade Stalin has said, people are our most valuable capital. And our people strive to become heroes. It is not for nothing that we sing: "When the country demands heroes, everyone will become a hero."

In discussing the Bill on the State Horse Tax on Individual Peasant Farms, it must be said that the individual peasants represent an insignificant number in our country, but nevertheless we cannot permit even part of them to evade Soviet laws. The individual peasants must observe the Soviet laws.

I wholeheartedly join with the deputies who have moved that the Bill on the State Horse Tax on Individual Peasant Farms be adopted. I am confident that the Soviet of Nationalities will pass this law unanimously.

May our beloved country flourish still more brightly! Forward, to new victories for Communism, along the road pointed out to us by our Bolshevik Party, by our great leader, Comrade Stalin! (*Loud and prolonged applause.*)

The Chairman: We have received a motion to close the debate. Are there any other motions?

Voices: Put it to the vote.

The Chairman: There is a motion to put it to the vote. We shall now vote. Those in favour of closing the debate, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No. The debate is closed. I call upon Deputy Ugarov to speak in reply to the debate. (*Applause.*)

A. I. Ugarov (*Smolny Area, Leningrad*): Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet. Inasmuch as the Bill on the State Horse Tax on Individual Peasant Farms introduced by the Legislative Bills Commission of the Soviet of the Union has met with the wholehearted support and unanimous approval of the members of the Soviet of Nationalities, there is no need of any speech in reply to the debate.

Permit me therefore to proceed to read the text of the Bill proposed by the Commission.

"STATE HORSE TAX ON INDIVIDUAL PEASANT FARMS ACT

"Whereas, on the testimony of collective farmers, the horses on individual peasant farms are usually used not for farm work on the farm in question, but for purposes of profiteering outside the farm, the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, meeting the desire of the collective farmers, resolves:

"1. To introduce a special state tax on the horses of individual peasant farms.

"2. To fix the rates of the state tax on the individual peasant farms possessing horses as follows by republics, territories and regions:

Republics, Territories and Regions	For one horse	For every horse over and above one head
1. R.S.F.S.R. (with the exception of the territories, regions and A.S.S.R. indicated below), Ukrainian S.S.R. and Byelorussian S.S.R.	1st group of districts—400 rbls. 2nd group of districts—500 rbls.	1st group of districts—700 rbls. 2nd group of districts—800 rbls.
2. Azerbaidjan, Georgian, Armenian, Turkmen, Uzbek, Tadjik, Kazakh and Kirghiz S.S.R.; Far Eastern and Krassnoyarsk territories; Irkutsk and Chita regions; Daghestan, Buryat-Mongolian, Kabardino-Balkarian, Kalmyk, Karelian, Komi, North Ossetian, Chechen-Ingush and Yakut A.S.S.R.	1st group of districts—275 rbls. 2nd group of districts—350 rbls.	1st group of districts—450 rbls. 2nd group of districts—550 rbls.

"3. To impose upon the territorial and regional executive committees of the Soviets of Toilers' Deputies, or, in the autonomous republics and the Union republics not divided into regions, upon the Councils of People's Commissars, the duty of classifying the districts or areas for tax-rating purposes either under the 1st or under the 2nd group, dependent upon the amount of the incomes received from the use of the horses.

"4. The tax on horses shall be paid by all individual peasant farms possessing horses three years old and over at the time of the publication of the law. The sale of horses after the publication of the law does not give exemption from payment of the tax for the current year.

"5. To fix October 15th as the time limit for the payment of the tax.

"6. Farms which enter collective farms before October 15, 1938, and deliver their horses to the collective farms, shall be exempt from the payment of the state tax on horses.

"7. The revenues collected from the tax on the horses of the individual peasant farms are assigned as follows: 25 per cent to the Budgets of the Union republics, 25 per cent to the Budgets of the territories, regions and autonomous republics, and 50 per cent to the district Budgets." (*Applause.*)

The Chairman: Are there any amendments to the Bill on the State Horse Tax on Individual Peasant Farms? No amendments. I shall proceed to take a vote. I shall take the vote on the Bill as a whole. Those in favour of its adoption, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No. The State Horse Tax on Individual Peasant Farms Act is passed unanimously. (*Applause.*)

I call upon Deputy Petrov, who wishes to make some motions.

G. A. Petrov (*Oktemberyan Area, Armenian S.S.R.*): Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet. I move that the seventh item on the agenda of the Session—the question of the All-Union Agricultural Exposition—be heard and discussed at a joint sitting of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities.

I also move that the eighth item on the agenda of the Session—the ukases adopted by the presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. in the interval between the First and Second Sessions and subject to confirmation by the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.—be heard at a joint sitting of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities.

I move that the joint sitting of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities be held on August 21, at 6 p.m.

The Chairman: Does anybody wish to speak on the motion made by Deputy Petrov?

Voices: Put it to the vote.

The Chairman: A motion has been made to put it to the vote. I shall take a vote on the motion made by Deputy Petrov. Those in favour of adopting this motion, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

The motion is adopted.

This closes the sitting of the Soviet of Nationalities.

JOINT SITTINGS
OF THE
SOVIET OF THE UNION
AND THE
SOVIET OF NATIONALITIES

FIRST SITTING

August 10, 1938

Comrades Stalin, Molotov, Kalinin, Kaganovich, Voroshilov, Mikoyan, Andreyev, Zhdanov, Yezhov and Khrushchov enter the hall. They are greeted with loud and prolonged applause and cheers. All rise. Greetings in the different languages of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. in honour of Comrade Stalin: "Hurrah for Stalin!" "Long live our leader and teacher, Comrade Stalin!" "Long live Comrade Stalin!" "Hurrah for Comrade Stalin, our great leader and teacher!"

A. A. Andrevev, Chairman of the Soviet of the Union, in the chair.

The Chairman: Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet. I hereby open the joint sitting of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities. (*Applause.*)

We have on the agenda of the joint sitting, as adopted by both Chambers of the Supreme Soviet, the report of the Government on the Unified State Budget of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics for 1938.

I call upon Comrade Zverev, People's Commissar of Finance of the U.S.S.R., to report on the Unified State Budget of the U.S.S.R. (*Applause.*)

A. G. Zverev: Comrades, it is at a time of tremendous political and economic resurgence in our country that the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. is discussing the Budget of the Soviet Union for 1938.

The two greatest events of the recent past—the adoption of the new, Stalin Constitution and the elections held on the basis of it to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. and the Supreme Soviets of the Union and autonomous republics—have demonstrated to the whole world the results of the great victories of Socialism in the Soviet Union.

The brilliant victory which the Stalin Communist and non-Party bloc gained at the elections served as a striking expression of the moral and political unity of the Soviet people, of the inseparable bond between the Party and the masses and the boundless love and devotion of the broad masses of working people to the cause of the Party of Lenin and Stalin.

Comrade Molotov has said: "To be able to speak of the possibility of creating such an alliance between the Bolsheviks and the non-Party masses it was necessary to achieve the *victory of Socialism* in the Soviet Union. We have achieved this. Socialism now determines the whole life of our country."

A Socialist society has, in the main, been established on one sixth of the earth's surface. The class of capitalists and landlords has been abolished, the kulak class eliminated. Gone is the exploitation of man by man.

The Stalin Constitution has given legislative effect to the great victories of Socialism. The Socialist ownership of the means and implements of production is the foundation of our social system.

By mercilessly rooting out the enemies of the people, promoting new, young cadres to positions of leadership in all sectors of Socialist construction and arming them with Bolshevism, our Party has attained tremendous successes on all fronts of Socialist construction.

Under the leadership of the Party of Lenin and Stalin, our country has been transformed during the years of the two Five-Year Plan periods from a backward, agrarian country into a mighty, industrial power, into a country of advanced science and modern technique, into a land of foremost, Socialist agriculture. More than 80 per cent of the industrial output of the U.S.S.R. is produced in enterprises either newly built or entirely reconstructed during the period of the two Stalin Five-Year Plans. In 1937 the volume of output of Socialist industry exceeded the pre-war level eight-fold.

In industrial output tsarist Russia held fifth place in the world and fourth in Europe, whereas the Soviet Union now holds first place in Europe and second in the world in this regard. In 1936 our country already occupied first place in Europe in the output of machinery, tractors, harvester combines, trucks, in the extraction of iron ore, smelting of red copper, the production of superphosphates, sugar and a number of other items.

Socialism has become an integral part of everyday life for the working people in town and country. The system of collective farming in the countryside has given rise to far-reaching prospects for the development of agriculture, which is confidently advancing towards the accomplishment of the task set by Stalin—the production of 7,000,000,000 to 8,000,000,000 poods of grain annually.

The creation of a happy, joyous and prosperous life for the masses of the working people of the U.S.S.R. is the greatest achievement of Socialism.

Comrade Stalin says: "Our proletarian revolution is the only revolution in the world which had the opportunity of showing the people not only its political results but also material results."

"The distinctive feature of our revolution," Comrade Stalin points out, "is that it brought the people not only freedom, but also material benefits and the possibility of a prosperous and cultured life."

The right to work, to rest, to education and to maintenance in old age and on loss of capacity to work has been applied in practice in our country. The principle of Socialism—"From each according to his ability, to each according to work performed"—has been put into practice. We have attained great successes in the Socialist reconstruction of society because all our work is directed by the great leader of the people—Comrade Stalin. (*All rise. Cries: "Hurrah for our great Stalin!" "Long live Stalin, Hurrah!" Prolonged applause.*)

Under the leadership of Comrade Stalin the peoples of the Soviet Union have achieved the victory of Socialism in our country, have secured for our Socialist fatherland a national economy and culture flourishing beyond all precedent.

The steady growth of social wealth and the welfare of the working masses form the basis of the firmness and stability of the Soviet ruble, the basis of the tremendous growth of the state budget.

The successes achieved in the development and consolidation of Soviet finances have been of enormous significance in accomplishing the supremely important historical task of building Socialist society.

The financial system played a big role in solving the economic and political problems raised by the Second Five-Year Plan. During the years of the Second Five-Year Plan about 350,000,000,000 rubles were assigned, by the state and local Budgets alone, for the development of industry and agriculture, for raising the cultural level and improving the material welfare of the working masses as well as for strengthening the defensive power of the country.

A total of 183,000,000,000 rubles were expended under the Second Five-Year Plan to finance the national economy alone, and 73,300,000,000 rubles to finance social and cultural undertakings.

Thus over 70 per cent of the Budget expenditures went to finance the national economy and culture.

I. RESULTS OF THE EXECUTION OF THE BUDGET FOR 1936

A written report on the execution of the Budget for 1936 has been distributed to the members of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. and therefore I ask you to allow me to touch on the results of 1936 only in brief.

In 1936, as a result of the rise in the labour enthusiasm of the masses in connection with the nation-wide discussion and the adoption of the Stalin Constitution as well as the development of the Stakhanov movement, the national economic plan was not only fulfilled but even exceeded.

The successful execution of the national economic plan found its reflection in the execution of the state Budget.

The revenues column of the state Budget of the U.S.S.R. for 1936 showed total fulfilment to have been in the sum of 83,760,000,000 rubles, while the total in the expenditures column was 81,827,000,000 rubles. *Revenues exceeded expenditures by 1,933,000,000 rubles in 1936.*

The 1936 Budget, as fulfilled, exceeded the sums approved by the Second Session of the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R., VII Convocation, by 6.4 per cent for revenues and 4 per cent for expenditures.

As I have already stated, the expenditure column of the Budget of the U.S.S.R. showed fulfilment in the sum of 81,827,000,000 rubles. Of this sum, 38,400,000,000 rubles went to finance the national economy, 5,200,000,000 rubles were expended on education, 1,700,000,000 rubles on public health, 26,900,000 rubles on physical culture, 77,800,000 rubles on social maintenance and protection of labour. The marked growth observed in expenditures for social and cultural measures, which increased by 41 per cent in 1936 as compared with 1935, is deserving of note.

There was a still greater increase in 1936 in the funds transferred to the local Budgets. In 1933 these funds constituted 2,600,000,000 rubles or 7.2 per cent, while in 1936 they constituted 14,300,000,000 rubles or 17.5 per cent of the total expenditures. This testifies to the great solicitude of the Party and the Government for the consolidation and growth of the local Budgets.

Despite the harm caused to the financial system by the enemies of the people, we had a considerable growth in the financial strength of the Soviet Union in 1937 too.

According to returns for 1937, the revenues column of the state Budget showed a total outturn of 96,600,000,000 rubles and the expenditures column to a total of 93,900,000,000 rubles, revenues exceeding expenditures by 2,700,000,000 rubles.

It must, however, be said that, despite the excess of revenues over expenditures, the revenues plan was not fulfilled with respect to the following items: the turnover and profits taxes, state loans and taxes on the population. This is explained, on the one hand, by the fact that some branches of the national economy did not fulfil their production plans, and, on the other, by the poor work of the finance apparatus and the wrecking activities which had been carried on in the financial system. With the aim of restoring capitalism, enemies of the people who had managed to make their way to leading posts in finance bodies tried by every means in their power to undermine the financial strength of our state, to disorganize our finance economy and upset Budget discipline and control over the utilization of State funds.

Under the leadership of Nikolai Ivanovich Yezhov, the organs of the Soviet intelligence service have dealt the enemies of the people and their counter-revolutionary schemes a crushing blow. (*All rise. Cries*: "*Hurrah for Nikolai Ivanovich Yezhov!*" *Loud applause.*) However, the fact that the Trotskyite-Bukharinite band has been destroyed does not mean that we have completely crushed all attempts by the dregs of the Trotskyite-Bukharinite bloc and other fascist agents to harm from their places of concealment the cause of further building Communist society. Comrade Stalin teaches us that "as long as the capitalist encirclement exists, we shall have wreckers, spies, diversionists and

assassins sent to our rear by agents of foreign states." This means that in our financial system too we must work daily to root out all enemies of the people that still remain, that have not yet been exposed, and to remove completely all after-effects of wrecking activities.

The state Budget of the Soviet Union for 1938—the first year of the Third Five-Year Plan—ensures the further development and consolidation of Socialist construction in the Soviet Union. It is drawn up in conformity with the state plan for the development of the national economy. According to the plan for 1938, the volume of capital construction work is fixed at 38,300,000,000 rubles. In comparison with actual fulfilment in 1937, capital investments are increasing by more than 30 per cent.

Besides this, in accordance with the decision of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. of January 8, 1938, aimed at improving the work of capital repairs to buildings and structures and production equipment in industry, transport, the communications facilities and other production organizations, 1,600,000,000 rubles have been set aside from the allocations for amortization for carrying out capital repairs in these branches of the national economy. In 1937 all amortization funds were used solely to cover planned capital investments.

Investments in heavy industry and the machine-building industry are increasing this year more than 50 per cent. According to the plan for 1938, the gross output of industry under Union and republican control is fixed at 87,500,000,000 rubles (in fixed 1926-27 prices). In comparison with 1937, this means an increase of 21 per cent.

Increased industrial output is based on a considerable growth of labour productivity, which in heavy industry is increasing by 14.4 per cent as compared with 1937, in light industry by 11 per cent and in the food industry also by 11 per cent.

Larger industrial and agricultural output makes it possible to increase the volume of trade from 125,000,000,000 rubles in 1937 to 140,500,000,000 rubles in 1938, *i.e.*, by 15,500,000,000 rubles.

The increase in industrial and agricultural output, the rise in trade volume and the reduction in prices of general consumers' goods ensure a further considerable betterment in the welfare of the popular masses of the Soviet Union. This is borne out by the growth of the payroll for workers and employees, which is increasing to 94,000,000,000 rubles in 1938, as against 82,000,000,000 rubles in 1937.

The national economic indices for 1938 create favourable conditions for a tremendous growth in the Budget. The revenues of the unified state Budget of the U.S.S.R. (Union, republican and local) are fixed at 125,184,000,000 rubles. Expenditures are fixed at 123,684,000,000 rubles. Revenues are to exceed expenditures by 1,500,000,000 rubles.

This great excess of revenues over expenditures is exceedingly significant. While for many years the Budgets of capitalist countries have been showing huge deficits, the Budget of the Land of Socialism is each year being realized with revenues considerably overbalancing expenditures. Thus, for example, in 1936 state revenues exceeded ex-

penditures by 1,933,000,000 rubles, and in 1937 by 2,700,000,000 rubles, while during all the years of the Second Five-Year Plan this excess totalled over 11,000,000,000 rubles. In 1938 excess revenues are expected to amount to 1,500,000,000 rubles.

The picture we see in capitalist countries is quite different.

Capitalist, and especially fascist, countries are increasing to an unprecedented extent their expenditures on preparations for a new world war and for financing the wars and interventions already in progress in China and Spain. These wars demand colossal military outlays and strain the finances of capitalist states to the extreme, with the result that their national debts increase tremendously, their Budgets show a chronic deficit, and social and cultural appropriations, insignificant in amount as they are, are still further drastically curtailed.

Thus, according to data published in the British press, in a total outgo in Germany in 1937-38 of 23,000,000,000 marks, disbursements for military purposes accounted for 15,500,000,000 marks, or 67.3 per cent of all expenditures.

In the Budget year 1938-39, Germany's expenditures for armaments will reach 18,000,000,000 marks. This tremendous growth of military expenditures in Germany entails a great increase in the taxes levied on the working population.

About three quarters of all taxes in Germany are indirect taxes, which with special taxes on wage earnings and various other exactions drastically reduce the incomes of the working people, paltry as these already are.

Growth of indirect taxes concomitant with restriction of imports of food products and a fall in the country's agricultural output has caused a nation-wide rise in prices of general consumers' goods.

High prices, together with an acute shortage of food-stuffs in the country, account for the sharp reduction of consumption in Germany. However, even this exorbitant taxation policy, pressing down as it does so heavily on the material standard of the working people, is unable to cope with the daily increasing deficits in the German state Budget, cannot halt the growth of long-term and short-term state indebtedness, which, according to data in the British press, has increased during the reign of fascism from 9,300,000,000 marks in 1933 to 38,000,000,000 marks at the beginning of 1938.

The finances of two other fascist aggressors—Italy and Japan—are no less strained than those of Germany.

Italian fascism has drained the economy of its country dry. The attempt to improve matters by seizing Abyssinia has in point of fact led to still greater disorganization in Italian finances. This is seen from the enormous deficit of the Italian Budget, which in the budgetary year 1936-37 alone amounted to 16,300,000,000 lire.

According to official Italian statistics, during the past four years the Fascist government expended a total of 39,000,000,000 lire on its military adventures in Abyssinia and Spain. Several forced loans were floated to meet these military expenses. As a result of these and other

credit operations of a compulsory nature, Italy's national debt at present reaches 200,000,000,000 lire, as against 89,000,000,000 lire in 1930.

The military adventures of Japanese imperialism are also bringing on at breakneck speed the collapse of Japanese national finances and the disorganization of Japan's currency.

Japanese imperialism's predatory war in China demands vast military expenditures. Illustrative of this is the fact that the regular and supplementary Budgets of Japan for 1938-39 carry appropriations for military purposes amounting to 6,100,000,000 yen, or 79 per cent of the total Budget expenditure. To education the paltry sum of 144,000,000 yen, or 1.8 per cent of the total, has been allotted.

Growing military expenditures have caused a chronic deficit in the Japanese Budget, which is made good by increasing taxes on the working people and by continually raising new loans. As a result, Japan's internal national debt has already reached 13,000,000,000 yen, as against 4,500,000,000 yen in 1931, *i.e.*, in seven years it has been practically tripled.

The above facts are cogent proof that their enormous armaments, their intervention in Spain and their military adventures in Abyssinia and China have vitally sapped the so-called "financial preparedness to fight" of the fascist countries. Taxes in Germany, Italy and Japan have been screwed up to top notch, and state credit is strained to the breaking point.

In contrast with the Budgets of capitalist states, which spend the principal part of their funds for unproductive purposes, the Budget of the Soviet Union for 1938, as in preceding years, employs the overwhelming part of its funds to finance national economy and culture and further improve the material conditions of the working people.

II. REVENUES OF THE 1938 BUDGET

Turnover and Profits Taxes

In characterizing the items of revenue for the 1938 Budget, it must be stated at the outset that the turnover and profits taxes constitute the vast bulk of this side of the Budget. The sum of turnover taxes has been fixed at 83,300,000,000 rubles in 1938, as against 75,900,000,000 rubles in 1937. The turnover tax will bring in 71.4 per cent of all the revenues of the Budget in 1938; the profits tax will yield 8.1 per cent. The profits tax, as specified in the Budget of the U.S.S.R., will amount to 9,600,000,000 rubles, as against 6,500,000,000 rubles in 1937, or 46.7 per cent more.

The growth of revenues from the taxation of turnover and profits in 1938 is explained by the growth of the production program of industry, the growth of trade and the increased volume of profits of state enterprises under Union, republic and local control. The profits of these enterprises are to increase from 14,500,000,000 rubles in 1937

to 20,400,000,000 rubles in 1938 or by 41 per cent. This marked growth in profits is the result of our state enterprises operating on an increasingly paying basis due to further growth in volume of production and lowered production costs. The accumulations following reduction of production costs are set at 2,600,000,000 rubles for the six industrial People's Commissariats alone. This figure points to the tremendous significance of the struggle to reduce the cost of production so that the plan of accumulations may be fulfilled in 1938. Failure by industry to fulfil its assigned production cost reduction program by only one per cent means a loss to the national economy of accumulations amounting to hundreds of millions of rubles.

Successful fulfilment of the plan of state revenues from the turnover and profits taxes directly depends on the fulfilment of national economic plans. Industry and Soviet trade are expanding every year. There have come to the fore tens of thousands of young, talented economic executives who are going through intensive schooling in mastering Bolshevism and who are working with great persistence to become proficient in the branches of national economy under their charge.

However, as yet not all branches of the national economy are fulfilling their production plans. This affects the fulfilment of the turnover and profits taxation plan.

The results of the first half of 1938 warrant the statement that the People's Commissariat of Light Industry, the People's Commissariat of Trade and the Centrosoyuz (All-Union Consumers' Association) have not fulfilled their plans and are thus in arrears for considerable sums due the state Budget from the turnover tax.

Several branches of the national economy are not fulfilling the plan of profits taxes either. Thus, during the first half of 1938 the People's Commissariat of the Machine-Building Industry, which was to pay a profits tax of 619,000,000 rubles, paid in only 270,000,000 rubles. The great importance of the turnover and profits taxes in the revenues column of the Budget makes it imperative for each head of an economic Commissariat to fulfil unconditionally the production plans relating to output and reduction of production costs as confirmed for 1938, thereby ensuring the fulfilment of his obligations to the state Budget.

The finance bodies are in duty bound to keep a daily check on payments made on account of the turnover and profits taxes, and to take all suasive measures against those who assume an attitude detrimental to the state in this important matter.

Revenues from Taxes and Levies on the Population

The sum-total of intake from taxes on the population provided in the 1938 Budget of the Soviet Union as a whole and in those of the various republics has been calculated at 3,100,000,000 rubles, and inclusive of the intake of the local Budgets, at 5,010,000,000 rubles.

Much more attention must be paid to this sector of financial work, for taxes touch the interests of the millions of the working people. In

calculating and collecting taxes from the population, finance workers must strictly adhere to Soviet laws and steadfastly put into practice the financial policy of our Party and the Soviet Government.

As a result of poor work by the finance bodies, the plan for the collection of taxes and levies on the population has not been fulfilled satisfactorily in a number of regions during the first half of 1938. The fact that the balance of arrears on the agricultural tax as of July 1, 1938, amounted to 68,900,000 rubles is proof of this. Payment of the rural levy for cultural purposes is also proceeding unsatisfactorily. On July 1, 1938, arrears on this levy totalled 142,100,000 rubles. This indicates that the finance bodies are not energetic enough in collecting taxes from the rural population and that the after-effects of wrecking have not yet been fully overcome.

The following republics, territories and regions must be included among the most delinquent in regard to rural tax payments and payment of arrears: the Byelorussian S.S.R., which on July 1 was 5,400,000 rubles in arrears on the agricultural tax and 14,300,000 rubles on the cultural levy; the Voronezh Region, which is 4,400,000 rubles in arrears on the agricultural tax and 6,500,000 rubles on the cultural levy; the Altai Territory, which is 3,500,000 rubles in arrears on the agricultural tax and 4,500,000 rubles on the cultural levy.

The plan of mobilizing the funds of the population during the first half of this year has not been fulfilled because not all finance bodies are doing their direct duty, not all are prompt in collecting the taxes and levies due from the population. Not all the heads of republican, territorial and regional finance bodies give the necessary operative leadership and keep the necessary control over the work of the district and city finance departments.

The Stalin Constitution, which guarantees citizens the greatest rights, also defines their principal duties to the Socialist state. Prompt payment of taxes fixed by law is one of these duties to the state. That is why finance bodies which take an attitude of unconcern towards the non-payment of taxes due from the individual peasants are guilty of countenancing unlawful practices. The individual peasants, like all other taxpayers, have every possibility of paying their accounts to the state on time and in full.

Finance bodies must get the individual peasants and other categories of rural taxpayers to make payment in full.

Loans and the Work of the Savings Banks

Victorious Socialist construction in our country has created exceptionally favourable conditions for the tremendous growth of the savings of the people. During recent years, owing to the Stakhanov movement, the victory of the collective farm system and the rapid improvement in the material welfare of the broad masses of the people in our country, the savings of the working people have notably increased. On the basis of the constant growth of the national income the deposits made by the

people in the savings banks increase each year and subscriptions to state loans are growing.

In our country state loans have long been an important part of the system of finance. They are not only an important source of funds for financing Socialist economy, but constitute a striking manifestation of the high level of activity and social consciousness of the Soviet people. The monetary accumulations and savings of the working people of the Soviet Union form the economic foundation of Soviet domestic state loans.

The loans of the Land of Soviets are truly loans of the people. They enjoy the greatest popularity among and the ardent support of the working people. The number of Soviet loan bondholders is increasing from year to year, at present amounting to above 50,000,000.

During the period of the two Stalin Five-Year Plans alone, the working people of our country gave the state about 25,000,000,000 rubles in state loans.

In capitalist countries, the bourgeoisie uses domestic loans as a supplementary means of exploiting the working people. Under capitalism, loans are one of the methods of obtaining funds to cover Budget deficits.

Since 1924 the Budget of the Soviet state has not only known no deficit but, as we have already seen, has each year a considerable excess of revenues over expenditures.

The funds collected through the system of capitalist state credit form an important channel of supply for the parasitic expenditures of the bourgeois state, expenditures growing out of the maintenance of its police, army, officialdom, etc. Inasmuch as capitalist states expend their mobilized funds for unproductive purposes, the only wherewithal for extinguishing their national debt and paying interest on it is state taxes. The main burden of these taxes falls on the working masses, thus increasing the exploitation of the workers, peasants and all working people and driving still lower their miserable standard of life.

Soviet loans do not mean increased taxes. On the contrary, Soviet loans bring the working people considerable income. During the years of the First Five-Year Plan alone, the population received an income of 582,200,000 rubles from state loans, while during those of the Second Five-Year Plan this income amounted to 2,666,600,000 rubles.

The Soviet Government does not tax the population in order to be able to make payments on loans of the U.S.S.R. Funds for such payments are derived from the profit accumulations of Socialist enterprises and organizations, the growth of which is aided by the state loans.

In the draft of the state Budget for 1938 presented for approval to the Second Session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., the contemplated revenue from state loans placed among the population totals 5,670,000,000 rubles, of which 5,370,000,000 rubles are derived from loans placed among the population by subscription and 300,000,000 rubles from the internal state lottery loan for 1938. Besides this, 2,060,000,000 rubles of revenues received from loans acquired by cooperative, insurance and savings organizations are also included in

the Unified State Budget. Thus it is estimated that loans will account for 7,730,000,000 rubles of revenue.

The floating on July 1, 1938, of the Third Five-Year Plan Loan (first year issue) was met by the working people of our country with extraordinary enthusiasm. This loan was floated for a sum of 5,000,000,000 rubles, but ten days after the publication of the Government decision subscriptions already amounted to 5,350,000,000 rubles, while today they total almost 5,900,000,000 rubles, of which 897,000,000 were subscribed in the countryside.

Subscriptions to the Third Five-Year Plan Loan (first year issue) were particularly plentiful in the Ukrainian S.S.R., the Crimean A.S.S.R., Moscow, Leningrad and the Stalingrad Region. In the Ukrainian S.S.R. by August 7 subscriptions to the loan had considerably surpassed last year's total—by 24.5 per cent in the towns and 35.6 per cent in the countryside. In the Stalingrad Region subscriptions have exceeded 83,000,000 rubles, while last year they amounted to only 68,500,000 rubles. There are some collective farms in the Kamyshin district of this region, such as the Krupskaya Collective Farm, and the Initiative Collective Farm, where the collective farmers made one lump cash payment for the whole amount of their subscriptions.

A considerable number of workers and employees have subscribed to sums exceeding two or three weeks' wages.

In the countryside subscriptions to the Third Five-Year Plan Loan exceeded the sum subscribed to by the peasants last year. And yet, owing to poor organization, subscriptions lag considerably behind the vast present-day potentialities created by the tempestuous growth of the incomes of the collective farmers. For instance, subscriptions were considerably lower in the Kalinin and Kuibyshev Regions and in the Orjonikidze Territory than elsewhere.

The utilization of the savings of the population brought in through the savings banks system is also of no small importance in Socialist construction. During the years of the two Stalin Five-Year Plans the savings banks deposits of the population increased more than twenty-fold, while during the last five years alone the total of deposits increased almost five-fold and at present exceeds 5,700,000,000 rubles.

The plan for attracting deposits to the savings banks in 1938 has been fixed at 1,300,000,000 rubles, as against 976,000,000 rubles of actual influx of deposits in 1937. During the first half of this year the fulfilment of this plan has been progressing successfully.

III. BUDGETARY EXPENDITURES FOR 1938

The general volume of expenditures in the Union and republican Budgets for 1938 has been fixed at the sum of 115,301,000,000 rubles, as against 93,921,000,000 rubles actually expended in 1937, *i.e.*, expenditures are increasing by 21,380,000,000 rubles, or 22.8 per cent in comparison with 1937. The allocation of budget funds is determined by the plan for the development of the national economy adopted for 1938.

Budget funds are assigned for the purpose of increasing social wealth, improving the material conditions and raising the cultural level of the working people, consolidating the independence of the U.S.S.R. and augmenting its defensive power.

This is evidenced by the following table:

Classification	Returns for 1937		Plan for 1938		Increase in 1938 in comparison with 1937	
	Mln. rbls.	% of total	Mln. rbls.	% of total	Mln. rbls.	%
National economy	39,333	41.9	47,212	40.9	7,879	20.0
Social and cultural measures	9,515	10.1	12,148	10.6	2,633	27.7
People's Commissariat of Defence and People's Commissariat of the Navy	17,481	18.6	27,044	23.5	9,563	54.7
People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs	2,995	3.2	4,320	3.7	1,325	44.2
Administration and judicial institutions	1,953	2.1	2,730	2.4	777	39.7
Expenditures on Loans	3,458	3.7	2,072	1.8	—1,386	—40.1
Reserve funds of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. and the Councils of People's Commissars of the Union republics	1,217	1.3	1,210	1.0	—7	— 0.6
Miscellaneous expenditures	1,518	1.6	609	0.5	—909	—59.9
Total expenditures in Union and republican Budgets	77,470	82.5	97,345	84.4	19,875	25.7
Funds transferred to Budgets of Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republics and local Soviets	16,451	17.5	17,956	15.6	1,505	9.1
Total	93,921	100.0	115,301	100.0	21,380	22.8

IV. FINANCING THE NATIONAL ECONOMY

Expenditures for financing the national economy, as fixed in the state budget of the U.S.S.R. and the Budgets of the republics for 1938, constitute 47,212,000,000 rubles, or 40.9 per cent of the total of expenditures.

These expenditures are allocated as follows:

(In million rubles)

Classification	Returns for 1937	Plan for 1938	Increase in 1938 as compared with 1937	
			mln.rbls.	%
Industry	15,300	19,821	4,521	29.5
Agriculture	8,833	10,997	2,164	24.5
Transport and communications	7,355	6,763	—592	—8.0
State trade and agricultural stocks organizations	2,752	2,805	53	1.9
Other branches of economy	5,093	6,826	1,733	34.1
Total for national economy	39,333	47,212	7,879	20.0

The principal items in the financing of the country's economic development are capital development and increases in the working capital of the various branches of the national economy.

Financing Capital Development

It is necessary to dwell in greater detail on the question of capital development, since it played and is still playing a tremendous role in the reconstruction of our national economy.

"In our country problems of construction," said Comrade Molotov at a conference on questions of construction held in the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.(B.) in December 1935, "have always been not only economic problems but also problems of policy. And this is but natural. The tomorrow of Socialism depends primarily on the successes of the construction work which we are carrying on today."

The Party and the Government pay special attention to capital development.

The volume of capital development in our country is increasing tremendously each year. The volume of such work envisaged for 1938 in our national economy is set at 38,300,000,000 rubles, which signifies a 30 per cent increase in comparison with last year. Taking into account the lowered cost of construction, the financing will involve a sum of 35,800,000,000 rubles.

These investments are distributed as follows among the various branches of the national economy:

Classification	In million rubles	
	Total invested	From Union and Republican Budgets
Total for the national economy of the U.S.S.R.	35,760	24,880
Including:		
Industry	17,460	12,240
Agriculture	2,470	2,030
Transport and communications	6,820	4,880
State trade and agricultural stocks organizations	660	270
Housing, municipal, social and cultural development	3,670	1,160
Miscellaneous construction (administration, cooperative, etc.)	4,680	4,300

State Budget expenditures on capital development work are to constitute 24,880,000,000 rubles, or 69.6 per cent of the total plan for capital investments.

The fact that the Union and Republican Budgets contribute so marked a share to the financing of capital development bears witness to the tremendous role the Budget plays in redistributing funds appropriated for the increase of fixed capitals in our country.

The main feature of the plan for capital development work this year is the concentration of funds and materials, primarily for construction work already nearing completion, which should secure the putting into operation of almost 50 per cent more fixed capital in 1938 than in 1937.

Bearing in mind the tremendous volume of capital development work in 1938, particularly responsible tasks have been assigned to the finance bodies and special banks which must ensure the correct utilization of the funds allocated to capital development.

In 1938 the Government confronts construction executives with the important task of reducing the cost of construction by not less than 7 per cent in comparison with estimate prices and of raising labour productivity by 17 per cent. We have all conditions necessary to fulfil this task. Everyone knows very well that there are considerable unutilized reserves on our construction jobs. It is also well known that at many construction sites work is not organized well enough. Numerous facts testify to the uneconomical utilization of building material and poorly planned organization of work and the working place, giving rise to a mass of additional unproductive work; in many cases not sufficient use is made of building machinery. All this points to the existence of considerable reserves for raising labour productivity and reducing the cost of construction.

It is also necessary to introduce Bolshevik order in project and estimate work. In the decision of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. and the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. (B.) of February 11, 1936, on "Improving Construction Work and Reducing the Cost of Construction," the necessity was pointed out of establishing a firm system of drawing up projects and estimates, ensuring high quality and prompt receipt at construction sites. This decision demands the cessation of frequent alterations in draft estimates and plans for financing building operations, which have such a disorganizing effect on construction. This decision considerably facilitated the regulation of project and estimate work.

The decision adopted this year by the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. on improving project and estimate work in industrial construction aims at bringing about a fundamental improvement in this sphere, primarily by simplifying the contents of project and estimate documents, particularly of technical projects. All these measures, if correctly and conscientiously carried out, ensure a decided improvement in project and estimate work, which is of such great importance to our capital development.

Bringing order into project and estimate work, the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. at the same time outlined measures for regulating the financing of industrial construction.

Owing to its narrow and formal nature, the financing of construction by the Industrial Bank as practised hitherto has not secured the requisite control over the progress of construction and observance of the interests of the state in this construction. Accounts between builders and contractors were muddled. The conditions governing the financing of construction under the contract system were confusing, etc.

All business executives must pay particular attention to regulating the financial end of construction work. At many building sites funds accumulated and became frozen in the form of surplus building material and supplies, and in the form of indebtedness.

Auditing of accounts in a number of regions and republics has revealed flagrant violations of finance discipline in capital development work. For example, during the past five months the Constructor Trust had a loss of 3,500,000 rubles, mainly as a result of overdrawing the payroll account and of increased overhead expenses. In five months the payroll had an excess (in comparison with the work performed) of 1,600,000 rubles, or 57 per cent. The losses of the Saratov Machinery Construction Trust in five months amount to 923,000 rubles (44.8 per cent of the planned cost); in the construction of the Barnaul Textile Mill (contractor: Siberian Light Industry Construction Trust) the losses in five months amounted to 1,976,000 rubles, while the work performed was worth 1,406,000 rubles, *i.e.*, the losses amounted to 40.5 per cent more than the total value of the work done. On July 1, 1938, the overexpenditures on the payroll alone of this construction enterprise amounted to 1,000,000 rubles.

The new rules for financing capital development work, recently approved by the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R., contemplate a fundamental improvement in the whole system of financing construction work.

The special banks and the local finance bodies must keep steadily posted on the daily needs of construction sites, establish a system for constantly following the course of mobilization of internal resources and keep strict control over the correct utilization of funds assigned for capital development.

Working Capital of Economic Bodies

An increase in the working capital by 8,900,000,000 rubles is provided for in 1938, including 5,400,000,000 rubles out of the Budget. Increases in the working capital of the various branches of the national economy are to be made as follows:

Increases in Working Capital

(In million rubles)

Branch of National Economy	Increase in working capital according to financial plan	Share of Unified State Budget
Total for national economy	8,852.7	5,443.6
I. *Industry*	5,735.5	4,228.4
Including:		
People's Commissariat of Heavy Industry	979.2	979.2
People's Commissariat of the Machine-Building Industry	281.2	106.2
People's Commissariat of the Food Industry	535.2	106.6
People's Commissariat of Light Industry	719.4	215.0
People's Commissariat of the Timber Industry	163.0	152.5
II. *Agriculture*	884.3	713.3
Including:		
People's Commissariat of State Farms	531.1	454.4
People's Commissariat of Agriculture	353.2	258.9
III. *Transport and communications*	552.4	164.9
Including:		
People's Commissariat of Railways	426.7	55.0
People's Commissariat of Water Transport	60.6	52.9
People's Commissariat of Communications	9.1	1.0
IV. *State trade and agricultural stocks organizations*	707.8	247.8
V. *Other organizations*	146.8	89.2
VI. *Co-operatives*	825.9	—

One of the most serious tasks of the economic bodies is the correct utilization of working capital. In this regard there were quite a number of defects in 1937.

The failure of a number of branches of the national economy to fulfil their plans for the accumulation of profits, a considerable part of which had been scheduled to replenish the working capital of economic bodies, and also the utilization of working capital by a number of economic bodies to cover losses unprovided for, has reduced the working capital on hand on January 1, 1938, to a sum considerably less than was provided for by the plan for 1937 (45,700,000,000 rubles instead of 49,000,000,000 rubles according to plan). Using part of the working capital to cover losses unprovided for, these economic bodies held back in circulation large

sums which ought to have been deposited in the special banks as amortization payments and failed to comply with their obligations to the Budget in regard to profits tax payments.

The industrial Commissariats based their requests for additional funds for their working capital in 1938 on the commodities and other material assets they had on hand, but neglected to make a critical analysis of their composition and actual period of circulation. But, as an investigation of a number of branches of industry established, the actual material assets on hand in a number of economic bodies (the People's Commissariat of the Machine-Building Industry and others) are burdened by items hard to realize and considerably surpass the norms of reserves, especially in respect to materials of which there is an acute shortage.

It must also be noted that the existing norms for working capital, established in 1931, are far from meeting present-day conditions. The norms for ensuring the raw material and fuel supply especially require revision. In the Budget for 1938 these norms have been somewhat reduced. The possibilities of reducing normed reserves are undoubtedly great.

The planned addition to working capital of the sum of 3,400,000,000 rubles from the resources of the economic bodies themselves places on the latter the great responsibility of themselves forming the working capital which they require. We must resolutely put a stop to the harmful practice, lately observed, of using working capital to cover losses in capital development, and to make capital investments not provided for in the plan.

Financing Machine and Tractor Stations

In its decision of February 5, 1938, the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. established a new system of financing machine and tractor stations. The expenditures of the machine and tractor stations have been completely incorporated in the state Budget, whereby the numerous sources of financing formerly existing have been eliminated.

A firm financial basis has been established for the machine and tractor stations. In 1938 a total of 7,650,000,000 rubles is being assigned to finance the machine and tractor stations. The finance bodies and the State Bank must make it their business to take care of the finances of the machine and tractor stations. All necessary conditions must be created to ensure complete, prompt and effective control over the expenditures of the machine and tractor stations. Accounting by the machine and tractor stations is at present in such a state that such control is far from assured. That is why it is necessary to take resolute measures to improve the accounting and finance system of the machine and tractor stations.

There are serious shortcomings in the direction of the machine and tractor stations and state farms by the People's Commissariat of

Agriculture of the U.S.S.R., which affect the attainment of the finance indices of this People's Commissariat.

A check-up on the People's Commissariat of Agriculture carried out on the instructions of the Economic Council attached to the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. showed that this People's Commissariat incorrectly distributed tractors and other agricultural machinery among the republics, territories and regions, incorrectly planned production assignments for the territories and regions and kept absolutely no control over the way in which Budget funds were spent. This lack of control led in 1937 to big losses by the machine and tractor stations and state farms. Thus, the machine and tractor repair shops in 1937 showed a loss of 32,700,000 rubles and the state farms 90,000,000 rubles.

Losses incurred by the machine and tractor stations are due primarily to the lack of control over the way in which they expend their allotted funds.

The attitude taken by machine and tractor stations toward finance questions is absolutely impermissible, as is illustrated by the fact that funds raised by collective farms to pay tractor drivers (a sum of 28,800,000 rubles) were used by the machine and tractor stations for their own needs. As a result these stations are still indebted to the tractor drivers.

Despite the fact that the Government assigns vast funds to finance agriculture, the work of the People's Commissariat of Agriculture of the U.S.S.R. on systematizing its finances remains unsatisfactory.

Accounts and statistical returns of land bodies are in an exceptionally bad state. This is explained by the unsatisfactory staff of bookkeepers and accountants. Many machine and tractor stations do not have skilled accountancy personnel. Thus, eight machine and tractor stations of the Ivanovo Region have no head bookkeepers. We observe the same state of affairs in the Orenburg and Kursk Regions. It is not surprising that the People's Commissariat of Agriculture of the U.S.S.R. has not yet submitted the annual account covering the machine and tractor stations and the cotton-raising state farms.

The Economic Council attached to the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. has adopted a number of decisions aimed at improving the work of the machine and tractor stations and the People's Commissariat of Agriculture of the U.S.S.R. These decisions are carried out very slowly indeed by the People's Commissariat of Agriculture. During the first half of this year the decision of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. of February 5, 1938, on the new system of financing the machine and tractor stations has not been carried into execution.

On January 28, 1938, the Economic Council instructed the People's Commissariat of Agriculture to organize a central bookkeeping department. Despite the fact that an order to organize it was issued two months ago, no such department has yet been organized. Furthermore, the Economic Council gave the People's Commissariat of Agriculture of

the U.S.S.R. permission to organize an inspection department of 120 people to keep control over the work of the machine and tractor stations. To date this inspection department has not been fully staffed.

Financing Social and Cultural Expenditures

Questions of culture have always received foremost attention from the Soviet Government. Tremendous sums are expended on cultural needs every year.

The Budgets of capitalist countries invariably show a steady curtailment of expenditures on culture. This is quite apparent from figures, but the closing of schools, universities, scientific research institutes, etc., in capitalist countries speaks still more eloquently. In bourgeois states expenditures on schools, school equipment and teachers' salaries are being cut. The lot of the schools is shared by hospitals, theatres, cinemas and other cultural and educational institutions. Only one country—the Soviet Union—appropriates thousands of millions of rubles for the construction of schools, clubs, theatres, the development of art and the improvement of the conditions of teachers, doctors, artists and writers. During the years of the two Stalin Five-Year Plans alone, expenditures on education and health protection provided for in the state and local Budgets of the U.S.S.R. totalled about 84,000,000,000 rubles.

The state plan for 1938 provides for a considerable increase in cultural development. Expenditures on social and cultural measures envisaged by the state and local Budgets for 1938 amount to 31,400,000,000 rubles, which is 5,900,000,000, or 23.3 per cent, more than in 1937. During the last ten years expenditures on social and cultural measures provided for in the state and local budgets have increased twenty-fold. Besides, the trade union, co-operative and other public organizations also make large appropriations for cultural purposes. The total sum to be expended for cultural purposes in 1938 (from budgetary and other sources) will exceed 42,000,000,000 rubles.

The following table illustrates the growth of expenditures on social and cultural measures provided for in the Union, republican and local Budgets:

(In million rubles)

Classification	Returns for 1937	1938	Increase in comparison with 1937	
			Absolute amount	%
Union Budget	5,414	7,289	1,875	34.6
Budgets of Union republics	4,101	4,859	758	18.4
Local Budgets	15,933	19,238	3,305	20.7
	25,448	31,386	5,938	23.3

The greater part of appropriations in the financial plan for social and cultural development falls to education. These expenditures have been fixed at the sum of 20,100,000,000 rubles in 1938, as against 16,300,000,000 rubles in 1937. Provisions for education in the republican and local Budgets have increased from 12,804,000,000 rubles in 1937 to 15,059,000,000 rubles in 1938, *i.e.*, by 17.6 per cent. In the Uzbek S.S.R. expenditures on education are increasing by 49.4 per cent in comparison with 1937, in the Kazakh S.S.R. by 44.3 per cent, in the Kirghiz S.S.R. by 47.2 per cent, and so on.

There is a considerable increase in expenditures on the needs of the elementary, part-grade intermediate and full-grade intermediate schools. In 1938 it is planned to expend 6,300,000,000 rubles on the needs of these schools, *i.e.*, 1,100,000,000 rubles more than in 1937. In the Azerbaidjan S.S.R. alone the number of part-grade intermediate schools increased from 243 in 1930-31 to 1,335 in 1938, and the number of full-grade intermediate schools from 22 to 297.

The Great October Socialist Revolution made knowledge widely accessible to the working people of our land. This year the number of pupils in elementary, part-grade intermediate and full-grade intermediate schools has reached 33,000,000. In the sphere of higher education our country has also achieved outstanding successes. It is sufficient to state that the number of students in the universities of our country markedly exceeds the university student bodies of Germany, Italy, Great Britain, France and Japan taken together.

The great majority of students in Soviet universities and colleges receive cash scholarships, which range from 130 rubles a month for first-year students to 200 rubles for upperclassmen.

The Budgets of the Union republics allocate a large sum—3,775,000,000 rubles—to the training of forces, mainly teaching and medical personnel. A total of 1,145,000,000 rubles is being assigned for general and political educational work among adults (abolition of illiteracy and semi-literacy, schools for adults, libraries, village reading rooms, etc.); 425,000,000 rubles are being assigned for scientific research measures, 306,000,000 rubles for the development of art and 239,000,000 rubles for the press.

In connection with the further expansion of the network of kindergartens in 1938, expenditures on the pre-school education of children are being considerably increased. By the end of this year kindergartens are expected to accommodate 1,473,000 children, not counting those to be accommodated in collective farm kindergartens. This is 256,000 children more than were accommodated in kindergartens last year.

The state is assigning huge sums to public health. State and local Budget expenditures for this purpose amounted to 6,827,000,000 rubles in 1937. In 1938 it is planned to spend 8,076,000,000 rubles on public health, *i.e.*, 1,249,000,000 rubles, or 18.3 per cent, more than last year.

This year the greatest increase in expenditures on public health in comparison with 1937 has been assigned to the Turkmen S.S.R., namely 27.3 per cent; in the R.S.F.S.R. these expenditures are increasing by 10.1 per cent, in the Ukrainian S.S.R. by 13.0 per cent and in the Byelorussian S.S.R. by 16.4 per cent.

The main items of budgetary expenditure for health protection relate to the expansion of the network of hospitals and other therapeutic institutions. Appropriations for the maintenance of therapeutic institutions ensure a growth of the network by 12.8 per cent in comparison with 1937.

Children—the future citizens of Socialist society—are surrounded by great attention and love in the Soviet Union. Huge sums are assigned each year for the development of the network of nurseries, of consultation dispensaries for mother and child, maternity homes and other such institutions.

In tsarist Russia in 1914 there were only nine consultation dispensaries for mothers. Now in the R.S.F.S.R. alone there are 2,170. This year the number of beds in maternity homes in the cities will increase from 39,400 in 1937 to 49,300, and in the villages from 5,100 to 11,000. The number of beds in nurseries is increasing by 161,000 in comparison with 1937.

It is estimated that 1,382,000,000 rubles will be spent in 1938 on measures for the protection of mother and child. An assignment of 900,000,000 rubles has been provided for the payment of allowances to mothers of large families this year.

V. STATE BUDGETS OF UNION REPUBLICS AND LOCAL BUDGETS

The Unified State Budget plays a very important part among the major factors which ensure the rapid development of the Socialist Soviet Republics on the basis of the application of the Lenin-Stalin national policy. The Budget of the Soviet Union for 1938 provides for the transfer of 17,955,600,000 rubles to the republican and local Budgets.

The following totals have been specified for the balance sheets of the state and local Budgets of the Union republics for 1938.

(In million rubles)

Union republic	Returns for 1937	Budget for 1938	% increase
R.S.F.S.R.	18,862	21,407	13.5
Ukrainian S.S.R.	5,191	5,977	15.1
Byelorussian S.S.R.	1,009	1,167	15.7
Azerbaidjan S.S.R.	762	916	20.2
Georgian S.S.R.	917	1,065	16.1
Armenian S.S.R.	338	388	14.8
Turkmen S.S.R.	395	441	11.4
Uzbek S.S.R.	1,140	1,315	15.3
Tadjik S.S.R.	333	443	22.0
Kazakh S.S.R.	1,153	1,281	11.1
Kirghiz S.S.R.	266	347	30.5
Total for Union republics	30,396	34,747	14.3

These figures show that the Union republics and the local Soviets have at their disposal a total of 34,700,000,000 rubles.

Of all the Union republics the Kirghiz S.S.R. shows the greatest budgetary growth. In 1937 the Budget of this republic comprised 266,000,000 rubles, while in 1938 it comprises 347,000,000 rubles—an increase of 30.5 per cent.

This great increase results from a considerable expansion of the network of social and cultural institutions in this republic, as well as from the increased volume of capital investments in industry and in municipal development.

Until the revolution Kirghizia was an extremely backward tsarist colony. Tsarism, in alliance with the big feudal landlords and *bais*, mercilessly oppressed the poor population of Kirghizia. *Bais* owned two-thirds of the cattle herd. Tsarism took the best land from the native population and settled upon it people from other sections of the Empire. The whole industry of the country consisted of small coal mines and artisan enterprises engaged in the primary processing of animal raw material. There was no real industry in Kirghizia.

During the years of Soviet power, especially during the years of the two Stalin Five-Year Plans, the economy of the Kirghiz S.S.R. has recorded splendid successes. A large-scale industry has been created. Scores of industrial enterprises and electric power stations have been built. The coal industry has been reconstructed. Kirghizia now yields eleven times as much coal as in 1913.

In the capital of the republic—Frunze—which has become a large industrial centre, there have arisen shoe and leather industry enterprises, sugar refineries and other plants. New cotton-ginning mills are operating in the cotton districts.

The first oil-field in Kirghiz'a (Changirtash) was opened up during recent years and will supply the republic with fuel for tractors, automobiles, etc.

The republic has also achieved tremendous successes in the sphere of agriculture. About 92 per cent of the peasant homesteads are united in collective farms. During the last ten years the republic's sown area has increased from 454,000 hectares to 1,000,000. 55 machine and tractor stations with 3,964 tractors, 484 harvester combines and hundreds of trucks serve the fields of the Kirghiz Republic.

17 collective-farm hydroelectric power houses are under construction. 47 state farms have been organized.

The cotton harvest yield has increased from 6.7 centners per hectare in 1932 to 14.6 centners in 1937. The prosperity of the collective farms is increasing with each year. In 1937 the International Collective Farm in the Osh district received an income of 1,276,000 rubles. There are quite a number of other millionaire collective farms.

The successes of the Kirghiz people in the field of culture are enormous. Before the revolution not much more than one half of 1 per cent of the Kirghiz population could read and write. There were only a hundred schools in Kirghizia, attended exclusively by the children of tsarist

officials and *bais*. Now the republic has 1,786 elementary and intermediate schools, 12 training colleges, three higher educational establishments and several scientific research institutions.

Let us take another Union republic—Armenia. In his report at the Twelfth Congress of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) Comrade Stalin spoke about the pre-Soviet past of Armenia as an era "when people burned and butchered each other."

During the years that the Soviet power has been in existence, Armenia has made great economic progress and undergone great cultural development. The output of her large-scale industry in 1936 showed a twelve-fold increase in comparison with 1913. A chemical and a textile industry have been founded there, the construction of a large plant for the production of synthetic rubber is nearing completion, canneries have been built, a meat-packing plant and other enterprises of the food industry are under construct on, deposits of building materials are being exploited. Old copper mills are being reconstructed and a new electric power plant, the Dzora station, is now functioning.

The collective farm fields of Armenia are served by 1,357 tractors, 132 harvester combines and thousands of other agricultural machines. The prosperity of the collective farmers is increasing. Collective farmers are building thousands of spacious new houses. Scores of villages are lighted by electricity supplied by local and district power houses.

In pre-revolutionary Armenia three-quarters of the population was illiterate; in Soviet Armenia universal education has become a fact. In comparison with pre-revolutionary years the number of intermediate school pupils has multiplied 68 times over. Thousands of students are attending higher educational establishments; 67 scientific research institutions, including a branch of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R., have been founded in Armen'a; 66 newspapers are published in the Armenian language (before the revolution there were 8). In 1914 there was not a single thea're in Armenia. Now there are 20. The Budget of Soviet Armenia is growing from year to year. Having begun the First Stalin Five-Year Plan w'th an annual Budget of 22,600,000 rubles, the Armenian S.S.R. concluded the Second Five-Year Plan with an annual Budget of 327,000,000 rubles. This means a 14.5-fold increase in the Budget in nine years.

In 1938 the Budget of Soviet Armenia is increasing to 388,000,000 rubles. This year it is planned to spend more on social and cultural development alone than the sum total of the whole Budget for 1929.

The Uzbek S.S.R. is one of the most advanced republics in Central Asia as regards economic development.

As a result of the fulfilment of the two Stalin Five-Year Plans, a machine-building industry producing cotton cultivation machinery and irrigation equipment has been created in Uzbekistan, and the oil-extracting industry is also a virtually new creation. The output of oil in 1936 was 26 times as great as in 1913. Mining of sulphur and coal has been developed. Old cotton-ginning plants have been expanded

and fundamentally reconstructed. New oil mills have been built. The construction of textile mills in Ferghana and Tashkent has laid the foundation for a large-scale textile industry in the republic. New silk-reeling mills have also been built.

No less great are the successes of the Uzbek S.S.R. in agriculture. It is the main cotton base of the Union, producing as it does more than 60 per cent of the total cotton output.

In regard to cultural growth, the Uzbek S.S.R. has also been striding ahead at a great pace. An eloquent index of the cultural development of the Uzbek people is the increasing number of elementary, intermediate and higher schools. Thus, in 1930-31 there were only 7 intermediate schools in all Uzbekistan, while now, in 1938, there are already 243 intermediate schools, 26 training colleges and 13 higher educational establishments. In 1936-37 the student body was almost 50 times as great as in 1914-15.

The total volume of the Budget of the Uzbek Republic is growing tempestuously from year to year, reaching 1,314,600,000 rubles in 1938, which constitutes 269 per cent of the 1934 Budget. The greatest increases relate to expenditures on education, public health and other social and cultural measures. In 1934 the Uzbek S.S.R. expended 265,900,000 rubles for these purposes, while in 1938 the outlays constitute 945,900,000 rubles, or 335 per cent of the 1934 figure. For education alone, 650,200,000 rubles will be expended in 1938, which is three and a half times as much as in 1934.

This testifies to the tremendous interest the Party and the Government show in the development of the economy and culture of the Union republics.

The national policy of Lenin and Stalin has united the peoples of the Soviet Union into a multi-national fraternal family and has transformed our national border regions into flourishing republics with highly developed industry and agriculture. The peoples formerly oppressed and backward have put an end to their age-old backwardness and are successfully developing their culture, national in form and Socialist in content.

The Budgets of the Union republics are appropriating the sum of 6,852,000,000 rubles for financing their national economy. In comparison with 1937 these expenditures are increasing by 11.2 per cent.

Increased expenditures on financing the national economy of the Union republics in 1938 are also accounted for by a considerable increase in the volume of capital municipal development.

Expenditures on Social and Cultural Measures

Expenditures on social and cultural measures provided for in the republican and local Budgets for 1938 are increasing by 20.3 per cent in comparison with 1937. These expenditures are distributed among the various republics as follows:

(In million rubles)

Union republic	Republican Budgets		Local Budgets		Total		% increase
	1937	1938	1937	1938	1937	1938	
R.S.F.S.R.	1,889	2,085	10,362	12,516	12,251	14,601	19.2
Ukrainian S.S.R.	740	919	2,968	3,555	3,708	4,474	20.7
Byelorussian S.S.R.	238	309	447	521	685	830	21.2
Azerbaidjan S.S.R.	166	232	326	404	492	636	29.1
Georgian S.S.R.	238	303	367	436	605	739	21.8
Armenian S.S.R.	90	119	128	144	218	263	20.7
Turkmen S.S.R.	97	114	149	175	246	289	16.5
Uzbek S.S.R.	334	397	464	547	798	944	18.5
Tadjik S.S.R.	90	113	138	179	228	292	28.1
Kazakh S.S.R.	169	198	476	615	645	813	26.1
Kirghiz S.S.R.	50	70	108	146	158	216	36.7
Total	4,101	4,859	15,933	19,238	20,034	24,097	20.3

Republican and local Budget expenditures on education are increasing from 12,804,000,000 rubles in 1937 to 15,059,000,000 rubles in 1938, or by 17.6 per cent, on social maintenance—from 1,251,000,000 rubles to 2,049,000,000, or by 63.8 per cent.

Expenditures on public health specified in the state and local Budgets of the Union republics (compound Budget) are fixed at 6,932,000,000 rubles in 1938—an increase of 17.5 per cent as against 1937.

It must be mentioned that not all the republics strictly observe Budget discipline. The Audit and Control Department of the People's Commissariat of Finance of the U.S.S.R. audited the republican and local Budgets and discovered quite a few violations of budget discipline. The auditing of the republican and local Budgets of the Azerbaidjan and Uzbek Union Republics for 1937 and for the first quarter of 1938 revealed a number of such instances. Thus, the People's Commissariat of Finance of the Uzbek S.S.R., in drawing up the Budget for 1938, raised the student quota above the actual number—in the training of forces, by 7,900, in general education by 32,900, and in schools for juveniles by 23,200—as a result of which it received an excess of 11,000,000 rubles from the Budget. Similar infractions occurred in the Azerbaidjan S.S.R., where student contingent figures showed an excess of 45,200.

In planning administrative expenditures in 1937, the People's Commissariats of Finance of the Uzbek and Azerbaidjan S.S.R. submitted considerably exaggerated estimates. The sums involved were camouflaged in various sections of the Budget. In the case of the Uzbek S.S.R. the sum of camouflaged administrative expenditures constituted 2,923,000 rubles in 1937.

There are cases when personnel is increased and salaries raised arbitrarily. In the Azerbaidjan S.S.R. the granting of abnormally high salaries specially adjusted for certain individuals is widely practised

and has led to considerable excess expenditures. During the first quarter of 1938 the People's Commissariat of Education alone exceeded its allotted expenditures by 46,500 rubles, and the People's Commissariat of Agriculture by 54,500 rubles. To cover these expenses the People's Commissariat of Agriculture of the Azerbaidjan S.S.R. misappropriated 93,000 rubles of collective farm funds collected to purchase timber. This money has not yet been returned to the collective farms.

Violations of budgetary discipline are particularly gross in the capital development work of the Union republics. In Azerbaidjan considerable funds scheduled for capital development were frozen and turned into dead capital. Thus, 1,000,000 rubles were frozen in carry-over and tied-up items on the Nukha teachers' training college construction job. The construction of 19 rural schools, 45 construction items for machine and tractor stations, etc., have been indefinitely tied up.

The facts cited urgently demand improved auditing and control on the part of the finance bodies. The audit and control departments must not permit Budget discipline to be violated; they must take prompt measures to put a stop to incorrect utilization of state funds.

VI. FINANCING THE DEFENCE OF THE SOVIET UNION

The Soviet Government is constantly strengthening the defensive power of our country, for the menace of a new world war prepared by the fascist aggressors, and now more imminent and more real than ever before, confronts the peoples of the entire world. War may break out suddenly, any day; for, as Comrade Stalin has said, "wars are not declared nowadays. They simply start."

As a matter of fact, in the capitalist world war has not stopped for a single day since 1914. A quarter of the whole human race is already embroiled in war at the present time. After seizing Manchuria seven years ago, the Japanese militarists are now waging a new war in China, trying to enslave the great Chinese people. Three years ago the Italian fascists seized Abyssinia. It is two years now that the Italian and German forces of intervention, together with the insurgent Spanish generals, have been engaged in war against the heroic Spanish people.

During the last few days the Japanese militarists have made a number of provocatory attacks on Soviet territory near Lake Hasan. The incursion of regular Japanese army units into Soviet territory represents an attempt of the Japanese militarists to draw Japan into war with the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union is resolutely and consistently pursuing a policy of peace, exposing the predatory policy of the fascist states.

The Soviet peace policy is aimed not only at the defence of the Soviet land. Its aim is also to defend the working people of all lands, defend human culture from fascist barbarity. (*Loud applause.*) Strong in its inherent might, which has multiplied beyond measure during the years of the Stalin Five-Year Plans, the Land of the Soviets is the foremost champion of peace. The Soviet Union is waging a staunch struggle for peace, for collective security.

"Our foreign policy is clear," said Comrade Stalin in his report to the Seventeenth Congress of our Party. "It is a policy of preserving peace and strengthening commercial relations with all countries. The U.S.S.R. does not think of threatening anybody—let alone of attacking anybody. We stand for peace and champion the cause of peace. But we are not afraid of threats and are prepared to answer the instigators of war blow for blow." (*Loud and prolonged applause.*)

The Soviet Union is mighty and invincible. Its strength lies in the indestructible friendship among all the peoples of our multi-national state, in the boundless devotion of the masses to the cause of Socialism, to the Bolshevik Party and the great leader and teacher of the working people of the world—Comrade Stalin. (*All rise and cheer. Cries: "Hurrah for our great Stalin!" Loud applause.*) It lies in the potency of Socialist economy and the ceaseless consolidation of the defensive power of the Soviet Union.

To the end that the might of the Soviet Union may be further enhanced, the Budget for 1938 submitted to this Session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. for approval appropriates the sum of 27,000,000,000 rubles to cover the estimates of the People's Commissariat of Defence and of the People's Commissariat of the Navy. (*Loud applause.*)

These appropriations will still further augment the defensive power of our country, and woe to him who dares to try the strength of Soviet arms! (*Loud applause.*)

The whole Soviet people will rise in defence of the inviolable frontiers of the Soviet Union. Our country is prepared to reply with a crushing blow to the provocations of the frenzied imperialists, those instigators of war. If need be, the whole Soviet people, rallied around the Communist Party and our beloved leader — Comrade Stalin — will rise to form an impregnable wall around the borders of our Socialist fatherland, will know how to defend their freedom and independence. (*All rise and cheer. Cries: "Long live Comrade Stalin! Hurrah!" Loud applause.*)

Comrades, in conclusion I must emphasize once more that in 1938 the financial system is faced with a task of very great importance to the country, namely, to assure the funds necessary for our country's tremendous program of steady progress towards Communism.

The financial system must raise and allocate 125,200,000,000 rubles for the further expansion of Socialist construction.

This makes it imperative that all our finance bodies fight like Bolsheviks to fully safeguard the collection of the revenues of the Soviet state.

One of the most important conditions on which the realization of the State Budget for 1938 depends is the fulfilment of production plans and assignments relating to reduction of production costs on the basis of strict cost accounting and careful handling of state funds.

There can be no doubt but that under the guidance of our Communist Party and its beloved leader, Comrade Stalin, both the national economic plan for 1938 and the Budget of the Soviet Union will be realized in full. (*Prolonged applause.*)

The Chairman: Comrades, as has been decided by both Chambers of the Supreme Soviet, the debate on the Union Budget will be conducted separately in the respective Chambers.

The Soviet of the Union will resume its sittings tomorrow at 11 a.m., the Soviet of Nationalities at 6 p.m.

This closes the joint sitting of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities.

SECOND SITTING

August 15, 1938

N. M. Shvernik, Chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities, T.D. Lysenko, Vice-Chairman of the Soviet of the Union, and C. A. Aslanova, Vice-Chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities, take their seats on the dais, and the members of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. and the leaders of the Party and the Government enter the boxes. They are greeted with loud and prolonged applause. All rise.

N. M. Shvernik (*in the chair*): I hereby open the joint sitting of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities.

We shall proceed to discuss the second item on the agenda—the draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System of the U.S.S.R., and of the Union and the Autonomous Republics. I call upon Comrade Rychkov, People's Commissar of Justice of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, for the report. (*Applause.*)

N. M. Rychkov: Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. As a result of the tremendous victories gained by the peoples of the U.S.S.R. in their struggle for the Stalin Five-Year Plans for the development of the national economy, our great country has undergone a tremendous change. In both town and country Socialism has proved victorious. The Socialist system of economy, based on the Socialist ownership of the implements and means of production, exercises undivided dominion in the U.S.S.R. Unemployment, that terrible scourge of the working population in the capitalist countries, has disappeared forever. An immeasurable improvement has taken place in the cultural and material conditions of the working people of the vast Soviet Union.

In his report on the draft of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R., Comrade Stalin said: "Our Soviet society has already, in the main, succeeded in achieving Socialism; it has created a Socialist system, *i.e.*, it has brought about what Marxists in other words call the first, or lower phase of Communism."

The very great strides made in all spheres of governmental, economic and cultural development have been vividly mirrored in the great Stalin Constitution.

The Stalin Constitution, which consolidates the victories of Socialism in this country, has considerably extended and solidified the democratic foundations of the entire Soviet state system; it has also extended and solidified the democratic foundations on which the organization and the activities of the Soviet courts rest.

Unprecedented in the history of human society is the plane to which the Stalin Constitution has elevated justice as a special function of the state, and the courts as the organ of the state called to administer justice.

The tasks imposed on the Soviet courts by the Stalin Constitution necessitate a tremendous increase in the efficiency of court work, an improvement in the organization and activities of all judicial bodies.

The work of the judicial bodies must be so organized as to meet completely the requirements of the Stalin Constitution and the great tasks of Socialist construction.

The draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System of the U.S.S.R., and of the Union and the Autonomous Republics introduced by the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. for consideration by the Second Session of the Supreme Soviet are based on the tasks assigned to Soviet, Socialist justice, as laid down in Chapter IX of the Stalin Constitution.

Drawn up on the basis of the principles of the Stalin Constitution, the draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System contemplate the further strengthening of the Soviet courts.

I. THE LAW-COURTS IN THE SYSTEM OF THE BOURGEOIS STATE

The law-courts are a powerful weapon in the administrative system of the state, for the prosecution of its policy.

The history of the bourgeois law-courts shows how closely they are bound up with the ruling classes, which have made use of them in their past and present struggle against the working people.

The bourgeois law-courts are an organ of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, an instrument of oppression and exploitation of the working people, a weapon of the domination of the minority over the majority.

In revealing the class nature of the bourgeois law-courts, Lenin pointed out that they "palmed themselves off as the champion of order, whereas in point of fact they were but a blind and subtle instrument for the ruthless suppression of the exploited and for the protection of the interests of the moneybags." (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. XXII, Russ. ed., p. 212.)

In his report at the Seventh Congress of Soviets of the U.S.S.R., Comrade Molotov said:

"In bourgeois countries, where a minority—the exploiters—dominate the majority—the toilers—the organs of state power endeavour to conceal from the masses their true class purpose as organs for the protection of capital against the interests of the toilers. The bourgeoi-

sie is obliged to conceal its dictatorship under various parliamentary forms, and to keep the masses as far removed from the apparatus of administration as possible. Even in states of the fascist type, which are openly designed to keep the toilers in a state of fear and subjection under the heel of the capitalists, the bourgeoisie pusillanimously screens the fangs of its dictatorship by representative bodies of various kinds allegedly representing the population.

"And that is natural. A bourgeois dictatorship, even in a democratic garb, once exposed, will lose all prestige in the eyes of the toilers and be revealed as a power entirely alien and inimical to the toilers." (*Articles and Speeches*, Russ. ed., p. 58.)

This delineation of bourgeois statesmanship given by Comrade Molotov may be fully applied to the bourgeois judicial system.

The bourgeoisie tries in every possible way to mask the class aspect, the class character of the bourgeois courts, by holding them out to be an organ independent of the state, a "supra-class" organ, the impartial defender, as it were, of the interests of both capitalists and workers.

But however hard the advocates of the bourgeois law-courts may try to conceal their class character, they will never succeed in doing so.

Engels long ago exposed the class essence of the bourgeois courts. "And how can it be otherwise?" he asked. "The justices of the peace and the jurymen are themselves rich men, recruited from the middle class, and therefore partial to those of their kind and the born enemies of the poor." (K. Marx and F. Engels, *Collected Works*, Germ. ed., Part 1, Vol. IV. p. 332.)

The mission of the bourgeios courts is to guard the foundations of capitalist society—private ownership of land, forests, factories, works and other implements and means of production.

The bourgeois courts defend a social order that legitimatizes the exploitation of man by man.

The bourgeois courts defend a social order under which the overwhelming majority of the people are doomed to a life of semi-starvation under arbitrary rule, to a life of unemployment and destitution.

In tsarist Russia, as in all other capitalist countries, the law-courts were an instrument for the oppression and exploitation of the working people.

In tsarist Russia the judicial system was extremely intricate and involved. There was a vast variety of courts of diverse structure, with a multitude of appellate tribunals. The complicated nature of the tsarist administration of justice was wholly adapted to defend the interests of the capitalists and landlords and to exploit and hoodwink the toilers.

In all judicial bodies of tsarist Russia, from the highest down to the lowest, the judges were the faithful servitors of the ruling classes. The justices of the peace and the judiciary of the circuit courts and the chambers of justice were picked from the nobility, the landlords and the merchants, while the Senate, being the court of last resort, was composed exclusively of members of the nobility. It goes without saying that such a court was an obedient tool in the hands of the ruling class.

The judges of the tsarist courts were appointed by the government. Only the office of justice of the peace was elective. But even this minor judiciary was elected not by the working people, but by the district Zemstvo assemblies, or the municipal councils (dumas), consisting of landed proprietors and merchants. Only big property holders, owners of land, factories, mills, houses and the like, were eligible for justices of the peace.

The class nature of the tsarist law-courts and the corruption of their officials found adequate expression in the proverbs and sayings of the time.

"Where the court is, there untruth is"—that is how the Russian people interpreted the alleged justice and independence of the tsarist law-courts.

"Don't start a fight with a strong man, don't go to law with a rich man," ran another Russian proverb, which aptly described the class character of the Russian law-courts.

"Don't go to law with empty hands—go with gifts," popularly characterized the venality, bribery and extortion that were rampant in the tsarist halls of "justice" and that are still rampant in the law-courts of the capitalist countries.

In the fascist countries, especially in Germany and Italy, the courts of law have been converted by the fascist overlords into chambers of horror for wreaking vengeance on the working population. Fascist courts are a ludicrous farce, a gross travesty of justice.

In Italy and Germany the courts have lost the last vestige of all democracy, curtailed in every respect as it already is in all bourgeois countries, while the workings of the law-courts, replete with instances of arbitrary conduct, lawlessness and mockery, cannot be dignified by the name of justice even in the bourgeois meaning of the word.

In fascist Germany mass executions without trial serve as cogent proof of the orgy of fascist terror, and of the fact that squaring accounts out of court has now become the principal method of crushing the discontent of the working masses.

Fascist rule has utterly destroyed the last pillars of bourgeois law and order. In the fascist countries, instead of the rule of law, brute force reigns supreme, and the police run riot, openly trampling under foot all freedom and dignity of the individual.

II. THE SOVIET COURTS ARE GENUINE PEOPLE'S COURTS

The Stalin Constitution has raised to a height unprecedented in history the significance and role of Socialist law in the state of workers and peasants.

It is the mission of Socialist law to strengthen our Socialist state.

Our Socialist law stands guard over the great gains of the Soviet people, it is called to protect the happy, free and joyous life they have won in fierce combat under the tried leadership of the Communist Party

and the great leader of peoples, the man of genius, Stalin. (*Loud and prolonged applause and cheers.*)

The Stalin Constitution has also elevated to a position unparalleled anywhere in the world the Soviet courts, entrusted with the mission of defending the gains of the Socialist revolution and of standing guard over Socialist law.

The Soviet courts are the exact opposite of the courts of capitalist countries, just as our Soviet Socialist state of workers and peasants stands out in sharp contrast to the capitalist states.

In their tasks and principles of organization, in the form and substance of all their activities, Soviet courts are fundamentally different from bourgeois courts.

After sweeping away the old system of jurisprudence, aimed at oppressing the workers, the peasants and all toilers, Soviet power from the very first days of its existence set up a system of Socialist jurisprudence that organized and consolidated an order of society advantageous and suitable to the working people and in harmony with the interests of Socialist construction.

"The new power," said Comrade Stalin, "is creating new law, a new order, which is a revolutionary order." (*Problems of Leninism*, Russ. ed, p. 611.)

The defence of this new order of law, of this new revolutionary order, was and is the responsible and honourable task of the Soviet courts.

Speaking of the tasks of the Soviet courts, Lenin said: "The new courts were required primarily for the struggle against the exploiters, who are endeavouring to restore their rule, or to preserve their privileges, or to smuggle in, or secure by deceit, some part or other of these privileges." (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. XXII, Russ. ed. p. 424.)

At the same time Lenin indicated the second task of the Soviet courts "ensuring the strictest observance of discipline and self-discipline by the working people. (*Ibid.*)

The Soviet power set up a radically different judicial system, a system based on the principle that judges be elected from among the working people, that people's assessors participate in the work of the courts, that judges be removable and accountable to the working masses. Lenin's tenets—"we must administer justice ourselves. Every single citizen must take part in the court and in the administration of the country"—have been made the underlying principles of organization and activity of the Soviet courts.

In the history of the struggle for Socialist construction, for the building of classless society, for a happy and joyous life, the Soviet courts occupy a place of honour. While on the one hand ruthlessly crushing the enemies of the people—spies, wreckers, diversionists, etc—while waging a vigorous struggle against thieves, bandits, rowdies and other criminals, the Soviet courts have also been doing yeoman service in educating the working people in the spirit of devotion to their Socialist fatherland and respect for Soviet laws, imbuing them with the desire to carry out these laws undeviatingly.

The Soviet courts are truly of the people. They are surrounded by the respect and confidence of the entire people because of their uncompromising attitude towards the enemies of the people, because of the Bolshevik struggle they have been waging for the strengthening of our Socialist state.

III. THE TASKS OF THE SOVIET COURTS IN THE LIGHT OF THE STALIN CONSTITUTION

As I have already said, justice as a special state function and the courts as the organ of state called upon to administer justice have been raised by the Stalin Constitution to a height unprecedented in the history of human society.

In the Stalin Constitution are embodied the precepts of our great Lenin, who attached particular importance to the courts as the organ for crushing the exploiters and for training the working people in a new, Socialist discipline and self-discipline. Lenin both wrote and spoke of the special tasks of the Soviet courts, in the functions of which the working masses participate and the activities of which are performed "in democratic forms in accordance with the principles of Soviet power." (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. XXII, Russ. ed., p. 425).

At every stage of the Socialist Revolution, the Soviet judicature has been built up and has worked on the firm foundations of Socialist democracy. It has always been immeasurably more democratic than the judicial system of even the most democratic bourgeois country.

In extending and strengthening the democratic foundations of the whole Soviet state system, the Stalin Constitution has extended and strengthened the democratic foundations underlying the organization and activities of the Soviet courts. We have to admit, however, that by far not all of our courts are working as the interests of our Socialist state dictate. Too often cases are decided wrong, nor are infractions of the law by the courts themselves a rare occurrence. Red tape still persists in deciding cases and executing sentences and judgments of the courts. The courts is not yet in sufficiently close touch with the working masses.

Quite often courts take up cases that should be dealt with through administrative, disciplinary or other channels.

Sometimes the courts and investigating authorities themselves violate Socialist law by instituting criminal proceedings against citizens on the basis of insufficiently sifted evidence. Sometimes persons are brought before the court who could be adequately dealt with by applying measures of public suasion through a comrades' court held at their places of work, or through a village community court, or perhaps by the proper administrative authority imposing a fine.

Some courts are not sufficiently energetic in combating plunderers of Socialist property, dealing leniently even with deliberate embezzlers.

Some People's Courts still do not apply the stringent penalties prescribed by the law for rowdies who maliciously break the rules of Socialist human intercourse.

The courts are not always sufficiently vigorous in their fight against bureaucrats and petty despots who crassly ignore Soviet labour laws and violate the rights of citizens established by the Stalin Constitution.

Tremendous tasks have been imposed on the People's Commissariat of Justice of the U.S.S.R.: the training of skilled judicial workers, the creation of the proper organizational and material conditions to ensure the normal functioning of the judicial organs, the arrangement and organization of elections of the People's Courts.

At the First Session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., the activities of the People's Commissariat of Justice were made the subject of sharp and just criticism.

Putting it squarely, it must be said that the People's Commissariat of Justice of the U.S.S.R. has not succeeded hitherto in entirely removing the consequences of wrecking activities, and has not yet rearranged its work in accordance with the requirements of the Stalin Constitution.

We have not yet made good Comrade Molotov's directions to convert the People's Commissariat of Justice into an exemplary Soviet People's Commissariat.

A great deal has yet to be done in the way of improving and training new people for the judiciary and the court personnel, and of creating the conditions they require.

The new Regulations Governing the Judicial System will introduce radical changes in this system. It will ensure a decided improvement in the work of our courts and the eradication of still existing shortcomings. With the new Judicial System Bill in force, our courts will work in the manner required of them by the Stalin Constitution.

IV. THE NECESSITY OF PUBLISHING NEW JUDICIAL SYSTEM REGULATIONS

At the present time our courts are organized and function in accordance with the Principles of the Judicial System of the U.S.S.R. and of the Union Republics adopted in 1924, and the Regulations governing the judicial systems of the Union republics.

These laws are characteristic of the democratic nature of the Soviet courts and of their fundamental difference from the bourgeois courts. They have played a tremendous part in the consolidation of the Soviet courts. On the basis of these laws, the Soviet courts have done great work in strengthening Socialist jurisprudence, strengthening the Socialist state.

In the years following the publication of these laws, the Soviet people, led by our glorious Communist Party and by Comrade Stalin, the brilliant leader of peoples, have gained the monumental, historic victories of Socialism which have changed the very face of our country.

This country is confronted by immense new tasks the fulfilment of which calls for increased efficiency on the part of all Soviet organs, the Soviet courts included.

The Principles of the Judicial System adopted in 1924 do not reflect the changes that have occurred in our country, do not reflect all the special features of the present epoch.

The Principles of the Judicial System adopted in 1924 and the Regulations now in force governing the judicial systems of the Union Republics do not reflect the tremendous tasks set before the Soviet courts by the Stalin Constitution.

Article 14 of the Constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics gives the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. jurisdiction over all questions touching the judicial system. However there exists no uniform statute concerning the judicial system, and the judicial system regulations in operation in the various union republics vary in their definition of both the tasks of the courts and the organizational structure of the judicial system.

The system of electing judges and people's assessors, as laid down by the regulations now in force, is in contravention of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. For instance, under the Regulations Governing the Judicial System of the R.S.F.S.R., the people's judges are elected by the Soviets for a term of one year, and the people's assessors for the same term by the respective enterprises and villages.

Under the same regulations the office of people's judge may be held only by a person who, besides possessing the right of suffrage, must also have been a responsible political worker for at least two years or must have been employed in Soviet judicial organs for at least three years in a position not below that of examining magistrate.

These restrictions governing the elections of judges conflict with the Stalin Constitution.

Neither are the existing regulations adequate to cope with the vast tasks of the courts, such as protecting and upholding the rights of the working population guaranteed by the Stalin Constitution, safeguarding Socialist property as well as the rights of collective farms and other organizations.

The further consolidation of Socialist jurisprudence, of the stability of the laws of the Socialist state of workers and peasants, demands a marked improvement in the work of our judicial organs, demands that more finality and weight attach to judicial sentences and decisions. But the regulations now in force considerably lower the effectiveness of the courts by reason of the great number of appellate tribunals to which decisions of courts may be appealed or protested.

One of the great defects of the regulations in operation is that there is no clear-cut statement as to what offences come under the jurisdiction of the People's Courts, which have to examine the bulk of criminal and civil cases.

In assigning to the Soviet courts and to Soviet justice a position of such eminence, the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. makes it mandatory clearly to define the tasks of each court, its rights and its form of organization.

The Regulations in operation impose on the regional and higher

courts administrative functions that are not properly theirs, thus drawing them away from their main work of dealing with judicial matters.

The judicial system regulations in operation are at variance with the new administrative division of the U.S.S.R.

The regulations in operation contain sections which deal with investigating bodies attached to the courts, whereas such bodies have long ago been made part of the Procuratorship.

All these facts have made it necessary to issue regulations to govern the judicial system of the U.S.S.R. and of the Union and the autonomous republics which will fully reflect the fundamental principles of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R., and, in accordance with Article 14 of the Constitution, will build up a judicial system based on one uniform law for all Union republics.

V. THE MAIN PRINCIPLES OF THE BILL

The Judicial System Bill submitted to the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics for its approval is based on the following considerations:

a) The need for further democratization of the Soviet courts in exact accordance with the demands of the Stalin Constitution;

b) The need for improving the organization and work of the Soviet courts in accordance with the tasks put forward by the Stalin Constitution.

In their nefarious work in the justiciary organs the enemies of the people endeavoured to discredit Soviet law by denying its Socialist nature, and tried to disparage the role and significance of Socialist jurisprudence and of the Soviet courts in Socialist construction. These enemies of the people sought to diminish the importance of the Soviet courts.

Comrade Stalin teaches us that "the growth of the power of the Soviet state will increase the resistance of the last remnants of the dying classes. It is precisely because they are dying and are now living their last days, that they will pass from one form of attack to another, to sharper forms of attack, appeal to the backward strata of the population and mobilize them against the Soviet power." (*Problems of Leninism*, Russ. ed., p. 510.)

This compels us to increase our vigilance tenfold, and to strengthen by every means in our power the organs of the dictatorship of the working class, among which the Soviet courts occupy an important place.

That is why the main task of the Soviet judicial system consists in defending our Socialist fatherland from every kind of encroachment. In Article 2 of the Bill this task of the Soviet courts is set forth as follows:

It is the task of justice in the U.S.S.R. to protect from any and every encroachment:

a) the social and state system of the U.S.S.R., the Socialist system of economy and Socialist property established by the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. and the Constitutions of the Union and the autonomous republics."

The various articles of the Stalin Constitution record the political, property and personal rights of the citizens of our great fatherland, gained by the Great October Socialist Revolution.

The Constitution of the U.S.S.R. not only proclaims these rights, but secures them fully and completely in practice.

In our country the interests of the individual are safeguarded by the full might of Socialist society, by all the conditions of its development. Our Socialist law and the Soviet courts keep vigilant guard over the interests of the individual.

This task of the Soviet courts is clearly and distinctly stated in the same article of the Judicial System Bill. "It is the task of justice in the U.S.S.R. to protect from any and every encroachment:

b) the political, labour, dwelling and other personal and property rights and interests of citizens of the U.S.S.R. guaranteed by the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. and the Constitutions of the Union and the autonomous republics."

In this task imposed on the Soviet courts by the Stalin Constitution is reflected the great difference between the legal rights of the individual in the Land of Socialism and in capitalist countries.

Numerous fatal accidents and cases of maiming of workers in capitalist enterprises go unpunished. Mass unemployment, cruel exploitation, inhuman labour conditions, racial and national persecution—all these present a vivid and convincing picture of the position of the individual—without rights or protection—in the capitalist countries.

In clause "c" of Article 2 of the Judicial System Bill, our judiciary organs are charged with the duty of guarding the "rights and interests of state institutions, enterprises, collective farms, co-operative and other public organizations."

Several articles in the Constitution, which specify the most important points in our state system, repeatedly stress the exceptional importance of the law. For example, Article 123 of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. reads as follows: "Equality of rights of citizens of the U.S.S.R., irrespective of their nationality or race, in all spheres of economic, state, cultural, social and political life, is an indefeasible law."

In Article 132 of the Constitution it is stated: "Universal military service is law."

Article 97 of the Constitution provides that the Soviets of Toilers' Deputies "ensure the maintenance of public order, the observance of the laws and the protection of the rights of citizens."

We find law and right referred to also in a number of other articles of the Stalin Constitution, and such references are not accidental.

In his report at the Extraordinary Eighth Congress of Soviets of the U.S.S.R., Comrade Stalin pointed out that "we need stability of laws now more than ever."

Our Soviet law is an expression of Socialist social relations and serves to strengthen and develop Socialist society. That is why the struggle for the strengthening of Socialist law is one of the most important tasks of the Soviet courts.

This task of the Soviet courts has been defined in Article 2 of the Bill as follows: "It is the task of justice in the U.S.S.R. to secure the strict and undeviating observance of Soviet laws by all institutions, official persons and citizens of the U.S.S.R."

There are also other organs of Soviet power which perform the task of guarding our Socialist fatherland against the encroachments of our enemies, the task of defending the rights of citizens of the U.S.S.R. guaranteed by the Stalin Constitution. These honourable and glorious duties are being fulfilled with credit by our People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs, under the leadership of the Stalinist People's Commissar, Comrade Yezhov. (*Loud and prolonged applause.*)

The methods and forms of activity employed by the Soviet courts in fulfilling the tasks imposed upon them differ from those used by other organs.

Article 3 of the Bill reads: "The courts in the U.S.S.R. carry out the tasks indicated in Article 2 of the present regulations by:

"a) the hearing of criminal cases at the sittings of the courts and the application of the punitive measures established by law directed against traitors to the country, wreckers, plunderers of Socialist property and other enemies of the people, as well as against robbers, thieves, rowdies and other criminals;

"b) the examination at the sittings of the court of cases involving the rights and interests of citizens, state institutions, enterprises, collective farms, and other public organizations."

Another point of difference between the Soviet courts and the bourgeois courts is that our courts not only inflict penalties, not only punish offenders, but through all their various activities also educate the backward and wage a struggle against the survivals of capitalist mentality. This task of the Soviet courts was indicated by Lenin as soon as the latter were established. And the Soviet courts have performed this task at every stage of Socialist construction.

Today, when Soviet democracy is in full bloom, particular importance attaches to the educational aspect of Soviet court work.

While continuing mercilessly to inflict punishment on the enemies of the people, robbers, thugs and other criminals, the Soviet courts, by means of their everyday judicial activities, must educate the citizens of the Soviet Union in a spirit of:

devotion to the country and the cause of Socialism;

a Socialist attitude to public property and to work; honesty toward state and public duty;

a careful, thoughtful and considerate attitude to the individual;

respect for the rules of Socialist human intercourse.

These tasks of the Soviet courts are defined as follows in Article 4 of the Judicial System Bill:

"The Soviet courts in applying punitive measures to criminals not only punish criminals, but also aim at correcting and reforming them.

"By all their activities the courts educate the citizens of the U.S.S.R. in the spirit of devotion to the country and the cause of Socialism, in

the spirit of Socialist law, of care for Socialist property, of labour discipline, honesty toward state and public duty and respect for the rules of Socialist human intercourse."

That is how the Bill now before you defines the tasks of the courts enunciated in the Stalin Constitution.

In harmony with the Stalin Constitution, this Judicial System Bill takes the following fundamental principles as its point of departure: that courts shall be elective; that judges shall be independent and subject only to the law; that courts shall be uniform and equal for all; that people's assessors shall participate in all courts; that cases shall be heard in open court; that the accused shall have the right to counsel for defence, and the right to use his native tongue.

The elective principle is set forth in Articles 10, 22, 23, 24, 25, 29, 37, 45, 53, and 62; the principle of the independence of the judiciary—in Article 6 of the Bill; the principle of uniform courts equal for all—in Article 5 of the Bill.

Articles 9 and 14 of the Bill state that the participation of people's assessors in all courts is obligatory. The principle of hearing cases in open court is provided for by Article 8. The right of the accused to counsel for defence and the use of his native tongue is specified in Articles 7 and 8 of the Bill.

The Stalin Constitution has established equality of rights for all citizens of the U.S.S.R. "irrespective of race or nationality, religion, educational qualification, domicile, social origin, property status or past activities". We do not have, nor can we have, any privileged estate courts for particular categories of citizens, as was the case, for instance, in tsarist Russia.

In accordance with the aforesaid, Article 5 of the Bill establishes that: "Justice in the U.S.S.R. is administered on the following principles:

"a) Uniform courts equal for all, irrespective of their social or property status or official position;

"b) Uniform criminal, civil and procedural legislation of the U.S.S.R. binding on all courts."

In bourgeois countries, judges as a rule are not elected but appointed. In Great Britain and France nearly all judges are appointed. In the U.S.A. the justices of the Supreme Court are nominated and appointed by the President, subject to the consent of the Senate. Only in a few countries is the office of judge elective and even there it is so merely in form because of the numerous restrictions by which working people are debarred from being elected judges.

This system of appointing judges brings out the true character of bourgeois democracy—democracy for an insignificant minority of exploiters.

The Soviet courts are built on entirely different foundations. One of the main principles of the Soviet judicial system is that judges be elected—a principle which has existed in this country from the very

beginning of Soviet power—and that all working people participate in the work of the courts.

Bearing out the consistently Socialist democracy of the Stalin Constitution, Article 10 of the Judicial System Bill establishes that in the U.S.S.R. the courts are elective.

In contrast to conditions in bourgeois countries, in this country working people are widely drawn into the immediate work of the courts. In the courts of the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics, all cases are tried with the participation of people's assessors except cases specially provided for by law.

During the performance of their duties in court people's assessors have all the rights of judges. They are elected in the same manner and for the same term as permanent judges.

People's assessors of the people's courts, like people's judges, are elected "by the citizens of the district on the basis of universal, direct and equal suffrage and secret ballot for a term of three years."

There can be no doubt that this procedure considerably strengthens the position of the people's assessors as fully empowered judges, and ensures the possibility of their active participation in deciding judicial cases.

The Bill extends the participation of the people's assessors and enhances their role in the Soviet courts, thus ensuring compliance with the demand of the program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) that every working man and woman be enlisted in the performance of judicial duties.

To the end that it may actually be possible for the working people to take part in the business of the courts in the capacity of people's assessors, the Judicial System Bill provides that people's assessors shall receive their wages in full for the entire period of their service in court.

The democracy of the Stalin Constitution permits of no restrictions whatever on account of race or nationality, religious beliefs, social origin, property status, educational qualification or past activity.

This wonderful principle of the Stalin Constitution has found lodgement in Article 11 of the Bill, which establishes that "any citizen who enjoys electoral rights may be elected judge or people's assessor."

Bourgeois countries require educational qualifications for judges; property qualifications, too, are demanded nearly everywhere of judicial candidates. England and France, for example, have property and educational qualifications. In France, the qualifications that a prospective judge must possess refer to age as well as to property and education.

In order to keep the working population from court work, the bourgeois countries have established restrictions for jurymen as well. In England jurymen are selected by sheriffs from among landowners, house-owners, lease-holders or house-tenants paying from £20 to £30 for their dwellings.

In France neither women nor persons in military service may serve on juries, and age, educational, property and residential qualifications

obtain. Nor can domestic servants be jurymen. Jurymen are not elected but selected by special departmental commissions and are impanelled as the arrondissement commission attached to the court may decide.

In our Soviet Union, the land of victorious Socialism, where the great Soviet people are the masters of their fate, no restrictions whatsoever are necessary or admissible in elections.

The highly developed political mind of the Soviet people and their boundless devotion to the cause of Lenin and Stalin are a true guarantee that in our country only people devoted to Socialism and worthy of confidence will be elected judges.

The removal of all restrictions whatsoever to the holding of the office of judge is in accord with the principle, consistently followed, that the judgeship shall be elective. It is for the constituents themselves to decide whether or not they will entrust to the candidate in question the highly responsible function of judge, whether or not they consider him to be a person of authority, and so on.

In pursuance of Article 112 of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R., Article 6 of the Bill fixes a principle of great importance; "Judges are independent and subject only to the law."

The independence of the Soviet judge is fully assured by the conditions created for the work of the courts by the Stalin Constitution. Another point assuring the independence of the judiciary is the manner of electing and recalling judges, as established by the Judiciary System Bill.

Article 17 of the Bill provides that "Judges may be removed from their office, and people's assessors relieved of their duties solely by the recall of their electors, or by virtue of a sentence of court against them."

Thus nobody except the electors themselves can remove a judge from his office. The independence of the judiciary is further ensured by the manner in which the Bill provides for the prosecution of judges. The institution of criminal proceedings against judges, and their consequent removal from office, arraignment and trial are to be effected as follows:

In respect to people's judges, members of territorial, regional or area courts, and of courts of autonomous regions, and members of the Supreme Courts of Union (autonomous) republics—by decision of the Procurator of the Union (autonomous) republic with the sanction of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union (autonomous) republic;

In respect to members of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. and the special courts of the U.S.S.R.—by decision of the Procurator of the U.S.S.R. with the sanction of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

In pursuance of Article 111 of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R., the Bill provides that trials in Soviet courts be public and that the right of the accused to counsel for defence be assured. Public trials are a powerful means of enhancing the authority of the Soviet courts and of bringing them into closer touch with the working people. The Soviet

courts work in full view of the public. It is only rarely, in exceptional cases, that the law permits the hearing of a case *in camera*, as, for instance, when a State secret is involved, or when a sexual crime is being dealt with.

The vast significance attached to public trial follows from the democratic character of the courts.

In the bourgeois-democratic countries the principle of public trial" does exist formally, but the overwhelming majority of the working people—the workers and peasants—are in actual fact deprived of the possibility of attending court. The fascist countries, which destroyed even the least signs of democracy, have also destroyed the principle of public trial. In Fascist Italy, for example, the courts have the right to close their doors on any pretext, if the case on trial may, according to Article 423 of the Italian Code of Criminal Procedure, "call forth reprehensible curiosity."

The Italian law-court even has the right not to admit to open sessions persons who in the opinion of the court "are not properly attired.

In Germany the great majority of criminal cases are not tried in the ordinary courts but in so-called extraordinary courts, which work under conditions that make it quite impossible for the citizenry to attend trials.

The fascist courts are compelled to hide from the public all the barbarous ways and means by which they fabricate accusations against revolutionaries, anti-fascists and working people generally.

But the Soviet courts, truly democratic courts, have nothing to conceal and all their proceedingse are in full view of the masses of the working population and in close and inseparable contact with them.

"In accordance with Article 110 of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R.," says Article 7 of the Bill, "judicial proceedings in the U.S.S.R. are conducted in the language of the Union republic, the autonomous republic or the autonomous region, persons not knowing this language being ensured every opportunity of fully acquainting themselves with the material pertaining to the case through an interpreter, and likewise the right to speak in couor in their own language."

Nothing like it was the case, nor could it have been, in pre-revolutionary Russia.

In Fascist Italy, persons refusing to address the court in Italian are liable to be prosecuted under the criminal law and fined.

Article 7 of the draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System of the U.S.S.R. and of the Union and the Autonomous Republics is an expression of the Lenin-Stalin national policy in the sphere of activity of the courts of justice.

Article 8 of this draft ensures to the accused the right to council for defence. Soviet citizens who are brought before the court are given the right and the possibility either to conduct their own defence or to be defended by counsel. This is the first time in history that the right of the accused to counsel for defence is formulated as a constitutional principle.

VI. THE SYSTEM OF JUDICIAL ORGANS

In complete conformity with Article 102 of the Stalin Constitution, Article 1 of the Bill states that justice in the U.S.S.R. is administered by the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R., the Supreme Courts of the Union republics, the territorial and regional courts, the courts of the autonomous republics and autonomous regions, the area courts, the special courts of the U.S.S.R., and the people's courts.

The people's courts occupy a very important place in Soviet judicature. Most of the criminal and civil cases affecting the interests of the population are to be dealt with by the people's courts, which stand closest to the people and are intimately connected with them in their practical everyday work.

Under Article 109 of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R., the people's courts are elected by the citizens of the district on the basis of universal, direct and equal suffrage and secret ballot for a term of three years.

In this way the people's courts are being democratized beyond all precedent. These Soviet courts do not in the least resemble the so-called Justice of the Peace courts of bourgeois states. The Justice of the Peace as a rule tries the petty crimes of everyday life; he has no jurisdiction to try more serious cases. In France, for instance, the peace magistrate tries only offences punishable by fines up to 25 francs, or by imprisonment up to 5 days.

Article 21 of the Bill before you brings under the jurisdiction of the people's courts criminal cases concerning offences against the life, health, liberty or dignity of citizens (murder, the infliction of bodily harm, the procuring of illegal abortions, rape, rowdyism, and others); offences against property (aggravated robbery, robbery larceny and others); offences committed in the discharge of official duties (abuse of one's authority, exceeding one's authority, embezzlement, forgery, etc.); civil cases relating to property suits, relating to suits arising out of violations of labour laws, relating to suits for the payment of alimony and a number of other criminal and civil cases.

Articles 27 and 28 of the Bill clearly and exactly define the rights of the people's courts and of the people's judges in rendering decisions on complaints and informations received by, and cases coming before, the people's courts.

Article 27 of the Bill provides for the right of the people's court, in case it disagrees with the indictment drawn up by the Procurator, either to refer the case back for further investigation or to discontinue it. The people's judge has the right to decide the question of whether the accused is to be placed in custody, or released from custody.

These rights enable the people's courts critically and with due deliberation to approach the question of whether an accused is to be tried, and whether he is to be kept in custody. These rights impose upon the people's courts great and serious responsibilities.

Chapter III of the Bill is devoted to the organization and activities

of the territorial, the regional and the area courts and the courts of the autonomous regions.

Article 31 of the Bill places the following cases under the jurisdiction of the territorial, the regional and the area courts and the Courts of the Autonomous Regions: criminal cases concerning counter-revolutionary offences; offences of extraordinary danger directed against the administrative system of the state; thefts of Socialist property; offences of extraordinary gravity in the performance of official duties or of duties of an economic character, and also civil cases concerning disputes between state institutions, enterprises and public organizations.

In Article 32 of the Bill, the territrial, regional and area courts and the courts of the autonomous regions are given jurisdiction to hear appeals from and protests against sentences, judgments or orders of the people's courts.

Chapter IV of the Judicial System Bill deals with the organization and activities of the Supreme Courts of the Autonomous Republics. These courts are organized and function on the same principles as the territorial, the regional and the area courts and the courts of the autonomous regions.

The Supreme Courts of the Autonomous Republics have jurisdiction over criminal cases concerning counter-revolutionary offences, offences of extraordinary danger directerd against the administrative system of the state and other criminal and civil cases.

The Supreme Courts of the autonomous republics are given jurisdiction to hear appeals and protests filed in cases decided by the people's courts of the autonomous republics.

Chapter V of the Bill treats of the organization and activities of the Supreme Courts of the Union republics.

The Supreme Courts of the Union republics are the highest judicial organs of the Union republics. These courts are given jurisdiction of the most important civil and criminal cases.

The Supreme Courts of the Union republics are charged with the function of supervising the judicial activities of all the judicial organs of the respective Union republics, of hearing appeals and protests in cases decided by the lower courts of the Union republics; also of hearing protests against sentences, judgments or orders of any court of the Union republics which have become legally effective.

The President of the Supreme Court of a Union republic has the right to demand the record of any case from any judicial body of the Union Republic, and to file a protest against the sentence, judgment or order of such court in case a violation of law, or an insufficiently thorough investigation is disclosed.

Chapter VI of the Bill deals with questions relating to the organization and activities of the special courts of the U.S.S.R.

The special courts comprise the military tribunals, the railway line courts and the water-transport line courts.

Article 57 of the Bill provides that the military tribunals have ju-

risdiction over military offences and such other crimes as are specified by law.

Under Article 59 of the Bill, the special railway line and water-transport line courts are given jurisdiction over offences calculated to subvert labour discipline in the transport services and other offences preventing the normal operation of these services.

The line courts are made necessary by the fact that in most cases railway and shipping lines are extraterritorial organizations in the sense that they extend over territory that is not coterminous with the administrative or territorial divisions concerned, one and the same railway sometimes passing through several regions, territories and republics. Furthermore, in cases dealing with shipping and military matters there are specific points calling for special knowledge on the part of the judge.

The Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. is the highest judicial organ for the special courts of the U.S.S.R.

In accordance with Article 104 of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R., the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. is the highest judicial organ. It is charged with the function of supervising the judicial activities of all the judicial organs of the U.S.S.R. and of the Union republics.

Under the Bill, the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. is of tremendous importance, as it is the court which deals with especially important criminal and civil cases, and which corrects the errors of all other judicial organs of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

In order to be able to discharge this serious task of paramount importance, the President of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. is vested with the right of demanding the record of any case from any other court, and of filing a protest in cases where a violation of the law or an insufficiently thorough investigation is disclosed. These rights of the President of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. are provided for in Article 73 of the Bill.

For the purpose of hearing the protests of the Procurator of the U.S.S.R. and of the President of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. against sentences, judgments and orders in cases already decided by the collegiums of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R., the Bill provides for the organization of a Plenary Sitting of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R., consisting of the President of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R., the Vice-Presidents, and the members of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R., the presence of the Procurator of the U.S.S.R. being obligatory.

In pursuance of Article 74 of the Bill, the Plenary Sitting of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. has the right, on the basis of decisions adopted by the Plenary Sitting on specific judicial cases, to give guiding instructions to all other courts on questions of judicial practice.

The draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System relieve the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. of administrative functions that do not properly belong to it, and create all the conditions necessary for the discharge of its main task—the correct exercise of supervision over all the judicial organs of the U.S.S.R.

The draft introduces considerable changes in the organization, structure and functions of the courts of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. It simplifies the whole judicial system by abolishing the multiplicity of successive courts of appeal, and eliminates defects which not infrequently were instrumental in causing red tape in court.

The draft radically changes the method of revising sentences and judgments of courts that have already become legally effective. According to the law now in operation, sentences and judgments of people's courts may be reviewed by the regional or territorial courts, by their Presidiums or Plenary Sittings, by the Appellate Collegiums of the Supreme Courts of the Union Republics, by the Presidiums or Plenary Sittings of these Supreme Courts, and also by the Supervisory Collegium and the Plenary Sitting of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R.

Moreover, under the law now in force, the right to file a protest against a judicial sentence or judgment already in legal effect may be exercised by many persons: the procurators of territories and regions, of Union and autonomous republics, the Procurator of the U.S.S.R., the presidents of the terriorial and regional courts, the Presidents of the Supreme Courts of the Union and autonomous republics, and the President of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. All this results in outrageous dilatoriness during the proceedings and in a lack of finality of sentences and judgments that have already come into legal operation.

The new law will permit sentences and judgments already in legal operation to be revised only by way of exception, the right of review being granted to none but the Supreme Courts of the Union republics and the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. upon protests filed by the President of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R., the President of the Supreme Court of a Union Republic, the Procurator of the U.S.S.R. or the Procurator of a Union Republic.

The draft law abolishes as superfluous the Presidiums and Plenary Sittings of territorial and regional courts, as well as those of the Supreme Courts of the Union and of autonomous republics, which under the laws now in force have the right to revise by way of judicial supervision sentences or judgments that have already come into force.

Thus, instead of numerous successive courts of appeal having the right of supervision over the activities of the judicial organs of a Union republic, the right of revising sentences and judgments has now by the draft been reserved exclusively to the Supreme Courts of the Union republics and to the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R.

This method of revising sentences and judgments already in force will do away with needless delay in the examination of cases, will increase the responsibility of judges and enhance the weight that attaches to the decision of a court.

Under the now operative Regulations Governing the Judicial System, the territorial and regional courts also perform functions of judicial administration. They are burdened with organizational and administrative duties in respect to the people's courts of the given territory or region. These duties consist in inspecting the people's courts,

selecting and training cadres, financing the courts, etc. Such a state of things diverts the territorial and regional courts considerably from their immediate duties, and causes them to occupy themselves with functions not properly assignable to courts of law.

The draft specifies that the duties of the courts lie in their immediate judicial activities and, accordingly, relieves all courts, from the highest to the lowest, of all functions of judicial administration. Functions of organization and administration have all been assigned to the People's Commissariat of Justice of the U.S.S.R., and to the People's Commissariats of Justice of the Union and the autonomous republics and their local organs.

Relieving the courts of these functions that had been improperly assigned to them will enhance their role, significance and authority.

Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet. I have reported to you on the basic principles underlying the draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System of the U.S.S.R., and of the Union and the Autonomous Republics.

I have told you how these principles have found concrete expression in the draft now before you for your consideration and approval.

The draft gives the Soviet courts an extremely high standing, elevates them to the plane which the demands made upon them by our great Constitution necessitate.

The Judicial System Bill submitted for approval to this Session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. is based on the prinicples of Socialist democracy laid down by the Stalin Constitution.

The new law will be of the greatest importance, establishing as it does the fundamental principles underlying the structure and activities of the Soviet courts.

It will consolidate Socialist jurisprudence in the great, multinational Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The draft Regulations before you make it clear to the working people of the whole world that only in the land of the Soviets can genuine people's courts, truly democratic courts, be created.

They provide all conditions necessary to make the Soviet courts in their future activities genuine people's courts worthy of the great Soviet people, courts equal to the tasks set before us by the law of laws, the great Stalin Constitution.

We feel certain that the Soviet courts will occupy the place that befits them in the struggle for the cause of Lenin and Stalin, for the happiness of the Soviet people.

Carrying out the will of the working people, the Soviet courts have annihilated their enemies, such as Zinoviev, Kamenev, Pyatakov, Tukhachevsky, Bukharin, Rykov, those loathsome traitors, betrayers and assassins, those thrice-cursed hirelings of fascist intelligence services.

When investigating the base crimes against the Socialist fatherland committed by the Trotskyite-Bukharinite gang, the Soviet courts pilloried the organizer and instigator of these spying, diversionist and

terroristic activities, the arch-traitor and vile cur of fascism—Judas Trotsky.

Let our enemies remember that also in future the sword of Soviet justice shall not fail to come down without mercy on the heads of those who dare to lay hands on the happy life of the Soviet people, on our joyous, flourishing Land of Socialism.

A most important condition ensuring the performance of the tasks facing the Soviet courts is the promotion of judicial workers devoted to their country and to the Party of Lenin and Stalin.

Comrades, people's judges and people's assessors are going to be elected by us.

At the present Session you are to elect the highest judicial organ of the Union, the Supreme Court of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The court elections will immeasurably strengthen our judicial organs, and make the Soviet courts a still more powerful weapon in the hands of the working class.

We have a warranty of this in the unremitting help and attention shown day by day to the Soviet courts by the government, and personally by one of the closest associates of our great Stalin—Vyacheslav Mikhailovich Molotov. (*Loud and prolonged applause.*)

We have a warranty of this in the leadership of our great Communist Party, its Central Committee and our wise, great and beloved Comrade Stalin. (*Loud applause and cheers.*)

The Chairman: According to the decisions adopted by the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities, the debate on the draft Regulations Governing the Judicial System of the U.S.S.R., and of the Union and the Autonomous Republics will take place separately in each Chamber.

The sitting of the Soviet of the Union will take place today at 2 p.m

The sitting of the Soviet of Nationalities will take place today at 6 p. m.

This closes the joint sitting of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities.

THIRD SITTING

August 17, 1938

N. M. Shvernik, Chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities, T. D. Lysenko, Vice-Chairman of the Soviet of the Union, and C. A. Aslanova, Vice-Chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities, take their seats on the dais, and the members of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. and the leaders of the Party and the Government enter the boxes. They are greeted with loud and prolonged applause. All rise.

N. M. Shvernik (*in the chair*): I hereby open the joint sitting of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities.

We shall proceed to discuss the third item on the agenda—election of the Supreme Court of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. I call upon Deputy Badayev. (*Applause.*)

A. E. Badayev (*Boguchar Area, Voronezh Region*): Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The Second Session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. has unanimously approved the Act Concerning the Judicial System of the U.S.S.R. and of the Union and Autonomous Republics introduced by the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R.

The Judicial System Act ensures uniform justice and uniform procedure in the organization of the courts in the U.S.S.R. on the basis of the Stalin Constitution. That is the reason why this law is of such great importance not only to the judicial bodies but to all citizens of our country.

It is the task of justice in the U.S.S.R. to secure the strict and undeviating observance of Soviet laws by all institutions, official persons and citizens of the U.S.S.R.

The significance of uniform law in our Socialist society has repeatedly been stressed and insisted upon by Comrade Lenin and by Comrade Stalin. In 1922 Lenin wrote:

"... Law should be one, and the main evil of our whole life and of our lack of culture is our toleration of the ancient Russian views and habits of semi-savages who desire to maintain Kaluga law in contradistinction to Kazan law."

That is why Lenin demanded that the Procurator's Office see to it

that a really uniform interpretation of laws be established throughout the land.

The Stalin Constitution fully embodies this important precept of Lenin's on uniform law for our entire country. Article 32 of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. reads:

"The legislative power of the U.S.S.R. is exercised exclusively by the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R."

"The edge of revolutionary law at the present time," said Comrade Stalin in 1933, "is turned ... against thieves and wreckers of social economy, against hooligans and pilferers of public property. Consequently the main concern of revolutionary law at the present time is the protection of public property, that and not something else."

"We must bear in mind," Comrade Stalin said on the same occasion, "that the growth of the power of the Soviet state will increase the resistance of the last remnants of the dying classes. It is precisely because they are dying and are now living their last days that they will pass from one form of attack to another, to sharper forms of attack, appeal to the backward strata of the population and mobilize them against the Soviet power. There is no mischief and slander that these have-beens will not resort to against the Soviet power and around which they will not try to mobilize the backward elements. This may give ground for the revival of the activities of the defeated groups of the old counter-revolutionary parties: the Socialist-Revolutionaries, the Mensheviks and the bourgeois nationalists in the centre and in the border regions; it may give grounds also for the revival of the activities of the fragments of counter-revolutionary opposition elements, the Trotskyites and Right deviationists. Of course, there is nothing terrible in this. But we must bear all this in mind if we want to put an end to these elements quickly and without great loss."

Soviet justice is aimed at rooting out the enemies of the people—the Trotskyite-Bukharinite and bourgeois-nationalist fascist spies, wreckers, diversionists, assassins, traitors to the fatherland, plunderers of Socialist property.

While unswervingly carrying out the provisions of the Stalin Constitution, our system of justice must at the same time educate the citizens of the U.S.S.R. in the spirit of devotion to the country and the cause of Socialism, in the spirit of strict and undeviating observance of Soviet law, in the spirit of care for Socialist property, honesty toward state and public duty and respect for the rules of Socialist human intercourse.

Comrades, the Stalin Constitution has elevated the Soviet courts to a position of very great importance. It has assigned to the courts a most honourable place in the building of classless, Socialist society. Soviet courts are indeed popular courts. It is their mission strictly to guard the interests of the Soviet citizen and to act only in accordance with the law.

Article 112 of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. states: "Judges are independent and subject only to the law."

In tsarist Russia the courts were a parody on real justice. They served as a means for mercilessly suppressing the exploited. In his article "Chance Notes" Lenin wrote:

"The petty thieves are sentenced to penal servitude, but the big thieves, all those magnates, ministers, bank directors, railway promoters, engineers, contractors, etc., who embezzle tens and hundreds of thousands of rubles of state property, pay the penalty in the rarest and worst instance by exile to some remote province where they can live royally on the money they have plundered. . . ."

In capitalist countries the courts protect the foundations of the capitalist system. Bourgeois courts are courts composed of representatives of the exploiter classes and their agents. They are courts which carry out the will of the ruling exploiter classes.

Only the Soviet courts stand guard over the interests of the working people and carry out their will. The Soviet courts stand guard over the rights of the Soviet citizen, as recorded in the Stalin Constitution; they stand guard over the gains of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

Comrades, the tasks facing the Soviet courts are great and exceedingly important. The men and women charged by the will of the people to execute these tasks must be irreproachably honest, must be loyal sons and daughters of our great people, and boundlessly devoted to the cause of Lenin and Stalin, the cause of Socialism.

According to Article 104 of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R., the highest judicial organ of the U.S.S.R. is the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. The Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. is charged with the function of supervising the judicial activities of all the judicial organs of the U.S.S.R. and of the Union Republics.

Comrades, on the strength of Article 105 of the Stalin Constitution of the U.S.S.R., the Second Session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. will proceed to elect the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. Article 105 of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. reads:

"The Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. and the special courts of the U.S.S.R. are elected by the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. for a term of five years."

Comrades, I should like to say a few words about how twenty-six years ago, in 1912, we Bolsheviks participated in the work of the State Duma. We were then under the direct guidance of Comrade Lenin and Comrade Stalin. Comrade Stalin, who was then living and working under strictly illegal conditions, gave the Bolshevik deputies a set of instructions. I shall not quote these instructions. You all know them.

The Bolshevik deputies occupied in the tsarist State Duma a small corner on the left side—a small island around which raged and fumed the hidebound "auroxes" of the bourgeoisie—all the Markovs, Purishkeviches and others of the Black Hundreds.

Comrade Stalin taught us, who were then only young Bolshevik deputies, what we were to say and do in the State Duma.

To me, a former Bolshevik deputy to the State Duma, it is particularly gratifying and pleasing to see that the long struggle for the cause

of Lenin and Stalin, for the cause of Socialism, has borne wonderful fruit. The Socialist parliament here assembled is a truly popular parliament, for it consists exclusively of working people. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Comrade Stalin has led our country, the 170,000,000 people of our fatherland, to a life of joy and happiness. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Our Constitution, the first and only really democratic constitution in the world, was created by our great teacher, the great author of the laws of human happiness, Comrade Stalin. (*Loud and prolonged applause and cheers. All rise. Greetings to Comrade Stalin in the languages of the various peoples of the U.S.S.R.*)

Comrades, the working people of the whole world are watching our struggle. They rejoice at our successes, at our victories. They listen to Comrade Stalin's words, for his precepts are a program of action not only for the working people of our country but for the whole of advanced and progressive mankind.

We are steadily advancing towards new victories, towards new conquests under the guidance of our great teacher and leader, Comrade Stalin. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Comrades, allow me, on behalf of the Council of Seniors of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities, to move that we elect a Supreme Court of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to consist of 45 members. (*Applause.*)

The Chairman: Are there any other motions on the number of members of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R.? No. We shall proceed to vote on Deputy Badayev's motion that we elect the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. to consist of 45 members. Those in favour of this motion, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

The motion is adopted unanimously.

Badayev: On behalf of the Council of Seniors of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities, I move that we elect the President of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R.

The Chairman: A motion has been made that we elect the President of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. Are there any other motions? No. I shall put it to the vote. Those in favour of electing the President of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R., please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

The motion is adopted unanimously.

Badayev: On behalf of the Council of Seniors of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities, I move that we elect Comrade *Ivan Terentyevich Golyakov* President of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R.

The Chairman: Are there any other motions? No. Are there any objections to the candidacy of Comrade Golyakov? No. I shall put Comrade Badayev's motion to the vote. Those in favour of electing Ivan Terentyevich Golyakov President of the Supreme Court of the Union

of Soviet Socialist Republics, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Comrade Ivan Terentyevich Golyakov is unanimously elected President of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R.. (*Loud applause.*)

Badayev: On behalf of the Council of Seniors of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities, I move that the following comrades be elected members of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R., the vote on each candidate to be taken separately.

Georgi Alexeyevich Alexeyev
Usman Abdurakhmanov
Alexan Agabekovich Alexanyan
Mikhail Alexeyevich Boyarkin
Alexei Alexeyevich Bulenkov
Vasili Vasilyevich Bukanov
Ekaterina Arkhipovna Volk
Andrei Grigoryevich Gussev
Ivan Vasilyevich Detistov
Leonid Dmitriyevich Dmitriyev
Dmitri Yakovlevich Zhukov
Ivan Mikheyevich Zaryanov
Boris Ivanovich Yevlev
Pyotr Alexeyevich Kameron
Nury Karajayeva
Fyodor Arsenyevich Klimin
Ivan Vladimirovich Kornev
Raissa Yakovlevna Korobko
Dmitri Yakovlevich Kandybin
Sergei Terentyevich Lodyssev
Maria Nikolayevna Malinina
Ivan Ossipovich Matulevich
Nikolai Alexandrovich Naumov
Iona Timofeyevich Nikitchenko
Anna Nazarovna Nazarova
Pavel Yefimovich Orlovsky
Ivan Konstantinovich Ogurtsov
Alexander Moisseyevich Orlov
Konstantin Alexandrovich Ponkratov
Gadji Mamedovich Rakhimov
Anna Alexandrovna Romanova
Mikhail Grigoryevich Romanychev

Tyugulbai Sakiyev
Andrei Petrovich Solodilov
Lyubov Korneyevna Saulenko
Evdokia Vasilyevna Smirnova
Andrei Grigoryevich Suslin
Nikolai Alexeyevich Solonitsin
Vasili Vasilyevich Ulrich
Vladimir Alexeyevich Uspensky
Baimukhamed Chagirov
Alexander Alexandrovich Cheptsov
Afanasi Levanovich Chkhetiani
Zarif Sharifov

The Chairman: Are there any other motions on this question? No. We shall now proceed to vote on each of the candidates individually.

Georgi Alexeyevich Alexeyev.

Are there any objections? No. I shall put it to the vote. Those in favour of electing Georgi Alexeyevich Alexeyev member of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R., please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Comrade Georgi Alexeyevich Alexeyev is elected unanimously.

Usman Abdurakhmanov.

Are there any objections? No. I shall put it to the vote. Those in favour of electing Usman Abdurakhmanov member of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R., please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Comrade Usman Abdurakhmanov is elected unanimously.

Alexan Agabekovich Alexanyan.

Are there any objections? No. I shall put it to the vote. Those in favour of electing Alexan Agabekovich Alexanyan member of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R., please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Comrade Alexan Agabekovich Alexanyan is elected unanimously.

Mikhail Alexeyevich Boyarkin.

Are there any objections? No. I shall put it to the vote. Those in favour of electing Mikhail Alexeyevich Boyarkin member of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R., please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Comrade Mikhail Alexeyevich Boyarkin is elected unanimously.

Alexei Alexeyevich Bulenkov.

Are there any objections? No. I shall put it to the vote. Those in favour of electing Alexei Alexeyevich Bulenkov member of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R., please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Comrade Alexei Alexeyevich Bulenkov is elected unanimously.

Vasili Vasilyevich Bukanov.

Are there any objections? No. I shall put it to the vote. Those in favour of electing Vasili Vasilyevich Bukanov member of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R., please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Comrade Vasili Vasilyevich Bukanov is elected unanimously.

Ekaterina Arkhipovna Volk.

Are there any objections? No. I shall put it to the vote. Those in favour of electing Ekaterina Arkhipovna Volk member of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R., please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Comrade Ekaterina Arkhipovna Volk is elected unanimously.

Andrei Grigoryevich Gussev.

Are there any objections? No. I shall put it to the vote. Those in favour of electing Andrei Grigoryevich Gussev member of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R., please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Comrade Andrei Grigoryevich Gussev is elected unanimous ly.

Ivan Vasilyevich Detistov.

Are there any objections? No. I shall put it to the vote. Those in favour of electing Ivan Vasilyevich Detistov member of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R., please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Comrade Ivan Vasilyevich Detistov is elected unanimously.

Leonid Dmitriyevich Dmitriyev.

Are there any objections? No. I shall put it to the vote. Those in favour of electing Leonid Dmitriyevich Dmitriyev member of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R., please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Comrade Leonid Dmitriyevich Dmitriyev is elected unanimously.

Dmitri Yakovlevich Zhukov.

Are there any objections? No. I shall put it to the vote. Those in favour of electing Dmitri Yakovlevich Zhukov member of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R., please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Comrade Dmitri Yakovlevich Zhukov is elected unanimously.

Ivan Mikheyevich Zaryanov.

Are there any objections? No. I shall put it to the vote. Those in favour of electing Ivan Mikheyevich Zaryanov member of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R., please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Comrade Ivan Mikheyevich Zaryanov is elected unanimously.

Boris Ivanovich Yevlev.

Are there any objections? No. I shall put it to the vote. Those in favour of electing Boris Ivanovich Yevlev member of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R., please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Comrade Boris Ivanovich Yevlev is elected unanimously.

Pyotr Alexeyevich Kameron.

Are there any objections? No. I shall put it to the vote. Those in favour of electing Pyotr Alexeyevich Kameron member of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R., please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Comrade Pyotr Alexeyevich Kameron is elected unanimously.

Nury Karajayeva.

Are there any objections? No. I shall put it to the vote. Those in favour of electing Nury Karajayeva member of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R., please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Comrade Nury Karajayeva is elected unanimously.

Fyodor Arsenyevich Klimin.

Are there any objections? No. I shall put it to the vote. Those in favour of electing Fyodor Arsenyevich Klimin member of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R., please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Comrade Fyodor Arsenyevich Klimin is elected unanimously.

Ivan Vladimirovich Kornev.

Are there any objections? No. I shall put it to the vote. Those in favour of electing Ivan Vladimirovich Kornev member of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R., please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Comrade Ivan Vladimirovich Kornev is elected unanimously.

Raissa Yakovlevna Korobko.

Are there any objections? No. I shall put it to the vote. Those in favour of electing Raissa Yakovlevna Korobko member of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R., please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Comrade Raissa Yakovlevna Korobko is elected unanimously.

Dmitri Yakovlevich Kandybin.

Are there any objections? No. I shall put it to the vote. Those in favour of electing Dmitri Yakovlevich Kandybin member of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R., please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Comrade Dmitri Yakovlevich Kandybin is elected unanimously.

Sergei Terentyevich Lodyssev.

Are there any objections? No. I shall put it to the vote. Those in favour of electing Sergei Terentyevich Lodyssev member of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R., please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Comrade Sergei Terentyevich Lodyssev is elected unanimously.

Maria Nikolayevna Malinina.

Are there any objections? No. I shall put it to the vote. Those in favour of electing Maria Nikolayevna Malinina member of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R., please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Comrade Maria Nikolayevna Malinina is elected unanimously.

Ivan Ossipovich Matulevich.

Are there any objections? No. I shall put it to the vote. Those in favour of electing Ivan Ossipovich Matulevich member of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R., please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Comrade Ivan Ossipovich Matulevich is elected unanimously.

Nikolai Alexandrovich Naumov.

Are there any objections? No. I shall put it to the vote. Those in favour of electing Nikolai Alexandrovich Naumov member of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R., please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Comrade Nikolai Alexandrovich Naumov is elected unanimously.

Iona Timofeyevich Nikitchenko.

Are there any objections? No. I shall put it to the vote.

Those in favour of electing Iona Timofeyevich Nikitchenko member of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R., please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Comrade Iona Timofeyevich Nikitchenko is elected unanimously.

Anna Nazarovna Nazarova.

Are there any objections? No. I shall put it to the vote. Those in favour of electing Anna Nazarovna Nazarova member of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R., please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Comrade Anna Nazarovna Nazarova is elected unanimously.

Pavel Yefimovich Orlovsky.

Are there any objections? No. I shall put it to the vote. Those in favour of electing Pavel Yefimovich Orlovsky member of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R., please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Comrade Pavel Yefimovich Orlovsky is elected unanimously.

Ivan Konstantinovich Ogurtsov.

Are there any objections? No. I shall put it to the vote. Those in favour of electing Ivan Konstantinovich Ogurtsov member of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R., please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Comrade Ivan Konstantinovich Ogurtsov is elected unanimously.

Alexander Moisseyevich Orlov.

Are there any objections? No. I shall put it to the vote. Those in favour of electing Alexander Moisseyevich Orlov member of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R., please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Comrade Alexander Moisseyevich Orlov is elected unanimously.

Konstantin Alexandrovich Ponkratov.

Are there any objections? No. I shall put it to the vote. Those in favour of electing Konstantin Alexandrovich Ponkratov member of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R., please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Comrade Konstantin Alexandrovich Ponkratov is elected unanimously.

Gadji Mamedovich Rakhimov.

Are there any objections? No. I shall put it to the vote. Those in favour of electing Gadji Mamedovich Rakhimov member of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R., please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Comrade Gadji Mamedovich Rakhimov is elected unanimously.

Anna Alexandrovna Romanova.

Are there any objections? No. I shall put it to the vote. Those in favour of electing Anna Alexandrovna Romanova member of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R., please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Comrade Anna Alexandrovna Romanova is elected unanimously.

Mikhail Grigoryevich Romanychev.

Are there any objections? No. I shall put it to the vote. Those in favour of electing Mikhail Grigoryevich Romanychev member of the

Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R., please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Comrade Mikhail Grigoryevich Romanychev is elected unanimously.

Tyugulbai Sakiyev.

Are there any objections? No. I shall put it to the vote. Those in favour of electing Tyugulbai Sakiyev member of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R., please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Comrade Tyugulbai Sakiyev is elected unanimously.

Andrei Petrovich Solodilov.

Are there any objections? No. I shall put it to the vote. Those in favour of electing Andrei Petrovich Solodilov member of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R., please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Comrade Andrei Petrovich Solodilov is elected unanimously.

Lyubov Korneyevna Saulenko.

Are there any objections? No. I shall put it to the vote. Those in favour of electing Lyubov Korneyevna Saulenko member of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R., please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Comrade Lyubov Korneyevna Saulenko is elected unanimously.

Evdokia Vasilyevna Smirnova.

Are there any objections? No. I shall put it to the vote. Those in favour of electing Evdokia Vasilyevna Smirnova member of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R., please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Comrade Evdokia Vasilyevna Smirnova is elected unanimously.

Andrei Grigoryevich Suslin.

Are there any objections? No. I shall put it to the vote. Those in favour of electing Andrei Grigoryevich Suslin member of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R., please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Comrade Andrei Grigoryevich Suslin is elected unanimously.

Nikolai Alexeyevich Solonitsin.

Are there any objections? No. I shall put it to the vote. Those in favour of electing Nikolayi Alexeyevich Solonitsin member of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R., please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Comrade Nikolai Alexeyevich Solonitsin is elected unanimously.

Vasili Vasilyevich Ulrich.

Are there any objections? No. I shall put it to the vote. Those in favour of electing Vasili Vasilyevich Ulrich member of the Supreme

Court of the U.S.S.R., please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Comrade Vasili Vasilyevich Ulrich is elected unanimously.

Vladimir Alexeyevich Uspensky.

Are there any objections? No. I shall put it to the vote. Those in favour of electing Vladimir Alexeyevich Uspensky member of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R., please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Comrade Vladimir Alexeyevich Uspensky is elected unanimously.

Baimukhamed Chagirov.

Are there any objections? No. I shall put it to the vote. Those in favour of electing Baimukhamed Chagirov member of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R., please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Comrade Baimukhamed Chagirov is elected unanimously.

Alexander Alexandrovich Cheptsov.

Are there any objections? No. I shall put it to the vote. Those in favour of electing Alexander Alexandrovich Cheptsov member of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R., please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Comrade Alexander Alexandrovich Cheptsov is elected unanimously.

Afanasi Levanovich Chkhetiani.

Are there any objections? No. I shall put it to the vote. Those in favour of electing Afanasi Levanovich Chkhetiani member of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R., please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Comrade Afanasi Levanovich Chkhetiani is elected unanimously.

Zarif Sharifov.

Are there any objections? No. I shall put it to the vote. Those in favour of electing Zarif Sharifov member of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R., please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Comrade Zarif Sharifov is elected unanimously.

I shall now take a vote on the membership of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. as a whole. Those in favour of confirming the membership of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. as a whole, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

The members of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. are elected unanimously. (*Applause.*)

I call upon Deputy Badayev.

A. E. Badayev: On behalf of the Council of Seniors of the Soviet

of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities, I move that we elect twenty people's assessors of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R.

The Chairman: Are there any deputies wishing to make other motions on this subject?

Voices: Adopt.

The Chairman: I shall put it to the vote. Those in favour of adopting Deputy Badayev's motion, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Comrade Badayev's motion is carried unanimously.

A. E. Badayev: On behalf of the Council of Seniors of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities I move that the following comrades be elected people's assessors of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R.:

Mastura Avezova
Tulea Aldabergenov
Stepan Nikitich Baryshev
Roman Vasilyevich Belan
Miron Dmitriyevich Dyukanov
Grigori Markelovich Ilyin
Olga Fyodorovna Leonova
Nikolai Timofeyevich Malyushin
Vasili Stepanovich Minayev
Tishabai Mirzayev
Mir Asadulla Mir Alesker-ogly Mir Kasimov
Vasili Fyodorovich Molyakov
Alexander Stepanovich Ognev
Pyotr Semyonovich Orlov
Nikolai Stepanovich Smetanin
Tsatur Alekovich Tsaturyan
Andrei Vasilyevich Tsiklauri
Murad Chuletov
Galim Shamsutdinovich Shamsutdinov
Pelageya Ostapovna Yakush

The Chairman: Are there any motions on this subject?

Voices: Put it to the vote.

The Chairman: There is a motion to put it to the vote. We shall proceed to vote on each candidacy for people's assessor of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. individually.

Mastura Avezova.

Are there any objections? No. I shall put it to the vote. Those in favour of electing Mastura Avezova people's assessor of the Supreme

Court of the U.S.S.R., please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Comrade Mastura Avezova is elected unanimously.

Tulea Aldabergenov.

Are there any objections? No. I shall put it to the vote. Those in favour of electing Tulea Aldabergenov people's assessor of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R., please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Comrade Tulea Aldabergenov is elected unanimously.

Stepan Nikitich Baryshev

Are there any objections? No. I shall put it to the vote. Those in favour of electing Stepan Nikitich Baryshev people's assessor of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R., please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Comrade Stepan Nikitich Baryshev is elected unanimously.

Roman Vasilyevich Belan.

Are there any objections? No. I shall put it to the vote. Those in favour of electing Roman Vasilyevich Belan people's assessor of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R., please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Comrade Roman Vasilyevich Belan is elected unanimously.

Miron Dmitriyevich Dyukanov.

Are there any objections? No. I shall put it to the vote. Those in favour of electing Miron Dmitriyevich Dyukanov people's assessor of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R., please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Comrade Miron Dmitriyevich Dyukanov is elected unanimously.

Grigori Markelovich Ilyin.

Are there any objections? No. I shall put it to the vote. Those in favour of electing Grigori Markelovich Ilyin people's assessor of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R., please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Comrade Grigori Markelovich Ilyin is elected unanimously.

Olga Fyodorovna Leonova.

Are there any objections? No. I shall put it to the vote. Those in favour of electing Olga Fyodorovna Leonova people's assessor of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R., please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Comrade Olga Fyodorovna Leonova is elected unanimously.

Nikolai Timofeyevich Malyushin.

Are there any objections? No. I shall put it to the vote. Those in favour of electing Nikolai Timofeyevich Malyushin people's assessor

of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R., please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Comrade Nikolai Timofeyevich Malyushin is elected unanimously.

Vasili Stepanovich Minayev.

Are there any objections? No. I shall put it to the vote. Those in favour of electing Vasili Stepanovich Minayev people's assessor of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R., please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Comrade Vasili Stepanovich Minayev is elected unanimously.

Tishabai Mirzayev.

Are there any objections? No. I shall put it to the vote. Those in favour of electing Tishabai Mirzayev people's assessor of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R., please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Comrade Tishabai Mirzayev is elected unanimously.

Mir Asadulla Mir Alesker-ogly Mir Kasimov.

Are there any objections? No. I shall put it to the vote. Those in favour of electing Mir Asadulla Mir Alesker-ogly Mir Kasimov people's assessor of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R., please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Comrade Mir Asadulla Mir Alesker-ogly Mir Kasimov is elected unanimously.

Vasili Fyodorovich Molyakov.

Are there any objections? No. I shall put it to the vote. Those in favour of electing Vasili Fyodorovich Molyakov people's assessor of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R., please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Comrade Vasili Fyodorovich Molyakov is elected unanimously.

Alexander Stepanovich Ognev.

Are there any objections? No. I shall put it to the vote. Those in favour of electing Alexander Stepanovich Ognev people's assessor of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R., please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Comrade Alexander Stepanovich Ognev is elected unanimously.

Pyotr Semyonovich Orlov.

Are there any objections? No. I shall put it to the vote. Those in favour of electing Pyotr Semyonovich Orlov people's assessor of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R., please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions.? No.

Comrade Pyotr Semyonovich Orlov is elected unanimously.

Nikolai Stepanovich Smetanin.

Are there any objections? No. I shall put it to the vote. Those in favour of electing Nikolai Stepanovich Smetanin people's assessor of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R., please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Comrade Nikolai Stepanovich Smetanin is elected unanimously.

Tsatur Alekovich Tsaturyan.

Are there any objections? No. I shall put it to the vote. Those in favour of electing Tsatur Alekovich Tsaturyan people's assessor of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R., please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Comrade Tsatur Alekovich Tsaturyan is elected unanimously.

Andrei Vasilyevich Tsiklauri.

Are there any objections? No. I shall put it to the vote. Those in favour of electing Andrei Vasilyevich Tsiklauri people's assessor of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R., please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Comrade Andrei Vasilyevich Tsiklauri is elected unanimously.

Murad Chuletov.

Are there any objections? No. I shall put it to the vote. Those in favour of electing Murad Chuletov people's assessor of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R., please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Comrade Murad Chuletov is elected unanimously.

Galim Shamsutdinovich Shamsutdinov.

Are there any objections? No. I shall put it to the vote. Those in favour of electing Galim Shamsutdinovich Shamsutdinov people's assessor of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R., please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Comrade Galim Shamsutdinovich Shamsutdinov is elected unanimously.

Pelageya Ostapovna Yakush.

Are there any objections? No. I shall put it to the vote. Those in favour of electing Pelageya Ostapovna Yakush people's assessor of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R., please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Comrade Pelageya Ostapovna Yakush is elected unanimously.

I shall now take a vote on the people's assessors of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. *en bloc*. Those in favour of confirming the people's assessors of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. *en bloc*, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

The people's assessors of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. are elected unanimously. (*Applause.*)

Comrades, a motion has been made to adjourn for fifteen minutes. Are there any objections?

Voices: No.

The Chairman: Adjournment for fifteen minutes.

(*Adjournment.*)

The Chairman: The sitting is resumed. We shall proceed to discuss the fourth item on the agenda—the Citizenship of the U.S.S.R. Bill. I call upon the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the R.S.F.S.R., Deputy Bulganin.

N. A. Bulganin (*Moscow City Area R.S.F.S.R.*): Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet. I have been commissioned by the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. to report to the Session on the Citizenship of the U.S.S.R. Bill. This Bill is of exceptional significance to our state, for it supplies the answer to the question of who is a citizen of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The October Socialist Revolution and our great Lenin instituted the appellation of citizen of the Soviet Socialist Republic.

Comrade Stalin and the Constitution of which he is the author have raised this name of citizen of the U.S.S.R. to immeasurable heights.

It is a great honour to be a citizen of our country, the country in which, as a result of the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Stalin, Socialism has become a reality.

A citizen of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics has the rights and duties conferred on him by the only really democratic constitution in the world, the Stalin Constitution. The citizen of the U.S.S.R. must be worthy of these rights and duties.

Citizenship defines the state to which a person belongs, and determines the legal status of a person not only within the state but also outside of it, in international intercourse.

It is here necessary to be firmly guided by Comrade Stalin's reminder that the Soviet state in which we live is surrounded by capitalist countries and that this capitalist encirclement is not only a geographical conception, but that "as long as the capitalist encirclement exists we shall have wreckers, spies, diversionists and assassins sent to our rear by agents of foreign states."

It is obvious that under these conditions the question of citizenship of the U.S.S.R. must be treated in a special way.

The Union Citizenship Act of October 29, 1924, accorded provincial executive committees the right in a number of cases to confer U.S.S.R. citizenship.

This provision was preserved in the law of April 22, 1931, which has been in operation to this day.

We cannot but admit that to accord to regional and territorial executive committees, and in some exceptional cases even to district executive committees, the right of conferring citizenship of the U.S.S.R. is not expedient.

The Government cannot consider the right of conferring citizenship of the U.S.S.R. a local question. It is a matter of great state importance. In addition, experience has shown that such a practice of conferring citizenship does not answer the requirements of expediency and is therefore inacceptable.

The new Citizenship of the U.S.S.R. Bill, introduced by the Government for the approval of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., is wholly and entirely based on the principles of the Stalin Constitution.

To begin with, this Bill is based on the inviolable principle of the formal and actual equality of rights of Soviet citizens in the Socialist state in all spheres of economic, state, cultural, social and political life, irrespective of the citizens' nationality or race, and also irrespective of their sex, since women in the U.S.S.R. are accorded equal rights with men.

Soviet legislation on citizenship now, as in the past, is of tremendous progressive significance. It realizes the underlying ideas of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

It is common knowledge that, under the influence of the principles of our law, particularly the establishment of the equality of rights of the two parties to a marriage, of their equality in the sphere of citizenship, and the abandonment of the reactionary rule that a wife automatically acquires the citizenship of her husband, some bourgeois democratic countries have amended their laws. However, we are also well acquainted with the true nature of bourgeois democracy. In his report at a meeting held in celebration of the twentieth anniversary of the Great October Revolution, Comrade Molotov said:

"In bourgeois states of the democratic type the equality of rights of citizens is formally proclaimed, but some of these citizens continue to be exploited and oppressed, while others continue to be the exploiters and oppressors of their people."

Bourgeois legislation on citizenship not only reflects the state of stagnation but also the degradation, the crumbling, of the capitalist system. In this regard the legislation of fascist countries is characteristic, surpassing as it does in fiendishness and obscurantism all that is known to us from the history of the Middle Ages. The fascists have proclaimed the most savage, misanthropic race "theory" and, in line with this "theory," have promulgated a number of "laws" which in reality are nothing but acts of barbarism. In its so-called "Nuremberg laws," passed in September 1935, German fascism divided citizens into categories, with the possession of pure German blood as the criterion.

There is no need to explain this misanthropic statute. Its fiendishness, typical of the Middle Ages, is clear to everyone.

Envious of the laurels of German fascism, the Italian fascists are copying Hitler obscurantism on an ever increasing scale. Quite recently Italian fascism, taking its cue from the same race "theory" has pro-

mulgated a whole series of laws legitimatizing the rule of obscurantism and barbarism.

The race "theory" vividly exposes the reactionary character of fascism, the reactionary character of contemporary capitalism.

The U.S.S.R. is the most progressive country in the world; it stands opposed to all obscurantism and misanthropy. Only in the Land of Socialism is it possible to have a law on citizenship such as ours. This law is the most revolutionary legislative enactment on citizenship in the history of mankind. Only in the U.S.S.R., where the people themselves administer the state under the leadership of the Party of Lenin and Stalin, is such a law possible.

The Citizenship of the U.S.S.R. Bill introduced by the Government for the approval of the Session of the Supreme Soviet follows logically from the structural composition of our Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Our Socialist state is a federal state, formed on the basis of the voluntary union of Soviet Socialist Republics possessing equal rights. Therefore the proposed Citizenship of the U.S.S.R. Bill provides that with regard to the Union as a whole all the Union republics are equal.

Article 1 of the Bill re-states the principle of the Stalin Constitution establishing one Union citizenship for the citizens of all Union republics. Every citizen of a Union republic is a citizen of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Our Soviet Union is made up of independent, sovereign Soviet republics. This also implies the existence of citizenship of the respective republics.

The Stalin Constitution establishes one Union citizenship. Every citizen of a Union republic is also a citizen of the U.S.S.R. This emphasizes the monolithic character of the Soviet state and the profound meaning of its national policy. All the republics are equal with regard to the Union as a whole; all citizens of the republics, being citizens both of the Soviet Union and of their respective republics, enjoy the same rights.

Thus Article 1 of the Citizenship of the U.S.S.R. Bill reflects the monolithic unity of the millions of the Soviet people, amalgamated in the great Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Article 2 of the U.S.S.R. Citizenship Bill precisely defines who is a citizen of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. All persons who on November 7, 1917, were subjects of the former Russian Empire and have not lost their Soviet citizenship, and also persons who have acquired Soviet citizenship since that time in the manner established by law, are citizens of the U.S.S.R.

Article 3 of the Citizenship of the U.S.S.R. Bill establishes that aliens, irrespective of their nationality or race, are admitted to U.S.S.R. citizenship, upon their petition, by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. or the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union Republic in which they reside.

The Constitutions of our Union republics provide that the conferring of the right of citizenship of the republic comes within the jurisdiction of its highest organs of power. Such is Article 19 of the Constitution of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic. The same provision is contained in the Constitutions of the other Union republics.

In accordance with the general purport of the Constitution of the Union and in line with the Constitutions of the Union republics, the U.S.S.R. Citizenship Bill proposes that the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. invest the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., and in the Union republics the Presidiums of the Supreme Soviets of the Union republics, with the function of conferring U.S.S.R. citizenship.

It is also contemplated in the Citizenship of the U.S.S.R. Bill that the Union republics will confer citizenship on persons residing within the given republic. In contradistinction to this, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. may, in addition to the persons mentioned above, confer citizenship of the U.S.S.R. on persons living abroad.

The laws of foreign states usually attach a number of conditions to the granting of citizenship to aliens, the chief of which is residence on the territory of the country in question during a specified period of time. In some countries, as for instance in Belgium, Poland and Rumania, the legal requirement is ten years' residence in the country.

Soviet law never stipulated such conditions for admission to citizenship. Nor does the Bill before you contain any such condition. The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet is free to confer U.S.S.R. citizenship on all whom it deems worthy of the name of Soviet citizen.

It is a great honour to be a citizen of the U.S.S.R. To acquire Soviet citizenship one must be worthy of this honour. All circumstances will be taken into account in examining applications for Soviet citizenship—where and how long the applicant has been living in the U.S.S.R. or abroad, what ties, if any, he maintains with the country of which he is a citizen, and—most important of all—what grounds there are for granting him citizenship of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Article 4 of the Citizenship of the U.S.S.R. Bill deals with the question of renouncing citizenship of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. "Renunciation of the citizenship of the U.S.S.R.," this article reads, "may be permitted by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R."

While in determining the procedure for admission to citizenship the Bill, in accordance with the Constitution, confers this right both on the Soviet Union and on the several Union republics, the Government considers that the right of decision in regard to renunciation of citizenship must be reserved to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

Article 5 of the Citizenship of the U.S.S.R. Bill reproduces the rule which, beginning with the Great October Socialist Revolution, has been unalterably applied in the matter of marriage, namely, that contraction of marriage by a male or female citizen of the U.S.S.R. with

a person who is not a citizen of the U.S.S.R. does not entail a change in citizenship.

Article 6 concerns the question of the citizenship of children. This article, like the preceding ones, repudiates the old reactionary conception that a wife automatically acquires the citizenship of her husband, that in all circumstances the father is the head of the family, while the wife and children are something in the nature of his chattels.

The attention paid by our state and public opinion to children, the powerful youth and children's movement in our country, are a guarantee that a change in the citizenship of children cannot follow automatically upon a change in the citizenship of the parents, if this is contrary to reason and progress.

On this ground the Bill gives children between the ages of fourteen and eighteen the right to declare whether or not they desire to take the citizenship of their parents. In all other cases changes in the citizenship of children under the age of eighteen can be effected only in the manner generally provided.

Article 7 of the Citizenship of the U.S.S.R. Bill deals with the circumstances under which a citizen may be deprived of citizenship. The name of Soviet citizen is a proud name, and one may be deprived of it only by sentence of court in cases when the law so provides, or by virtue of a ukase of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., specially issued in each case. It is obvious that the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. and our courts will exercise their right of deprivation of citizenship only with regard to such as prove unworthy of being members of our Socialist society.

Article 8 of the Citizenship of the U.S.S.R. Bill introduces a new regulation into our legislation. The laws that have been in operation up to the present contained no such clause. This article makes direct provision for persons without citizenship. This category includes persons who reside in the U.S.S.R., but are not citizens of the Soviet Union and have no proof to show that they are citizens of any foreign state.

The absence of proof of foreign citizenship by no means makes such persons citizens of the Soviet Union.

Citizenship of the U.S.S.R. cannot be acquired automatically.

Such are the regulations incorporated in the Citizenship of the U.S.S.R. Bill drafted by the Government.

Comrades, citizenship of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics rests on the foundation of the victories of Socialism. The Stalin Constitution consolidates these victories and guarantees to the citizens of our country such rights and liberties as have never been known in the history of mankind.

In his report on the draft Constitution of the U.S.S.R. Comrade Stalin, pointing out the specific features of our Constitution, said, among other things, that for it no active or passive citizens exist, that for it all citizens are active.

Our Constitution does not recognize any difference in rights between men and women, between settled people and nomads, between propertied and propertyless, between the educated and the uneducated. Under the Stalin Constitution all citizens enjoy equal rights. Neither property status nor national origin, neither sex nor occupation, but personal abilities and personal work determine the position of every citizen in society.

"Real liberty," said Comrade Stalin in an interview granted to Roy Howard, "can exist only where exploitation has been abolished, where there is no oppression of some by others, where there is no unemployment and poverty, where a man is not haunted by the fear of being tomorrow deprived of work, of home and of bread. Only in such a society is real liberty—personal and every other kind—rather than liberty on paper, possible."

Such a society has been created in our country; it has been created by the efforts of the workers and peasants, under the leadership of the Party of Lenin and Stalin.

The Stalin Constitution records the right of all citizens of the U.S.S.R. to work, *i. e.* guarantees them the right to employment and payment for their work in accordance with its quantity and quality.

Capitalist countries cannot guarantee all citizens the right to work. Unemployement is an inevitable companion of the capitalist system of production.

The Soviet Socialist state of workers and peasants not only makes real the right of its citizens to work, but also accords them the actual right to rest.

This right is ensured by the reduction of the working day to seven hours for the overwhelming majority of the workers. Citizens of the Soviet Union, both workers and employees, have the right to rest, the right to an annual vacation with full pay.

In the Soviet state the citizen has obtained ample opportunity to satisfy his needs for rest in cultured surroundings, in health resorts, sanatoriums, rest homes, theatres and parks of culture and rest, which have become an inseparable and indispensable part of everyday life.

The Soviet Socialist state considers it its duty to ensure the material security of those of its citizens, who, owing to old age, illness or invalid condition, have lost their capacity to work.

The Socialist state has organized social insurance for workers and employees and free medical service for all Soviet citizens. Citizens of the Soviet state have at their disposal a wide network of health resorts and various medical institutions. A citizen of the Soviet Union is at ease about his future. He is sure that he will not be left to the mercy of fate even when he loses his capacity to work.

A bourgeois state cannot assure its citizens more than an elementary schooling, but even this educational minimum is provided to the working people by the bourgeoisie only because a worker who can read and write and has a certain amount of education is a better worker than one who cannot read or write.

The Socialist state makes it possible for its citizens to receive free

of charge not only an elementary, but also an intermediate and higher education.

While the capitalist countries cannot establish even the formal equality of men and women, the Great October Revolution has put an end to the legal inequality of women citizens.

The Stalin Constitution, which develops the principles established by the former Soviet Constitutions and declarations regarding the abolition of all national privileges and restrictions, states:

"Any direct or indirect restriction of the rights of, or, conversely, any establishment of direct or indirect privileges for citizens on account of their race or nationality, as well as any advocacy of racial or national exclusiveness or hatred and contempt, is punishable by law."

The citizens of the Land of Soviets are guaranteed by law freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of assembly, including the holding of mass meetings, and freedom of street processions and demonstrations.

The rights of Soviet citizens are inseparable from and indissolubly bound up with their duties to their country.

A citizen of the Soviet Union must work and maintain labour discipline, observe the laws, safeguard and fortify public, Socialist property and defend our great and mighty country.

The Citizenship of the U.S.S.R. Bill establishes one Union citizenship for citizens of the U.S.S.R. "Every citizen of a Union republic is a citizen of the U.S.S.R." Such are the opening words of the Bill.

The principle that every citizen of a Union republic is at the same time a citizen of the Soviet Union, as well as that every citizen of the Soviet Union is at the same time a citizen of a Union republic, bears witness to the monolithic character of the multi-national Soviet state, the unity and equality of all the Soviet peoples, who under the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) and the leader of peoples, Comrade Stalin, are confidently marching towards Communism. (*Loud applause.*)

Comrades, it is a great honour to be a Soviet citizen. To be a Soviet citizen means to work jointly with the whole Soviet people, under the leadership of the Soviet Government and of the Party of Lenin and Stalin, for the consolidation and development of the might and prosperity of our wonderful Soviet Socialist country.

To be a Soviet citizen means to combat, jointly with the whole Soviet people and under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, the enemies of the Soviet Socialist state until they are completely exterminated.

To be a Soviet citizen means to march jointly with the whole Soviet people, with the Party of Lenin and Stalin, with the great Stalin and under his leadership, to the victory of Communism. (*Loud applause*).

To be a Soviet citizen—that means to march onward, cheerful in spirit and full of confidence, under the great banner of Marx, Engels,

Lenin and Stalin, under the guidance of our great leader and teacher—Comrade Stalin. (*Loud and prolonged applause and cheers in honour of Comrade Stalin. All rise.*)

The Chairman: Comrades, the discussion on the Citizenship of the U.S.S.R. Bill will be held in each of the Chambers separately. This closes the joint sitting of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities.

FOURTH SITTING

August 20, 1938

N. M. Shvernik, Chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities, T. D. Lysenko, Vice-Chairman of the Soviet of the Union, and C. A. Aslanova, Vice-Chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities, take their seats on the dais, and the members of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. and the leaders of the Party and the Government enter the boxes. They are greeted with loud and prolonged applause. All rise.

N. M. Shvernik (*in the chair*): I hereby open the joint sitting of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities. We shall proceed to consider the fifth item on the agenda —the Bill on the Procedure for Ratifying and Denouncing International Treaties of the U.S.S.R.

Deputy Schmidt will report on behalf of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Soviet of Nationalities. (*Applause*).

O. J. Schmidt (*Kazan Area, R. S. F. S. R.*): Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet. The Foreign Affairs Commission of the Soviet of Nationalities has introduced a Bill on the Procedure for Ratifying and Denouncing International Treaties of the U.S.S.R., and has entrusted, me, as a member of the Commission, to report on this Bill to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

By ratification is meant the confirmation of an international treaty by the supreme authority. Ratification is the act which gives final force to a treaty drawn up and signed by the plenipotentiaries of the respective states. In bourgeois countries the right of ratification is vested in the head of the government (in republican countries in the President). In the Soviet Union, in accordance with the Constitution, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. is, as Comrade Stalin has said, the collegium president. Clause "1" of Article 49 of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. states explicitly that the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. "ratifies international treaties."

The present Bill gives a precise definition of the treaties that are subject to ratification. It includes the most important treaties of a political nature, namely: peace treaties, treaties of mutual defence from aggression, and treaties of mutual non-aggression. There may be other treaties as well, such as commercial treaties, upon the conclusion of which the parties agree that, in view of their great importance, they shall be submitted for ratification to the highest organs of state power of the contracting states. Economic and other treaties upon the conclusion of which no provision was made for subsequent ratification do not require such ratification and may be confirmed by the Soviet Government—the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R.—according to general procedure. This may also apply to railway and postal conventions, etc.

Finally, Article 3 of the Bill states that the denunciation of treaties, *i. e.*, declaring them to be null and void, is also effected by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. Such abrogation of a treaty may be effected, for instance, either by mutual consent of the contracting parties, or if a reservation was made in the treaty itself providing that the parties have the right to announce the abrogation of the treaty, usually a certain time in advance.

The ratification of a treaty is intended to lend it greater force and to strengthen the guarantee that the obligations assumed in the treaty will be fulfilled.

However, comrades, you know from history, as well as from contemporary impressions, that it is by far not always that bourgeois countries carry out their international obligations.

Before our eyes the fascist aggressive governments have been particularly energetic in showing examples of non-fulfilment, one-sided abrogation and gross violation of international treaties. They often even make no attempt to disguise by any kind of artifice the fact that an international treaty is to them a mere scrap of paper—to be torn up at will. Japan, for instance, took part in drawing up and ratified the so-called Washington Nine-Power Treaty of February 6, 1922, "Relating to Principles and Politics to be Followed in Matters Concerning China." Article 1 of that treaty states that the contracting Powers agree "to respect the sovereignty, the independence, and the territorial and administrative integrity of China." But as a matter of fact the Japanese military invaded Chinese territory and set up puppet governments of their own creatures in the captured parts of China. Although war has not been formally declared, Japan is carrying on a real bloody war in China, bombing the peaceful population, and, regardless of all international agreements, trying to force her will on the vast Chinese people.

It is true, Japan miscalculated. The great Chinese people have not faltered before the aggressor and are manfully defending their country.

But the aggressor does not always meet with such resistance.

Less than a year before the seizure of Austria, Germany ratified the agreement concluded with her on July 11, 1936, in which the German government recognized the sovereignty of Austria and undertook not to interfere in Austria's home affairs, either directly or indirectly. Yet on the night of March 11, 1938, Austria ceased to exist as an independent state and fell under the heel of German fascism.

Together with other countries, Germany, Italy, and Japan concluded in Paris on August 27, 1928, the treaty known as the Briand-Kellogg

Pact, or, to call it by its full title, the "General Treaty for Renunciation of War as an Instrument of National Policy." This did not hinder Germany and Italy from arrogantly invading Spain, and from military intervention in her home affairs.

True, the aggressors miscalculated here, too. The heroic Spanish people have shown before the whole world their indomitable will to defend their independence, and an unfaltering energy that has aroused the wonder and admiration of the whole of advanced humanity.

The most important international agreement of the last decades is the Pact of the League of Nations. Article 10 of the Pact says: "The Members of the League undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all Members of the League." Article 16 of the Pact provides for collective aid to the victim of aggression by applying economic and military sanctions against the aggressor.

The bourgeois countries, however, even the democratic ones, have refused to enforce this article of the Pact they themselves drew up. They remain silent witnesses to the disappearance of Abyssinia from among the number of independent League members, and are presenting a still more ignominious picture of hypocrisy and of connivance at the agrressors' attack on Spain.

A number of other states, such as the Scandinavian states, for example, while not leaving the League of Nations formally, have stated beforehand that in case of aggression on the part of any other country they would take no part in collective measures against the aggressors, which means in fact that they have in advance taken the side of the aggressor, acting upon his instructions.

The number of such examples might be multiplied. Does it follow from such examples that we, too, must renounce international agreements as weapons of peace, and also regard treaties as scraps of paper? No, we will not follow that path. The fundamental principle of the international policy of the Soviet Union is the struggle for peace and the observance of treaties. This has been declared more than once by our brilliant fighter for peace, People's Commissar Maxim Maximovich Litvinov. (*Loud and prolonged applause.*)

This is what Comrade Litvinov said at the Session of the League of Nations Council on March 17, 1936:

"In our opinion there can be no struggle for peace without at the same time defending the inviolability of international treaties, especially of such as are directly concerned with the preservation of the existing frontiers, with armaments and with political or military aggression."

The Soviet Union, for its part, fulfils its obligations and means to fulfil them in the future. What great importance is attached by our Constitution to the fulfilment of international agreements may be seen from the fact that clause "j" of Article 49 states explicitly that the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., "in the intervals between sessions of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., declares a

state of war in the event of military attack on the U.S.S.R., or whenever necessary to carry out obligations of international treaties concerning mutual defence against aggression."

An international treaty signed and ratified by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. is not a scrap of paper. Our country has never once broken an international treaty that it has concluded.

The treaties we have concluded are inviolable, in the first place, because our policy is directed by the great Party of Lenin and Stalin, and Stalin's word is firm. (*Loud and prolonged applause.*)

Our treaties are inviolable because, in the second place, in our country there can be no change in the line of the Government or replacement of the workers' and peasants' Government by any other government. That cannot be, because Socialism has proved victorious in our country forever.

Our treaties are inviolable, because we are a peaceful power, we are a rich and flourishing country, and we have no need of other countries' land.

And, lastly, our treaties are inviolable because we shall never allow anyone to violate them. We shall effectively defend our frontiers and our peaceful labour from any attack. Only quite recently we proved that in practice, in giving an object lesson to the Japanese militarists when they tried to violate our frontiers. (*Loud and prolonged applause.*)

Our mighty Red Army, beloved of the whole people, will be able to command respect for the treaties that have been ratified by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. (*Prolonged applause.*)

At a time of a great crisis, at a time when cities have already been set ablaze in a number of countries, and when new wars may suddenly break out in any part of the world, our country remains impregnable. Our great fatherland is the only true hope of all the adherents of peace throughout the world. With love and hope are the eyes of working mankind turned to the Land of Socialism, the guiding light of humanity, to the glorious figure of the teacher and friend of the working people—Comrade Stalin. (*Prolonged applause and cheers. All rise. Greeting in the tongues of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. in honour of Comrade Stalin*).

The Chairman: Does anybody wish to speak on the report? No.

I call upon Deputy Dvinsky, who wishes to make a motion.

B. A. Dvinsky (*Taganrog Area, Rostov Region*): Comrades, Members of the Supreme Soviet. Article 49 of the Stalin Constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics establishes quite explicitly that the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. ratifies, *i. e.*, confirms, international treaties. In bourgeois countries the right of ratification is usually vested in the head of the state. In our country, in the U.S.S.R., this right is vested in a collective body—the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

International treaties of the U.S.S.R. may be either peace treaties, or treaties of mutual defence from attack and aggression, or treaties of mutual non-aggression.

It is a frequent practice in international relations that when a trea-

ty is being negotiated, the contracting parties agree that it should be subject to subsequent confirmation—to ratification by the highest organs of state power. It is therefore quite in order to propose that peace treaties, treaties of mutual defence from aggression, and treaties of mutual non-aggression, as well as other treaties upon the conclusion of which the signatories agree that they be subsequently confirmed, shall be ratified by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

Under certain conditions treaties are subject to denunciation. According to Article 49 of the Constitution, the right of denunciation is vested in the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. It is therefore quite in order to propose that the denunciation of international treaties shall be effected by ukase of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

The proposals submitted by Deputy Otto Juliyevich Schmidt to the present Session raise absolutely no doubts. Therefore I move that no debate be opened on Comrade Schmidt's report, and that the Bill on the Procedure for Ratifying and Denouncing International Treaties of the U.S.S.R. submitted to the joint sitting of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities be passed as a whole, since it fully conforms to the great Stalin Constitution. (*Prolonged applause.*)

The Chairman: Before we proceed to vote on Deputy Dvinsky's motion, permit me to state the following: Comrade Molotov, Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R., has informed me and asked me to inform the Second Session that the Government is in agreement with the Bill on the Procedure for Ratifying and Denouncing International Treaties of the U.S.S.R. introduced by the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Soviet of Nationalities.

I shall put Deputy Dvinsky's motion to the vote. Those in favour of dispensing with the debate on the report which we have heard, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No. Deputy Dvinsky's motion is carried unanimously.

We shall now proceed to vote on the Bill on the Procedure for Ratifying and Denouncing International Treaties of the U.S.S.R.

It is proposed that each of the Chambers shall vote separately. Are there any objections?

Voices: No.

The Chairman: The members of the Soviet of the Union will vote first. Those in favour of passing the Bill on the Procedure for Ratifying and Denouncing International Treaties of the U.S.S.R., please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

The Bill on the Procedure for Ratifying and Denouncing International Treaties of the U.S.S.R. is passed by the Soviet of the Union unanimously.

The members of the Soviet of Nationalities will now vote. Those in favour of passing the Bill on the Procedure for Ratifying and Denouncing International Treaties of the U.S.S.R., please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

The Bill on the Procedure for Ratifying and Denouncing International Treaties of the U.S.S.R. is passed by the Soviet of Nationalities unanimously. (*Prolonged applause.*)

We shall now proceed to consider the sixth item on the agenda—the Bill on a State Horse Tax on Individual Peasant Farms. Deputy Ugarov will report on behalf of the Legislative Bills Commission of the Soviet of the Union. (*Applause.*)

A. I. Ugarov (*Smolny Area, City of Leningrad*): Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet. The Legislative Bills Commission of the Soviet of the Union has submitted to the Second Session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. a Bill on a state horse tax on individual peasant farms, and has charged me to report to you on the contents of the Bill.

The overwhelming majority of the Soviet peasantry are collective farmers. All their work is based on collective labour and the application of up-to-date technique.

The collective farm system has been completely victorious in our country. According to data as per January 1, 1938, the collective farms include 93 per cent of all peasant farms and 99 per cent of their entire sowing area.

The dream of land which for ages haunted the village poor and the middle peasantry has been realized in practice in our Soviet life. The best lands are held by the collective farms in perpetuity. The Soviet peasant knows nothing either of landlessness or of a shortage of land. The life and activities of the millions of collective farmers in our country are regulated by that remarkable Stalin law—the statutes of the agricultural artel. Our working peasantry has been freed forever from bondage to landlords and kulaks and from the perpetual menace of ruin and starvation. The collective farms have brought our peasantry a prosperous and cultured life.

Tens of millions of farmers have become convinced by their own experience that the collective farm way is the only right way for the working peasantry, and that by working in common on their collective farms and applying up-to-date technique—tractors, harvester combines, and other agricultural machinery—they can steadily improve their material well-being and cultural development.

The collective farm system has proved victorious in our country, because the Government of the Soviet Union is a workers' and peasants' government, which from the very inception of the collective farms and all through their development has been helping them, and is continuing to help and assist them with funds, machinery and forces.

"Only here, in the Land of Soviets," said Comrade Stalin at the First All-Union Congress of Collective Farm Shock Brigade Workers, "does a government exist which stands solidly for the workers and collective farm peasants, for all the toilers of town and country against all the rich and the exploiters."

The collective farm system has been victorious in our country because we are led by the great Communist Party—the Bolsheviks, the Party of Lenin and Stalin. (*Applause.*)

The Communist Party and the Soviet Government are doing everything to further consolidate the collective farms and improve the life of the collective farm masses.

The decision of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. and of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. (B.) of April 19, 1938, prohibiting the expulsion of collective farmers from their collective farms, and the decisions dealing with incorrect distribution of income in collective farms, and with taxes and other duties to be imposed on individual peasant farms, go to prove how much care is being shown by the Communist Party and the Soviet Government to strengthen the collective farms and improve the life of the collective farmers.

And the collective farmers, men and women, respond to this care for them on the part of the Party and the Government by honest labour, by scrupulously discharging their obligations to the state and by their conscientious attitude towards collective farm property.

Day by day the collective farm system in our country is gaining in strength. With each day that passes the collective farms demonstrate ever more fully what enormous potentialities are latent in Socialist agriculture and what untold wealth may be obtained from the land by collective labour and up-to-date technique.

The toiling peasants all over the world, languishing under the yoke of bourgeois, landlord and kulak exploitation, and burdened by imposts and taxes of all kinds, can see in the collective farm system in our country a great example of how life can be made new, free and bright.

The collective farm path is open to every working peasant earning his bread by honest labour.

As you know, in addition to the collective farm peasantry, there exist in our country some individual peasant farms, representing, it is true, a very small group.

Our Constitution, as you know, permits the existence and operation of the small private economy of individual peasants and handicraftsmen, based on their personal labour and precluding the exploitation of the labour of others.

We cannot, however, overlook the fact that the individual peasants indulge in economic practices which actually represent a circumvention of the Soviet laws and an infringement of the interests of the collective farmers and of the Soviet state. The economic activities of the individual peasants are sometimes of a nature that places the individual peasant farm in an advantageous position as compared with the collective farm—a state of affairs which is fundamentally at variance with the policy of our Communist Party and of our Soviet state.

The collective farmers are justly drawing attention to these facts, and they are right in expressing their wish that a speedy stop be put to such practices.

A particularly vivid illustration of such practices is furnished by the way horses are utilized on the individual peasant farms. An inspection conducted by local Soviet organizations, as well as by the organs of the People's Commissariat of Finance, has fully confirmed the extensive

evidence of collective farmers to the effect that, as a rule, the individual peasants use their horses not for agricultural work on their own farms, but as a means of profiteering on all kinds of work outside the farm.

As far back as February 1933, at the First All-Union Congress of Collective Farm Shock Brigade Workers, Comrade Stalin said that "one section of the individual peasants has become utterly corrupt and gone in for profiteering." The use of horses for profiteering purposes has become quite widespread.

The individual peasants are sometimes known to purchase additional horses for the same profiteering purposes.

In the Chernigov region of the Ukrainian S.S.R., in the period between August 1, 1937, and August 1, 1938, 938 horses were purchased by individual peasants. Of these, 718 horses are being used for carting and 167 in logging and peat extraction.

The utilization of horses for similar profiteering purposes has been observed in a number of other territories and regions, as is borne out by the testimony of the collective farmers, who are justly drawing the attention of the local Soviet authorities to these facts.

The incomes derived from using horses for all kinds of purposes outside of farm work amount to quite big sums.

The data at the disposal of the Legislative Bills Commission of the Soviet of the Union when drafting the Bill on a State Horse Tax on Individual Peasant Farms show that these incomes amount to as much as 4,000-6,000 rubles a year, and sometimes even more, per farm.

Here are a few examples. In the Borovichi district of the Leningrad region, the income of an individual peasant farm derived from carting amounted in 1937 to over 7,000 rubles. In the Shilka district of the Chita region, the income of an individual peasant farm from using horses for carting freights amounted to over 8,000 rubles. In the Kostroma district of the Yaroslavl Region (Malyshev village Soviet), the average income from carting per individual peasant farm amounted to 7,000 rubles. In the Maloyaroslavetz district of the Moscow region, the income of an individual peasant farm derived from using horses for profiteering purposes amounted to 5,000-7,000 rubles.

On some farms the money made by using horses for profiteering purposes has become the principal source of income.

It is hardly necessary to prove that for individual peasants to use their horses not for agricultural work on their own farms, but for profiteering, definitely contradicts the Soviet laws and is detrimental to the interests of the collective farms and the collective farmers.

Up to the present, it was only in fixing the single agricultural tax that a horse has been considered as an object of taxation, the income from a horse being estimated at 120-140 rubles. But, as we have seen, horses are used by individual peasants for profiteering and bring in several thousand rubles a year each.

The widespread use of horses for profiteering undermines the discipline of the individual peasants as regards discharging all their duties to the state, furnishes them with an opportunity to evade the Soviet

laws, and has a decidedly bad influence on the less stable elements among the collective farmers. This state of affairs, comrades, cannot but have an undesirable effect on the remaining individual peasants as regards their joining collective farms.

It is in order to put a stop to the practice of individual peasants using their horses for profiteering, in order to improve the discipline of individual peasants as regards carrying out all their duties to the state, and in order to do away with the harmful influence which individual peasants who have gone in for profiteering exert on the less stable elements among the collective farmers, that the Legislative Bills Commission has submitted to the Session the Bill on a State Horse Tax on Individual Peasant Farms.

In introducing this bill, the Legislative Bills Commission of the Soviet of the Union is complying with the wishes often expressed by collective farmers that a stop be put to the practice of individual peasants using their horses for profiteering purposes, since such practices are in direct contradiction to the Soviet laws and to the policy of the Party and of the Soviet Government and decidedly detrimental to the interests of the collective farms and the collective farmers.

We are of the opinion that these recommendations of the collective farmers are perfectly legitimate. And it is to meet these wishes of the collective farmers that the Legislative Bills Commission has drawn up and submitted for consideration to the Second Session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. the Bill on a State Horse Tax on Individual Peasant Farms.

The Bill, as you see, provides for the division of the Union republics into two groups. The first covers the R.S.F.S.R., excluding a number of territories, regions and autonomous republics which are listed in the second group, the Ukrainian S.S.R. and the Byelorussian S.S.R. The second group includes the Azerbaidjan, Georgian, Armenian, Turkmen, Uzbek, Tadjik, Kazakh and Kirghiz Soviet Socialist Republics, the Far-Eastern and Krassnoyarsk Territories, the Irkutsk and Chita Regions, and the Daghestan, Buryat-Mongolian, Kabardino-Balkarian, Kalmyk, Karelian, Komi, North Ossetian, Chechen-Ingush and Yakut Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republics.

In dividing the Union republics into groups, we have been guided by the consideration that the income derived from using horses is not the same in the different republics.

According to the data at the disposal of the Legislative Bills Commission, the profits from horses in the R.S.F.S.R., the Ukrainian S.S.R. and the Byelorussian S.S.R. are higher than in the other republics. That is why we have deemed it necessary to divide all the Union republics into two groups, setting a correspondingly higher tax rate on horses of individual peasant farms in the first group of Union republics than in the second.

From the Bill, copies of which have been distributed to all the members of the Supreme Soviet, you will also see, comrades, that we suggest that two tax rates be fixed within each republic, within each region.

In this, again, we have been guided by the fact that the economic conditions prevailing in the various districts within the Union republics, autonomous republics, territories and regions are not uniform. The districts situated in the vicinity of industrial centres such as Moscow, Leningrad and Kharkov, districts in which work is going on on big construction projects, on timber-cutting and hauling, or on peat extraction, or districts situated in the neighbourhood of the latter, are not, of course, in respect of economic conditions in the same position as the districts where there are no such industries. That is the reason why we are proposing differentiated rates.

Now, as regards these rates themselves. We propose for the R.S.F.S.R., the Ukraine and Byelorussia a 400 ruble tax on the first horse in the first group of districts, and a 500 ruble tax in the second group of districts.

The Bill submitted by the Legislative Bills Commission provides for a higher tax-rate for each additional horse, since the possession of one or two additional horses constitutes still stronger proof that the horses are used for profiteering, and not for agricultural work, not for work on the farm itself. For that reason we suggest a tax of 700 rubles for the first group of districts and 800 rubles for the second.

In the second group of republics, territories and regions the rates suggested are respectively 275-350 rubles for the first horse and 450-550 rubles for each additional horse.

The Bill submitted by the Legislative Bills Commission further indicates the procedure for classing the different districts under the respective groups. This division into groups is to be effected by the executive committees of the territories and regions, and in the autonomous republics and the Union republics not divided into regions, by the Councils of People's Commissars.

The Bill presented by the Legislative Bills Commission provide that the special state tax on horses is to be paid by all individual peasant farms which at the time of the publication of the law have in their possession a horse three years old and over.

The Bill stipulates that the sale of horses after the publication of the law does not give exemption from payment of the tax for the current year. I think, comrades, that there is no need to go into details in order to explain the latter point; it is clear that by this provision we mean to prevent any attempts at selling off horses with a view to evading the law and to the detriment of the interests of the state.

October 15 is the term fixed by the Commission for the payment of the tax. As for those individual peasant farms which by October 15, 1938, shall have joined collective farms and handed over their horses to the collective farms, we propose that they be exempted from paying the state horse tax.

The last clause of the Bill assigns the revenues derived from the special state horse tax to the respective Budgets. As you see, all the revenues are to accrue to the Budgets of the Union and autonomous republics, territories, regions and districts: 25 per cent of the revenues to the Bud-

gets of the Union Republics; 25 per cent to the budgets of the territories, regions and autonomous republics, and 50 per cent to the district budgets. In this way one half of the entire revenue is assigned in the Bill to the district budgets.

This assignment of the revenue from the special state horse tax to the Budgets of the Union and autonomous republics, and the territories, regions and districts, will, in our opinion, produce in the district organizations the necessary interest in the timely collection of the special state horse tax and the proper organization of this work.

In submitting to the Second Session of the Supreme Soviet the Bill on a State Horse Tax on Individual Peasant Farms, the Legislative Bills Commission of the Soviet of the Union is of the opinion that the enactment of this law will enable us to put an end to the practice of using the horses in individual peasant farms for purposes of profiteering; that it will tend to strengthen discipline among the individual peasants with regard to the fulfilment of all their duties to the state; that it will serve as an incentive for all honest individual peasants to join collective farms, and that it will contribute to the organizational and economic consolidation of the collective farms.

The Legislative Bills Commission of the Soviet of the Union is firmly convinced that this Bill will meet with the unanimous approval of all the members of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. and of all the collective farmers, men and women, of our country. The collective farmers will see in this law an additional proof of the concern shown for the interests of the collective farmers by our Soviet Government, the Communist Party, and personally by Comrade Stalin. (*Loud applause.*)

The Chairman: Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet. The debate on the Bill on a State Horse Tax on Individual Peasant Farms will take place in each of the Chambers separately.

This closes the joint sitting of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities.

FIFTH SITTING

August 21, 1938

N. M. Shvernik, Chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities, T. D. Lysenko, Vice-Chairman of the Soviet of the Union, and C. A. Aslanova, Vice-Chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities, take their seats on the dais, and the members of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. and the leaders of the Party and the Government enter the boxes. They are greeted with loud and prolonged applause. All rise.

N. M. Shvernik (*in the chair*): I hereby open the joint sitting of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities.

We shall proceed to the seventh item on the agenda—the question of the All-Union Agricultural Exposition.

I call upon Deputy Khrushchov, who will speak on behalf of a group of deputies from the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. (*Loud and prolonged applause.*)

N. S. Khrushchov (*Krasnaya Presnya Area, City of Moscow*): Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet. Following the request of the Second All-Union Congress of Collective Farm Shock-Brigade Workers that an all-Union agricultural exposition be organized, a decision was passed the same day by the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. and the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. (B.) to grant the request of the All-Union Congress of Collective Farm Shock-Brigade Workers and organize an all-Union agricultural exposition in the City of Moscow.

This decision evoked a mighty response among the collective farmers—men and women—and among the workers on the state farms and in the machine and tractor stations. You know what great interest in the All-Union Agricultural Exposition has been shown by the people in the localities.

During the current year alone more than 60,000 applications have been received from collective farms, state farms, machine and tractor stations, as well as from outstanding individual workers in the sphere of Socialist agriculture, expressing a desire to take part in the All-Union Agricultural Exposition in Moscow. Every collective farmer realizes

that this exposition will demonstrate the best that has been produced by collective farm labour.

A few months after the decision concerning the organization of an all-Union agricultural exposition was adopted, a conference of foremost combine operators, sponsored by the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. (B.), was held in Moscow. In his speech at this conference, Comrade Stalin set the task of attaining within the next three or four years an annual production of 7,000,000,000-8,000,000,000 poods of grain.

This task roused the masses of collective farmers to strive for better organization of labour on the collective farms, for better cultivation of the collective farm fields, so as to obtain, in the near future, a yield of 7,000,000,000-8,000,000,000 poods of grain and thus carry out the slogan given by our leader, Comrade Stalin. (*Applause.*)

In fighting for the realization of this slogan, every collective farmer works for the consolidation of the collective farms and for a prosperous life for the collective farmers. The production of 7,000,000,000-8,000,000,000 poods of grain means prosperity; it means new culture in the villages, it means schools for the children of the collective farmers.

This struggle for a yield of 7,000,000,000-8,000,000,000 poods of grain has given rise to new trained forces—agronomists, livestock breeders, tractor drivers, harvester combine operators. In the struggle for the realization of Stalin's slogan of 7,000,000,000-8,000,000,000 poods of grain new forces have come to the fore among the collective farmers and the workers of state farms and machine and tractor stations. A new rural intelligentsia, one that has never been known to exist before, has made its appearance in the villages.

All these achievements must find their reflection at the All-Union Agricultural Exposition in Moscow. It must be an exposition that will show how the Bolsheviks have transformed the old poverty-stricken countryside of tsarist times into the flourishing collective farm countryside of the Soviet Union.

The victory of the collective farm system is a historic achievement of the Bolsheviks.

What was the countryside before the revolution, and what has it become at present?

The main farming implements available to the peasant in tsarist Russia were the *sokha* * and *kosulya* *, wooden ploughs and harrows. According to the census of 1910, the cultivating implements on peasant farms consisted of 7,800,000 *sokhas* and *kosulyas*, 2,200,000 wooden ploughs, 4,200,000 iron ploughs and 17,700,000 wooden harrows.

While in pre-revolutionary times agriculture was based on the *sokha*, the *kosulya*, the wooden plough, we have at present, in our Socialist agriculture, more than 470,000 tractors, with an aggregate capacity of 9,000,000 h. p. Already in 1936 the amount of work performed with the aid of tractors in the U.S.S.R. was twice as large as in the United States of America.

* Different types of primitive wooden ploughs.—Trans.

The peasant had ever been dreaming of land. But it was only through the victory of the Socialist revolution that he could obtain the land of his dreams. Before the revolution, by far the greatest part of the land belonged to landlords, monasteries, kulaks and other exploiters.

The landlords owned more than half the land in the Ukraine. The Polish landlords—Poto ki, Branicki and others—owned 1,600,000 hectares of black soil land. Michael Romanov owned 75,000 dessiatins of land in the steppe belt of the Ukraine, and Rodzyanko, former president of the State Duma, owned 26,500 dessiatins of land, while the Ukrainian peasantry were suffering from a shortage of land. About two-thirds of all the peasants owned less than 3 dessiatins of land to a household.

Thirty per cent of all the peasant households in tsarist Russia owned no horses, 34 per cent owned no implements, and 15 per cent were unable to sow their fields. Before the revolution, two million poor peasants hired themselves out every year as farm labourers to landlords and kulaks.

With the victory of the Socialist revolution in our country, with the victory of Socialism in our country, with the victory of the policy of our Party—the policy of Lenin and Stalin—the bitter lot of the peasant, so truthfully described by the poets Nekrasov and Shevchenko, has become a thing of the past.

At present we have 243,000 collective farms in our country, uniting 93 per cent of all peasant households. The collective farms cover 99 per cent of all the land cultivated by peasant farms, and combine over 18,000,000 peasant households.

As a result of the victory of the policy of the Bolshevik Party, as a result of the routing of the kulak class, our peasantry has reorganized its life on new, Socialist lines.

As a result of the victory of the two Stalin Five-Year Plans, we have reconstructed our agriculture on Socialist lines, just as we have reconstructed our entire industry.

We have a powerful technical force in the villages at present. We have 6,158 machine and tractor stations disposing of 137,748 harvester combines, 138,873 motor trucks, 104,323 complex and semi-complex threshing machines; and we have about 500,000 steel horses—tractors—working on our Soviet fields.

A new generation of our own, Soviet forces has grown up in the villages. We have in the countryside 734,000 tractor drivers, 165,000 harvester-combine operators, 124,000 chauffeurs, 10,000 flax-pulling machine operators, more than 240,000 chairmen of collective farms, 535,300 field brigade leaders, 263,800 managers of livestock farms and stock-breeding brigade leaders.

These people have come to the fore under the Socialist collective farm system, as a result of the victory which the working class and toiling peasantry have won in the fight against the enemies of the working class, against the enemies of all working people.

They form a tremendous army which is now heading and leading the

struggle for high harvest yields, for the realization of Stalin's slogan to obtain from our Socialist fields an annual harvest of 7,000,000,000-8,000,000,000 poods of grain.

Socialist agriculture is already yielding unprecedented harvests. Here, comrades, are a few examples.

The Shevchenko Collective Farm in the Yampol district, Vinnitsa Region, gathered 32 centners of winter wheat per hectare. This high harvest yield was obtained on an area of 400 hectares.

The Bolshevik Collective Farm in the same district harvested 26 centners of grain per hectare on an area of 756 hectares.

The collective farms that are served by the Semikolodez Machine and Tractor Station in the Crimean A.S.S.R. obtained an average harvest yield of 15 centners per hectare over an area of 12,254 hectares. These collective farms are now advancing their members from 4 to 10 kg. of grain per workday.

Comrades Sabilin and Leshchenko, harvester-combine operators of the Vasilyevsk Machine and Tractor Station in the Rostov Region, working on a pair of hitched "Stalinetz" combines, harvested 2,120 hectares of grain crops. About 120 carloads of grain passed through the bunkers of these harvester combines.

Here are some figures illustrating the improvement in the well-being of our country, the improvement in the well-being of our rural districts, of our Soviet people.

Before the revolution, the landlords and kulaks disposed of 72 per cent of all the marketable grain. At present, 97 per cent of the marketable grain is produced by the collective farms and state farms.

The average harvest in tsarist Russia was 4,000,000,000-5,000,000,000 poods of grain. Our Socialist agriculture yielded 7,000,000,000 poods of grain in 1937.

The growth of the harvest yields is accompanied by a growth in the income of the collective farmers. During the past two years the average income of a collective farmer's household has doubled, and in the central regions of the country it has trebled.

The family of Comrade Pelikhov, a collective farmer of the Stalin Agricultural Artel in the Orel district, Rostov Region, received 360 poods of wheat, 300 poods of rye and 2,114 rubles in cash as an advance on the workdays they had put in this year.

The collective farms and collective farmers of the Pervomaisk district, Odessa Region, have placed orders with the co-operative societies for goods to the amount of 6,500,000 rubles. In tsarist Russia a sum like this was spent on goods by the peasants of a whole province.

The collective farms and collective farmers of the Shirokoye district, Dniepropetrovsk Region, figure on spending 2,842,000 rubles on various goods this year. They have placed orders with the co-operative societies for 7 automobiles, 363 bicycles, 66 gramophones, 235 watches, 54 sewing machines, and 1,514,000 rubles' worth of textiles and other commodities.

In the past three years the collective farms of the Minusinsk district, Krassnoyarsk Territory, have purchased 120 automobiles, 1,840 bicycles, 810 sewing machines, 350 gramophones, 225 beds, 690 pocket and wrist watches. Formerly a peasant never even dreamed of sleeping in a bed, in decent style. He always slept on the floor, under a bunk. Nowadays, the peasants of the Land of Soviets acquire goods and order their lives with the best possible conveniences.

Our agriculture is developing from year to year, and the herd of cattle has been increasing. Comrade Stalin has set us the task of providing all the collective farmers with cows. In line with this task, the dairy and stock-raising departments of collective farms have in the last four years sold the collective farmers 1,500,000 heifers, 15,300,000 pigs and 4,400,000 ewes and lambs at reduced prices.

In the years 1933-37 the Soviet Government advanced the collective farms credits amounting to more than 30,000,000 rubles for the purpose of providing cows for collective farmers who owned none.

It is only in our Soviet Socialist country, comrades, that such help to the peasants as the help given by our Government to the collective farmers is at all possible.

In tsarist Russia about 30 per cent of all peasant households owned no cows. At present practically every collective farmer in our country has been provided with a cow.

These figures and facts show what enormous successes our Bolshevik Party and our Soviet Government have achieved in the course of the struggle to build Socialism in our country, in the struggle to advance and develop Socialist agriculture.

The rate of the increase in the harvest yield of grain crops and the growth of stock-raising which we see in our country are without parallel. We must see to it that these rates are not reduced; we must not relax our efforts in the struggle for an annual production of 7,000,000,000-8,000,000,000 poods of grain, in the struggle for the further development of our Socialist agriculture.

To achieve an annual production of 7,000,000,000-8,000,000,000 poods of grain means to achieve an increase unprecedented in history. And we will surely produce 8,000,000,000 poods of grain; for after the Great October Socialist Revolution, after the elimination of landlords, capitalists and kulaks, the workers and peasants have begun—for the first time in history—to work for themselves, and not for their oppressors, as they did in the past.

We have achieved all our successes because it is boundless love for the people, for the workers and peasants, that permeates all the activity of our own great and beloved Comrade Stalin. (*Loud and prolonged applause.*)

In the past the peasant's main worry was to have a horse to help him till his miserable strip of land . With the help of his wretched nag the poor man would toil from morn till night, "never seeing god's light," as the peasants used to say.

Today we have tractors, harvester combines, seeders, tractor threshers and other complex agricultural machines working in our Socialist fields. There are districts in our country where the collective

farmers no longer regard horse-drawn seeders and threshers as machines and refuse to use them.

After the rout of the landlords, capitalists and kulaks—these enemies of the workers and peasants—and beginning with the period of the organization of collective farms and the adoption of the Stalin statutes of the agricultural artel, the peasants of our country turned over a new leaf in their history. But we must safeguard all our achievements; we must not relent in our fight against the enemies of the working people—against the Trotskyites, Bukharinites and bourgeois nationalists; we must smash and exterminate them like mad dogs—exterminate them as the collective farmer exterminates weeds in the field.

We must develop Socialist competition more widely; we must organize the work of the collective farms better, in order to improve the cultivation of the soil, in order to realize Stalin's slogan and obtain big harvests every year.

Socialist competiton must be further extended throughout our country in connection with the preparations for the All-Union Agricultural Exposition.

Ours is not an exposition such as are held abroad, where the exhibitors are the owners of individual farms, individual capitalists, landlords and kulaks. Ours is an exposition for which millions of collective farmers—men and women—and state farm and machine and tractor station workers are preparing.

Not scattered strips belonging to individual farmers will be represented at our All-Union Agricultural Exposition, but the large areas of the enterprises of our powerful Socialist agriculture, of our collective farm system.

Our agricultural exposition, which will cover an area of 136 hectares, will have pavilions representing collective farm development and the mechanization of agriculture, pavilions for grain crops, stock-raising and industrial crops, as well as pavilions for the various zones, which will all show how the Bolsheviks have transformed backward Russia into the great Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, with its powerful mechanized Socialist agriculture.

The Agricultural Exposition will demonstrate the victories of Socialism in our country's agriculture.

The agricultural Exposition is designed to show how the Soviet power has organized large-scale Socialist agriculture out of small, scattered farms based on the three-field system of crop-rotation and employing antiquated farming implements, such as the *sokha* and horse-drawn plough, or such "harvesting machines" as the horse-drawn reaper.

The All-Union Agricultural Exposition must be representative of of the Socialist agriculture of our country. It must be representative of our mechanized Socialist agriculture, which is run on the largest scale in the world.

An examination into the state of the preparations for the All-Union Agricultural Exposition has shown us that it is not ready for opening in 1938. The work of the People's Commissariat of Agriculture and the

People's Commissariat of State Farms of the U.S.S.R., both in managing the construction of the All-Union Agricultural Exposition and in the selection of entrants, has been unsatisfactory.

The building of the pavilions has not been completed. After an examination by the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R., the plans of some of the pavilions are now being revised with a view to having the interior arrangement of the exhibits, as well as the architectural exterior, correspond to the idea of the All-Union Agricultural Exposition, namely, to show the achievements scored by our agriculture as a result of its successful reconstruction on Socialist lines.

But the principal shortcoming in the preparations for the Agricultural Exposition is the fact that uniform indices have been drawn up for practically all prospective participants, without due regard for the variety of agricultural zones in our country.

This principle of selection is wrong; for, considering the vast territory of the Soviet Union and the variety of climatic and soil conditions, we cannot have the same indices for all the entrants.

The principal grain-growing districts of the Dniepropetrovsk Region would have been represented by only 69 collective farms, and the Donetz Region by 27 collective farms, whereas the Kiev Region, which is not primarily a grain-growing region, would have been represented by 948 entrants, or 36 per cent of all the collective farms of the region. Yet this same Kiev Region, which is one of the principal sugar-beet growing regions, would have been represented by only 22 collective farms specializing in sugar beet.

A number of grain-growing districts of the East would have been poorly represented at the exposition. The Altai Territory, for instance, would have been represented by only 91 grain-growing collective farms, and the Novosibirsk Region by 136. At the same time, a number of regions which do not specialize in grain would have been represented at the exposition by hundreds of collective farms.

The representation of the foremost workers in the sphere of developing industrial crops augured to be the most unsatisfactory. In all the sugar-beet districts of the Soviet Union, only 98 persons had been selected as being entitled to send their exhibits, while the Vinnitsa Region, which is one of the principal sugar-beet growing regions in the Soviet Union, would have been represented by only five link-leaders.

The "Five-Hundred-ers," those who initiated the Stakhanov movement for big sugar-beet harvests, would not have been represented at the exposition at all.

In the case of cotton, exhibits had been received only from 148 persons. The Uzbek S.S.R., which produces 57 per cent of all the cotton grown in the Soviet Union, would have been represented by only 19 link-leaders.

As a result of the wrecking activities that attended the preparations for the exposition, nothing has been done to provide for such an important section as one showing the new and the old in the countryside. The dairy and stock-raising departments of collective farms would have been absent

altogether; nor would the work of the machine and tractor stations have been reflected at the exposition.

If we are to give a truthful picture of the development of agriculture and of all its achievements, and if we are to enlist the broad masses to take part in the All-Union Agricultural Exposition, indices must be drawn up to suit the various agricultural zones, and these indices must be scientifically corroborated. Then we shall have a proper basis for competition and for the preparation of the agricultural exposition.

It must be said that in a number of regions the selection of entrants for the exposition was carried out in an unsatisfactory manner.

In fourteen districts of the Saratov Region not a single collective farm had sent any exhibits. 244 collective farms of this region, whose indices entitle them to send exhibits, would not have been represented at the exposition.

In the Gorky Region, 438 collective farms had been registered as entrants. A check-up has elicited the fact that there are 719 more collective farms entitled to send exhibits. In the Orel Region, 168 collective farms had been registered as entrants; subsequently it has been brought to light that there are 400 more collective farms entitled to participate in the exposition.

We have a similar situation in the Ukraine. There have been very serious shortcomings in the preparations for the All-Union Agricultural Exposition in the regions of the Ukraine.

You see, comrades, that there still are big flaws in the preparations for the opening of the All-Union Agricultural Exposition. The organization of this agricultural exposition, however, is a very serious and responsible matter, and it would be wrong to show undue haste in opening it. We must all prepare for it in Bolshevik fashion, build appropriate pavilions, and select worthy entrants—the foremost people and organizations working in the sphere of Socialist agriculture.

We, a group of deputies from the Ukraine, having visited the site of the All-Union Agricultural Exposition and examined into the preparations for it, move that the opening of the All-Union Agricultural Exposition be fixed for August 1, 1939. We are certain that in the course of this year we shall achieve still greater successes in our Socialist agriculture.

We will achieve these successes because our country is now stronger than ever before. We have smashed the enemies of the people—the Trotskyites, Bukharinites and bourgeois nationalists. We have rid ourselves of this vermin and have become stronger and more powerful.

Our industry, transport and agriculture are advancing victoriously. Our Socialist national economy is growing and consolidating, and the wealth of our Socialist country is increasing with each day that passes. The wealth of our country is coveted by the fascist beasts of prey; they cast hungry eyes at our country. That is why, comrades, we must all of us watch the enemies with a vigilant eye, so as to be prepared to deal them a crushing blow the moment they attempt to attack our country.

Our glorious Workers' and Peasants' Red Army in the East demonstrated a few days ago how well it is able to guard the peaceful labours of our great Socialist country.

The German, Polish and other fascist dogs will do well to consider the lesson which our valiant Red Army has taught the aggressor in the East.

We say to the German and Polish fascists:

Don't entertain any dreams about the Ukrainian lands, don't hanker after the Ukrainian bacon, although it is indeed tasty and smells good.

We tell them in the words of the popular sayings: "Masha is a pretty lass, but she's not for you." (*Loud applause.*) "Good to look at, but walks the other way." (*Applause.*)

We say to them:

Remember, if you come to grab the Ukrainian bacon, we will feed you lead and shells.

We are pursuing a policy of peace, and the whole world knows and sees it. While pursuing our policy of peace, we are not afraid of threats and are prepared to answer the instigators of war blow for blow.

The workers, collective farmers, and state farm and machine and tractor station workers of our Socialist country are united as never before around our Party, the Party of Lenin and Stalin, and around its leader and teacher, Comrade Stalin. (*Applause.*)

Recently the elections to the Supreme Soviets of the Union and autonomous republics were held. They demonstrated once again the moral and political unity of the peoples of the Soviet Union.

The peoples of our great Soviet Socialist country are marching, vigorous and confident, under the guidance of our beloved leader and teacher, our great Stalin, forward to ever new victories—to Communism. (*Loud and prolonged applause.*)

The Chairman: We shall now proceed to the debate on the report on the All-Union Agricultural Exposition. I call upon Deputy Beria.

L. P. Beria (*Tbilisi-Stalin Area, Georgian S.S.R.*): Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. The question of the All-Union Agricultural Exposition, which we are discussing at this Session, is of great political importance. The aim of the exposition is to demonstrate the enormous successes of our Socialist agriculture.

Our Party and Lenin and Stalin have always devoted the greatest attention to the questions of the policy of the Party in the countryside, of the alliance between the working class and the peasantry. They have always attached exceptional importance to the reconstruction of agriculture on Socialist lines.

It is not for nothing that for many years the now exposed and routed enemies of the people—all those Trotskys, Bukharins, Rykovs, Zinovievs and other traitors—directed their vicious, envenomed and provocative attacks against the Lenin-Stalin line of our Party in the peasant question, trying to disrupt the alliance between the working class and the peasantry and to defeat the cause of the Socialist reconstruction of agriculture.

Under the wise leadership of our great Stalin, the Bolshevik Party

rallied around itself the working class and the peasant millions, smashed the enemies and ensured the victory of the collective farm system. (*Prolonged applause.*)

The great historic service of Comrade Stalin consists in the fact that he successfully defended Leninism against its numerous enemies, brilliantly developed it further in the conditions of victorious Socialist construction, and ensured the triumph of Socialism. (*Loud applause.*)

For the first time in the history of humanity, a Socialist system has been created, a system under which, as Comrade Stalin said in his report at the Extraordinary Eighth Congress of Soviets, "the exploitation of man by man has been abolished, liquidated, while the Socialist ownership of the implements and means of production has been established as the unshakable foundation of our Soviet society."

The working people of our great country are ensured a happy life of prosperity and culture.

The Soviet Union is the country of the most advanced, Socialist agriculture, run on the largest scale in the world. As a result of the victory of the Stalin policy of industrialization, agriculture in our country has been richly equipped with technical means, and now has a powerful mechanized base to rely upon.

The correct application of the national policy of Lenin and Stalin, the constant assistance of the great Russian people, and the daily attention and solicitude of the Stalin Central Committee and of the Government of the Union have ensured the flourishing of Socialist economy and culture in the national republics and regions.

Comrade Stalin has formulated with the lucidity of genius the changes that have taken place in the life of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. as a result of the victories of Socialism.

Comrade Stalin has said:

". . . the absence of exploiting classes, which are the principal organizers of strife between nations; the absence of exploitation, which cultivates mutual distrust and kindles nationalist passions; the fact that power is in the hands of the working class, which is an enemy of all enslavement and the true representative of the ideas of internationalism; the actual practice of mutual aid among the peoples in all spheres of economic and social life; and, finally, the flourishing national culture of the peoples of the U.S.S.R., culture which is national in form and Socialist in content—all these and similar factors have brought about a radical change in the aspect of the peoples of the U.S.S.R.; their feeling of mutual distrust has disappeared, a feeling of mutual friendship has developed among them and, thus, real fraternal co-operation between the peoples has been established within the system of a single federated state."

The triumph of the national policy of Lenin and Stalin may be strikingly illustrated by the example of Soviet Georgia, as well as by the example of any other national republic or region.

Like many other "border regions" of tsarist Russia, Georgia, which suffered under the double yoke of tsarism and its own feudal landlords, a poverty-stricken, ruined and disfranchised country in the past, has

now—under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party—become transformed into one of the advanced and flourishing republics of the Soviet Union.

The Georgian peasant had no land; it belonged to the landlords, princes and clergy. In Western Georgia a peasant and his family could barely live from four to six months on what he earned from cultivating his tiny strip of land. He therefore had to leave his home and wander to distant parts of the country in search of work. Georgian peasants could often be found in the ports of Tuapse, Novorossisk and Odessa, in Siberia and other remote districts of tsarist Russia.

The lot of the Georgian peasant became even worse, and his rights were further curtailed, during the years when the Mensheviks, those traitors to the Georgian people and foul agents of international imperialism, lorded it over Georgia.

Soviet power has entirely transformed the agriculture of Georgia. Agriculture has become mechanized to a high degree. The natural resources of Georgia are exceptionally varied, but only under Soviet power has it become possible to make use of them and to place them at the disposal of the working people. Highly valuable subtropical special and industrial crops—tea, citrus fruits, tobacco, grapes, the bay laurel, the tung tree, ramie, and others—have been permanently established in the agriculture of Georgia.

In Western Georgia, where formerly the fields were covered with a thick growth of wild fern, we now have rich tea, citrus fruit and volatile oil bearing plantations, which constitute a basis for the prosperity of the Georgian collective farm peasantry.

While before the establishment of Soviet power there were only a few hundred hectares of land under tea, the tea plantations at present cover an area of 44,000 hectares. The yield of tea-leaf is growing from year to year. In 1937 Georgia gathered 27,000,000 kg. of green tea-leaf. This year the amount will be 35,000,000 kg. This tea-leaf will be treated in 34 excellently equipped tea-factories, which will deliver to the state 8,260,000 kg., or more than half a million poods, of tea of a quality that is on a par with the best Ceylon and China brands.

Within the next two or three years we will produce enough tea in Georgia to satisfy all the requirements of the working people of the Soviet Union.

A great amount of work has been accomplished in Georgia on the development of citrus crops—tangerines, oranges and lemons—which formerly, in pre-revolutionary times, were considered as rarities that only a few farms here and there could boast of. At present citrus fruit plantations cover an area of about 10,000 hectares, and a powerful base in the form of nurseries (12,000,000 saplings) has been created for the further development and extension of citrus crops. In 1937 we gathered 300,000,000 tangerines, oranges and lemons, as against 11,000,000 in 1932.

Georgia grows the best varieties of high-grade tobacco. The yield of tobacco is steadily increasing and its quality improving. This year the Georgian tobacco plantations, covering an area of 22,000 hectares, will

supply the tobacco factories of the Soviet Union with more than 16,000 tons of tobacco leaf.

Vine-growing, which is one of the principal branches of Georgian agriculture, had been reduced practically to nil by the Mensheviks during the years of their rule in Georgia. At present our vineyards cover an area of about 45,000 hectares, and by 1942 the area under vineyards will have been further increased by more than 20,000 hectares.

Georgian wines are justly classed among the best wines of our country. Particular attention is now being devoted to the wide introduction of champagnes, for which all conditions are present in Georgia.

Large enterprises are being built in Georgia specially for the production of wines out of champagne varieties of grapes. In 1940 Georgia will place on the market 4,000,000 bottles of high-grade Soviet champagne.

A most varied assortment of fruits grow in the collective farm orchards of Georgia. In the year 1937 alone more than 7,000 hectares of orchards were planted. There are fruit nurseries in 38 districts of Georgia. The area planted to fruit trees extends over 60,000 hectares.

Subtropical fruits, such as the mushmula, feijoa and the Japanese persimmon, are widely cultivated in the districts of Western Georgia. A number of other highly valuable plants, such as the tung tree, ramie, eucalyptus, volatile oil bearing plants and others, for which there are suitable climatic and soil conditions in Georgia, began to be cultivated on a commercial scale only after the establishment of Soviet power.

The cultivation of the tung tree is of exceptionally great importance for the national economy of our country. It is used to produce a lacquer that protects the submerged parts of ships from rusting. Tung-tree oils are an indispensable component in the preparation of insulating materials, in the electrotechnical industry and in aircraft construction. Objects coated with lacquer made of tung oil become fireproof and withstand the effects of moisture and acids.

The development of the tung-tree plantations in Georgia will free the Soviet Union of the necessity to import tung oil for industrial requirements. At present the tung-tree plantations in Georgia cover an area of more than 12,000 hectares, as against one hectare in 1930. Ramie is being grown on an area of 1,500 hectares. This year we expect to deliver over 12,000 tons of the green pulp of ramie, which goes for the production of a very strong fabric used in our aviation industry.

One of the greatest achievements of the collective farm peasantry of Georgia is the introduction and cultivation of the eucalyptus. This is an evergreen tree which grows rapidly and reaches a height of 12-15 metres in the course of three or four years. It provides excellent and valuable timber for shipbuilding and for railroad ties. The eucalyptus is also remarkable as a means for the sanitation of marshy lands. The oil distilled from its leaves is widely used for medicinal purposes. In the past two and a half years more than 4,000,000 young eucalyptus trees have been planted.

Alongside the development of special and industrial crops, we are

extending the area under grain crops, the harvest yield of which has been increasing. In 1937 we harvested about 70,000,000 poods of grain.

Great successes have been achieved by the collective farmers of Georgia in the sphere of sericulture. This year the collective farmers obtained on an average more than 43 kg. of cocoons from one box of graine after the first hatching. They provided the enterprises of the silk industry with about 3,500 tons of cocoons.

The work that is now being carried on to drain the Colchis Depression is of great importance for the agriculture of Georgia. The towns and villages situated in the Colchis Depression have been suffering from floods, not to speak of the fact that the swamps were breeding-places of malaria. Up to the present we have completed over 150 km. of embankments protecting an area of 29,000 hectares from being flooded during high water. Ten main canals of a total length of 98 km. and 43 collecting channels of a total length of 179 km. have been built. The aggregate length of the drainage system that has been built so far is 587 km. The volume of the earth excavation work completed totals up to about 8,000,000 cu. m.

The Rion, a large river abounding in water, which flows through the Colchis Depression and regularly causes a great deal of suffering to the population, inundating scores of thousands of hectares of land and the city of Poti, is now being diverted into a new bed.

The work which is now under way on draining the Colchis Depression will transform the latter into a region covered throughout with citrus fruit, tea, eucalyptus and other plantations.

All these valuable crops, which are so greatly needed by our Soviet state, represent a source of prosperity and income for the collective farm peasantry. In 1937 the state paid the collective farmers more than 200,000,000 rubles for deliveries of tea-leaf, citrus fruits and tobacco-leaf alone.

The collective farm system has brought the Georgian peasantry happiness, prosperity and culture. The villages of Georgia are now adorned with new spacious and convenient houses of collective farmers, new schools, theatres, clubs, kindergartens, hospitals and parks.

On the collective farm fields of Georgia and in the homes of the Georgian collective farmers songs are sung extolling the joy of labour and expressing ardent love and devotion to the man who has built up the happiness and liberty of the peoples—to our great Stalin. (*Loud applause.*)

We have achieved these successes in the sphere of agriculture, the improvement in the material well-being and the rise of culture as a result of the attention, help and guidance which we, like the other republics, territories and regions of the Soviet Union, have been receiving from the Stalin Central Committee of the Party, from the Government of the Soviet Union, and from our great Stalin personally. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Comrades, the organization of the All-Union Agricultural Exposition will furnish us, as well as all the other republics, territories and regions, the opportunity of demonstrating the achievement of Socialist

agriculture; it will help us to share our experience and will serve the cause of the struggle for the further consolidation of the collective farm system and for a new advance of Socialist economy.

The decision of the Government to organize an agricultural exposition has evoked an enthusiastic response among the broad masses of the collective farm peasantry of Georgia. Up to the present, 17,000 applications have been received from collective farms, state farms, brigades and foremost workers in the sphere of agriculture desiring to take part in the exposition.

As a result of an extensive Socialist competition campaign for the right to take part in the exposition, we have already selected and presented for approval to the Chief Exposition Committee over 350 collective farms, 24 state farms and 1,134 leading agricultural workers.

Deputy Khrushchov has quite correctly pointed out the shortcomings in the work of the People's Commissariat of Agriculture of the U.S.S.R. and of the Chief Exposition Committee as regards the organization of the All-Union Agricultural Exposition. It must be noted that there is duplication in the exhibits illustrating the achievements in the various branches of agriculture: exhibits representing one and the same object have been accepted both from Union People's Commissariats and from the republics. The People's Commissariat of Agriculture of the U.S.S.R. and the Exposition Committee must eliminate duplication and give the republics, territories and regions an opportunity to show their achievements more fully. The People's Commissariat of Agriculture and the Exposition Committee have entirely left out of consideration some of the new branches of agriculture that have been developed in recent years, as, for instance, the cultivation of ramie, the bay laurel, the eucalyptus, small nut trees, etc. In a number of cases the People's Commissariat of Agriculture and the Chief Exposition Committee accepted entrants on the basis of quantity indices without considering the quality of the products.

There has been a great deal of confusion in the work of the Exposition Committee: plans and schedules for submitting exhibits have been changed frequently; the very subject matter of the exhibits illustrating the achievements of agriculture has been changed time and again. Things have come to such a pass that a considerable part of the exhibits sent in at the insistent demand of the People's Commissariat of Agriculture of the U.S.S.R. and of the Chief Exposition Committee have been ruined through the bad management of the latter organizations, and whatever has survived is in a wretched state.

I cannot refrain from noting the fact that the exhibits of three Union republics—Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaidjan—have been placed in one building, which deprives each of these republics of the opportunity of representing the achievements of its agriculture more fully.

I am entirely in agreement with the motion introduced by Deputy Khrushchov on behalf of a group of deputies from the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic to postpone the opening of the All-Union Agricultural Exposition to 1939.

This will give us, as well as all the other republics, territories and regions, an opportunity to prepare ourselves better and to have our achievements in the sphere of agriculture much more fully represented at the exposition. This will give the People's Commissariat of Agriculture and the Chief Exposition Committee an opportunity to take into account the critical remarks made at this Session, and to eliminate the grave errors they have committed and the shortcomings in their work.

Comrades, it is beyond doubt that, under the guidance of the Government of the U.S.S.R., the All-Union Agricultural Exposition will be so organized as to really demonstrate the outstanding successes of the Socialist agriculture of our country, successes achieved under the leadership of the inspirer and organizer of the victories of the collective farm system, of the victories of Socialism—the great genius of humanity, our own and beloved Comrade Stalin. (*Loud and prolonged applause.*)

The Chairman: I call upon Deputy Markin.

D. F. Markin (*Mozyr City Area, Byelorussian S.S.R.*): Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. I fully second the motion of the group of deputies from the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic to postpone the opening of the All-Union Agricultural Exposition to 1939, and I am confident that both the Soviet of Nationalities and the Soviet of the Union will carry this motion unanimously.

This is an absolutely correct motion, for the land departments and exposition committees in the localities have failed to bring out all the achievements of our Socialist agriculture, all the great successes which our collective farms and our Stakhanovites have achieved and which must be shown at the exposition. The demonstration of these achievements and the popularization of the experience of the best collective farms and foremost workers in the sphere of agriculture among the entire collective farm peasantry should serve as a powerful stimulus for a further rise in the productivity of collective farm labour, for an increase in the harvest yields and for the effectiveness of all our agricultural undertakings.

The enemies of the people endeavoured to prevent the demonstration of the achievements of our Socialist agriculture and strove by every means to keep thousands of the foremost collective farmers and state farm and machine and tractor station workers out of the exposition. This attempt of the dastardly hirelings of fascism failed; nor will an attempt like this ever succeed. The achievements of our Socialist agriculture will be displayed. The Agricultural Exposition will be a grand demonstration of the victories of Socialist agriculture.

The motion to defer the opening of the exposition to 1939 meets the demands of the broad masses of collective farmers and state farm and machine and tractor station workers. It will make it possible to reveal and thoroughly reflect at the exposition the successes achieved by our Socialist agriculture during the years of the two Stalin Five-Year Plans on the basis of the Stalin statutes of the agricultural artel and the law securing the land to the collective farms in perpetuity.

Comrades, our collective farmers indeed have what to show at the

exposition, and they can declare before the whole world that only the Great October Socialist Revolution put an end to their accursed past. Only the Party of Lenin and Stalin could lead and has led the collective farmers to a life of prosperity, joy and culture. (*Applause.*)

A singularly truthful picture of the past of the Byelorussian peasant was given by the Russian poet Nekrasov:

> ". . . Matted his hair,
> Emaciated, consumed by fever,
> The gaunt Byelorussian, see, stands over there.
> Bloodless his lips, his eyelids drooping,
> His thin hands covered with festering sores;
> Swollen his feet, for—ever stooping—
> Knee-deep in water he's worked at his chores;
> His chest is a cavity—daily he bent it,
> Pushing his spade till he well-nigh was dead.
> So look at him, Vanya, and mark him intently,
> The man has toiled hard so's to earn his bread.
> And still he is at it, his back hunched as ever;
> Listless, his senses dulled by toil,
> He wields the old spade, in spite of his fever,
> Burrowing into the frozen soil."

The collective farmer of Byelorussia bears no resemblance whatever to the Byelorussian peasant whom the great Russian poet described in the above lines.

Now, since the Government is organizing an All-Union Agricultural Exposition, more than a thousand Byelorussian collective farms and foremost agricultural workers have filed applications expressing their desire to display their achievements at the exposition. Take the Volodarsky Collective Farm. In 1937 this collective farm harvested over 18 centners of grain and 7 centners of flax fibre per hectare. In 1937 every able-bodied collective farmer of this collective farm received on an average more than 17 centners of grain, more than 23 centners of potatoes and about 600 rubles in cash for the workdays he had put in. The average received by a collective farmer per workday was over 6.5 kg. of grain and 2 rubles in cash.

Or take the Byelorussian part of the Polessye region. In the past it was one of the most backward and forsaken corners of tsarist Russia. The impassable swamps were the scourge of the peasantry of this region.

Thanks to the care and constant help of the Soviet Government, of our Communist Party, and of Comrade Stalin personally (*applause*), the collective farmers of the Byelorussian part of Polessye have been transforming these swamps into fertile fields, rich meadows and luxuriant pastures. Model Socialist enterprises—collective farms and state farms—are growing up on formerly impassable swamps.

I shall cite as an example the "Byelorussian Military Area" Collective Farm. This collective farm was organized in 1929. At that time all it had at its disposal was a few small plots of dry land and endless wastes of braky swamps. With one accord the collective farmers undertook to drain the swamps. The Soviet Government has helped the collective farmers of Polessye extensively both with material resources and with technical guidance, while the most important hydraulic engineering works have been carried out at the expense of the state.

During these nine years the collective farm has grown and become strong. The swamps occupied an area of 2,900 hectares. Now 1,145 hectares out of this area are sown to various crops, and 270 hectares have been transformed into meadows and pastures.

The collective farm has a large brick works, a flour mill, a narrow-gauge railroad, three automobiles, and many agricultural machines. The fixed capital of this collective farm is now valued at 1,300,000 rubles, and its annual income amounts to 460,000 rubles. Every year the collective farm gathers a rich harvest of grain, hemp, flax, fodder, etc. The collective farm herd includes 634 head of cattle, 106 hogs and 185 sheep. In addition, all the collective farmers have livestock of their own.

The collective farmers live a life of prosperity and culture. The collective farm has its club, a sound cinema, a children's nursery and a laboratory. Many of the collective farmers now live in houses of three or four rooms. Fifty-eight collective farmers and children of collective farmers have become agronomists, engineers, or teachers; many have been promoted to Party work or to work in Soviet bodies.

Is not all this a striking proof of the victory of the collective farm system, which holds undivided sway in our agriculture? And should not tens of thousands of other collective farms in our country learn from the experience of this collective farm?

In my opinion, the task of the All-Union Agricultural Exposition is to reveal all the achievements of the collective farms as fully as possible, and to popularize them far and wide.

In their utterances and letters the collective farmers of Byelorussia express their sincere thanks to the Soviet Government, to our Communist Party, and to our premier deputy to the Supreme Soviet—our great Stalin—for their happy and joyous life.

In the current year the Byelorussian collective farms expect to achieve still greater successes in the organizational and economic consolidation of the collective farms and in further increasing their prosperity.

Comrades, K. E. Voroshilov, Marshal of the Soviet Union and People's Commissar of Defence, has said:

"Soviet Byelorussia is an outpost of Socialism. It is situated along the borderline separating two worlds—decaying capitalism in the West and stupendously growing Socialism in our Soviet land. Thus a particular task devolves upon the working people of Byelorussia—to be a constant sentinel at the gates of the Soviet Union, to exercise particular vigilance lest the enemy penetrate into the Soviet home, and, when the moment comes, to be prepared, together with our Red Army, to meet the enemy at the borders as he deserves."

The collective farmers of Byelorussia always bear this in mind. They constantly help our border-guards and the valiant Soviet intelligence service in their work of guarding the Soviet borders against spies and diversionists penetrating into our sacred Soviet land. The collective farmers of Byelorussia know that no one can deprive them of their achievements and victories, that no one can divert them from the road of their prosperous life, for it is the Communist Party and our great Stalin who lead them along this road. (*Loud applause.*)

The Chairman: I call upon Deputy Korotkov.

S. K. Korotkov (*Ibresi Area, Chuvash A.S. S. R.*): Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet. I fully approve of and second the motion of the group of deputies from the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic to open the All-Union Agricultural Exposition on August 1, 1939.

The All-Union Agricultural Exposition will be of tremendous state and political importance, for it will demonstrate before the whole world the vast and historic changes that have taken place in the agriculture of our country, where the workers and peasants are masters of their land. All the great work of Socialist construction in our country is guided by the glorious Communist Party—the Bolsheviks. It is under its leadership that we are consistently materializing the great teaching of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. (*Loud applause.*)

Let us call to mind what agriculture was like in tsaristRussia. Poverty, starvation, ignorance, and oppression—these were the lot of the peasants in those times.

In the pre-revolutionary village it was the landlord, the kulak, the priest and the police inspector who ruled. They accumulated capital, growing rich by oppressing and exploiting the peasants, by sucking the blood of the working people.

A starved nag, a wooden plough and harrow, and a sickle—these were the peasant's farming implements before the revolution.

I am not an old man, but I remember a time when of the 200 households making up our village, Koltsovka, 160 were living from hand to mouth. Their grain lasted these households at the most till Christmas time. Andrei Ashanin, a sixty-year old collective farmer of the Stalin Collective Farm in the Chuvash Republic, relates: "In 1913 twenty of us villagers went to Samara to work for a landlord. For six weeks we worked from morn till night at making hay. All we got from the landlord for our work was rotten meat. When one member of our artel could no longer stand this inhuman treatment and raised a row, we were all taken to the police. There we were kept for three days without food, and then they chased us out. We were not paid a single kopeck for the work we had done."

Such were the terrible conditions under which the peasant lived prior to the Great October Socialist Revolution.

Comrades, how different our life has become! As a result of the fight which the Party of Lenin and Stalin, guided by the wise leader of the working people of the whole world, our great Stalin, has carried on for

the reconstruction of agriculture on Socialist lines, the scattered peasant households have combined in collective farms. (*Applause.*)

Gone are the wooden plough, the wooden harrow and the sickle, and in their place the collective farm fields hum with the sound of Stalin tractors, harvester combines and motor trucks. The age-old dream of the toiling peasants has been realized—the collective farms have now obtained the land for their free use forever. As a result of the mechanization of agriculture and the application of scientific methods, and as a result of the development of the Stakhanov movement, the collective farms are now gathering unprecedented harvests. In 1936, when the fields suffered from drought, our Stalin Collective Farm, by applying the most-up-date scientific farming methods, including some that have as yet never been described in books, obtained a harvest of 100 poods of grain per hectare on all the 600 hectares which we cultivated. Yet before the revolution this same land yielded 40 poods per hectare in good harvest years. In 1937 the collective farm cultivated 700 hectares and obtained an average harvest of 180 poods per hectare. On an area of 200 hectares sown to oats we obtained an average harvest of 40 centners per hectare. This despite the fact that our land is outside the black-soil belt.

The collective farmers of our country are now in a position to assert boldly—and they have proved it in practice—that big harvests can be obtained under any climatic conditions. In 1937 the Stalin Collective Farm in the Vurnar district, Chuvash A.S.S.R., distributed to the collective farmers 13 kg. of grain per workday; a hundred collective farm households received from 300 to 400 poods of grain each, and another hundred households received as much as from 400 to 1,000 poods of grain each. The collective farmer, Efim Yeroshin, formerly a farm labourer, received 800 poods of grain.

This is a graphic illustration of the great and steady improvement in the material well-being of the collective farm peasantry.

Comrades, the examples I have been citing are from my collective farm, because I have been a member of it for nine years and have been preparing for the All-Union Agricultural Exposition together with all the collective farmers. I can state boldly that the Stalin Collective Farm is far from being unique as regards its achievements. In the Chuvash Republic and all over our great Union there are thousands and tens of thousands of collective farms which are working splendidly. In 1937 the collective farms in the Chuvash A.S.S.R. harvested on an average 97 poods of grain per hectare. And the fact that the collective farms have already attained great success in the struggle to carry out Stalin's call for an annual production of from 7,000,000,000 to 8,000,000,000 poods of grain shows that the working people of our vast country are steadily raising the productivity of Socialist farming.

Could we ever have dreamt of such productivity of farming in the old, tsarist day ? Let the bourgeoisie and the landlords of the capitalist countries now try to contend with us!

The collective farmers have attained these successes thanks to the

constant and everyday concern shown for the collective farms and the collective farmers by our father and teacher, our great Stalin. (*Applause.*)

The cultural standard of our collective farmers is steadily rising. The distinction between town and countryside is being obliterated. We have in our collective farms splendidly equipped schools, clubs, libraries, theatres, children's nurseries and playgrounds, hospitals, electricity and sound cinemas.

Our collective farms have become rich and are enjoying the blessings of culture. Our collective farmers have become prosperous. That is why during the elections to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. and to the Supreme Soviets of the Union and autonomous republics our people, by voting for the candidates of the Communist and non-Party bloc, voted for the Party of Lenin and Stalin and for the man who has built up the life of happiness, prosperity and culture for the people—Comrade Stalin. (*Loud applause.*)

In my village I have observed the following: formerly when a peasant went outside in the morning and met a neighbour, he would talk mainly about how to get some bread to feed his family. Nowadays, when a peasant meets a neighbour, the first thing they discuss is the latest news they have heard over the radio. They talk about the Spanish people, who are putting up a heroic fight for their independence against the Italian and German fascist interventionists; and about the great Chinese people, who are struggling valiantly against the Japanese aggressors. They proudly relate how the men of the Far-Eastern Red Banner Front administered a crushing rebuff to the Japanese *samurai*.

Formerly, the "experts" in the village were the ignorant midwife and the quack. Today every collective farmer can become a real expert. The young people of the collective farms are studying to be flyers, engineers, physicians, teachers, agronomists, brigade leaders. The Stalin Constitution accords the right to education to all working people of our country. Anyone, if he only has the desire, can study and develop his talents. Our scientists who specialize in selection have the right idea: in order to obtain new sorts of seed it is necessary patiently to select and pollinate the right kinds of ears of grain. That is how new sorts of seeds are obtained. Comrade Stalin is a great scientist in the field of selection. He selects, teaches and trains our youth, and obtains new reinforcements of fighters for the cause of Lenin and Stalin, for the cause of Communism. (*Loud and prolonged applause.*)

Those arch-bandits—the Trotskyite-Bukharinite hirelings of fascism—wanted to place the yoke of capitalism on the workers and peasants of our Socialist country; they wanted to return the land to the landlords and to dissolve the collective farms and state farms. But they had sorely miscalculated. The people of the great Soviet Union, with the help of the popular workers of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs, led by the Stalinian People's Commissar, Nikolai Ivanovich Yezhov *(loud applause)*, have crushed the hirelings of fascism. No matter what guise the Trotskyite and Bukharinite scoundrels assume, they will be ruthlessly destroyed by the people.

In my opinion, the All-Union Agricultural Exposition must reflect the successes of Socialist agriculture with the utmost completeness. It must give a correct picture of what our country was and what it has become. The experience of the foremost collective farms and collective farmers must become the property of our entire country. I am of the opinion that our agricultural exposition will serve as deadly criticism of the capitalist system of agriculture and of capitalism as a whole. It will be an exposition that will show the workers and peasants of the capitalist countries what the Socialist system of agriculture, what Socialism is like. They will become convinced that they must also get rid of their landlords and capitalists and follow our example in building Socialism.

In our Chuvash Republic there are 800 collective farms out of 1,688 that are entitled, according to the indices of 1937, to take part in the All-Union Agricultural Exposition. The All-Union Agricultural Exposition will serve to stimulate still more the genuinely Socialist competition among the collective farms throughout our Soviet Union in their struggle for the realization of Stalin's slogan of 7,000,000,000-8,000,000,000 poods of grain.

Comrades, we have created the most advanced agriculture, run on the largest scale in the world. We have achieved this under the leadership of the invincible Bolshevik Party, under the pilotage of our great Stalin. *(Loud applause.)*

Our Agricultural Exposition must become the centre to which the entire country will bring the best samples of its produce, thus helping agriculture to achieve a new and higher stage of development. *(Applause.)*

The Chairman: I call upon Deputy Yurkin, People's Commissar of State Grain and Livestock Farms of the U.S.S.R.

T. A. Yurkin *(Orjonikidze Area, R.S.F.S.R.)*: Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet. I fully and wholeheartedly support Deputy Khrushchov's motion to postpone the opening of the All-Union Agricultural Exposition to August 1, 1939. I am also fully in agreement with the opinion voiced by Deputy Khrushchov concerning the preparations so far made for the All-Union Agricultural Exposition. I am further in agreement with the criticism levelled at the People's Commissariat of Agriculture of the U.S.S.R., the People's Commissariat of State Farms and the Chief Exposition Committee for the shortcomings in their work of directing the exposition committees in the localities. The need for postponing the opening of the All-Union Agricultural Exposition is obvious and has been corroborated by the facts which Deputy Khrushchov cited in his speech.

If we are to give a true reflection of all the successes of Socialist agriculture which have been achieved by the Party and by the Soviet Government under the direct leadership of Comrade Stalin, we must make serious preparations for the exposition which is to demonstrate the victories of the collective farm system.

Under tsarism, life for the peasants—poor and middle—was hard and dreary. The peasant farms of pre-revolutionary Russia were poverty-stricken. The harvest yield of the fields and the productivity of the livestock were very meagre. The peasants were being sucked dry by the landlords and kulak usurers who held them in their grip.

Only the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet power, following the brilliant plan drawn up by Comrade Stalin, smashed and eliminated the kulaks as a class on the basis of universal collectivization. The Party and the Soviet power have led the toiling peasants on to the wide road of collectivization, on to the road of the prosperous collective farm life. The reconstruction of the countryside on Socialist lines will forever remain one of the most remarkable achievements in the history of Socialist construction. For this reconstruction we are indebted to our great teacher and leader, the friend of the collective farmers—Comrade Stalin. (*Loud applause.*)

We have plenty to show at the exposition, and we have the people who can show it. The All-Union Agricultural Exposition will reflect the great historic victories of the Socialist reconstruction of the countryside, which have been achieved under the leadership of the Party of Lenin and Stalin.

The destitution and hopelessness of the life of the peasants in the past, the poverty and backwardness of the old, pre-revolutionary countryside in Russia will be presented at the exposition in graphic exhibits.

The purpose of the exposition is to stimulate the further advance of agriculture, to be a school of Socialist ways of organizing agricultural production and Stakhanov methods of work. The millions of visitors at the exposition will be able to study in detail and see for themselves by what means the collective farms have achieved a high productivity of labour and an increase in the harvest yields and in the output of stockraising.

The exposition will testify to the stability and firmness of the collective farm system and to the inviolability of Socialist property; it will show in a vivid manner the role of the Communist Party and the help rendered by the Soviet state in the Socialist reconstruction of the countryside.

The exposition must reflect the great force of the Stalin statutes of the agricultural artel, which are the fundamental law of the prosperous collective farm life.

The main purpose of the All-Union Agricultural Exposition is to show, not individual records, but the achievements and the experience of all the foremost collective farms, state farms, Stakhanovites, shock-brigade workers, all organizers of agriculture and all scientific workers.

An extensive Socialist competition campaign is being carried on for the right to take part in the All-Union Agricultural Exposition. Deputy Khrushchov has told us about the keen desire shown by collective farmers and state farm and machine and tractor station workers to take part in the All-Union Agricultural Exposition. More than 60,000 applications have already been received. However, the Chief

Exposition Committee, the People's Commissariat of Agriculture of the U.S.S.R. and the People's Commissariat of State Farms of the U.S.S.R., which were entrusted with the work of organizing the All-Union Agricultural Exposition, have not taken charge of the campaign of Socialist competition which has begun everywhere, and have not rendered the collective farms the necessary assistance.

The members of the Chief Exposition Committee who have now been exposed as enemies of the people did everything to sabotage the initiative of the foremost workers, and hindered the development of the Stakhanov movement. Their undermining, wrecking activity was directed primarily towards disrupting Socialist competition. Under the pretext of using the exposition to show the achievements of individual people who have been obtaining record results, the enemies of Socialism and of the collective farm system tried to keep the masses of collective farmers out of the exposition. It was the fault of the Exposition Committee and the land departments that the applications of many of the foremost collective farms and state farms were not taken care of. Owing to the fact that wrong indices had been drawn up for the various regions, territories and republics, some of the collective farms, state farms and machine and tractor stations could send exhibits that were representative of branches of agriculture which have no particular importance for them. For instance, collective farms and state farms in districts which do not specialize in grain could send exhibits only of grain crops; while collective farms and state farms in districts where stockraising is of secondary importance could send exhibits only of stockraising. If it had not been for the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R., which exposed these glaring mistakes in time, we would not have been able to give a correct representation of the achievements of the collective farms and state farms at the coming All-Union Agricultural Exposition.

The Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. has taken measures to have the indices for entrants revised.

For a vast country like our Soviet Union with its diversified agricultural production, the drawing up of indices for the right of entrants to take part in and show their achievements at the All-Union Agricultural Exposition is a very complicated, difficult and responsible matter.

To draw up the indices for the right to take part in the exposition means to determine the indices for the Socialist competition between the various collective farms and state farms for raising the harvest yields and increasing the productivity of stockraising in collective farms and state farms.

The Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R., and Comrade Molotov personally, have pointed out to us workers in the sphere of agriculture the necessity of drawing up indices which would be scientifically corroborated and based on local conditions to begin with, and, secondly, which would furnish a basis for the majority of collective farms, state farms and machine and tractor stations to compete

for higher harvest yields of grain crops and for an increase in the productivity of livestock.

Practical workers and scientists have been enlisted to draw up the indices. The draft indices for entrants to the exposition have been submitted to scientific research institutes and prominent scientists. It has been brought out in this connection that the old, so-called scientific, conception of the standards of output in agriculture has long since been overthrown in practice by the foremost collective farms and state farms. The scientific workers must show their ability to go ahead boldly and materialize the teachings of Darwin and Timiryazev. It will be the successful solution of this problem that will give the scientific workers the right to take part in the exposition.

We propose to use the achievements of the collective farms and state farms in 1937 and 1938 as a basis for fixing the indices for the right to take part in the All-Union Agricultural Exposition. Why do we propose to fix the indices on the basis of these last two years? The agriculture of our country is developing so rapidly that what was considered difficult of achievement in 1937 has already been surpassed by many collective farms and state farms in 1938. That is why it would be wrong to fix different indices. If we were to base ourselves on the successes attained by the collective farms and state farms in previous years, we would be artificially minimizing the achievements which the collective farms and state farms have already scored in the last two years.

You may judge from the number and diversity of the indices what an enormous amount of serious work was required to draw them up. Indices have been drawn up for collective farms and state farms in every branch and speciality of agriculture, for machine and tractor stations and for collective farm livestock and dairy departments. Indices have been drawn up for the foremost workers in agriculture—for tractor drivers, harvester-combine operators, tractor-brigade leaders, flax-pulling machine operators, link-leaders on the cotton plantations, cotton pickers, link-leaders in sugar-beet growing, link leaders in flax and hemp growing, brigade leaders in field crops, horse-breeders, herdsmen, sericulturists, cow-tenders, apiarists, poultry experts, stockraising brigade leaders, agronomists, engineers, breeding experts, veterinary surgeons, and many others.

Our agriculture is extensive and variegated. The part of the territory of the Soviet Union where grain crops are grown has had to be divided into five zones, which was not done when the indices for entrants were first drawn up. The zones are determined on the basis of a scientific study of the natural, historical and climatic conditions of the respective territories. The five zones are in their turn subdivided into twenty special sections.

It is proposed to fix the indices for cotton on the basis of a division into four zones. Three zones will be established for flax. With regard to sugar beet, it is proposed to fix five zones, and for potatoes three

zones. In the case of tobacco and makhorka several indices covering the different varieties will be drawn up.

Among the most important indices for the right to take part in the exposition are those being drawn up for the machine and tractor stations. They must be based on the average area covered per tractor, and particular care must be exercised in fixing them. In drawing up the indices for the machine and tractor stations it will be necessary to take into consideration the local conditions with regard to soil resistance, the number of working days put in and the harvest yields in the collective farms served.

The indices for competition in horse-breeding and between the collective farm livestock and dairy departments must be designed to stimulate the rearing of young animals. In the case of dairy farming they should stimulate an increase in the amount of milk obtained per cow; in the case of cattle raised for slaughter, an increase in the weight of the cattle delivered to the state; in sheep-breeding, they should tend to secure a larger amount of wool and an increase in the progeny; in hog-breeding, they should stimulate an increase in the weight of the animals and larger progeny per sow.

The indices for foremost tractor drivers and harvester-combine operators are being drawn up on the basis of the productivity of the machines and the amount of work accomplished.

The indices for link-leaders in flax growing and sugar-beet growing collective farms and state farms are being drawn up on the basis of the harvest yield obtained.

The indices for milkmaids are being drawn up on the basis of the amount of milk obtained per cow; for calf-tenders, on the basis of the number of calves surviving and the increase in their weight; for hog-breeders, on the basis of the survival of the litters and the fattening of the pigs.

The organization of the preparations for the All-Union Agricultural Exposition is a very complicated matter. All the collective farms and state farms, and our entire country, must take part in the preparations. The People's Commissariat of Agriculture and the People's Commissariat of State Farms of the U.S.S.R., the Soviet Government bodies, the Party organizations and the land departments in the regions and districts must prepare for the Agricultural Exposition in Bolshevik fashion. In connection with the preparations for the exposition a vast amount of mass political work will have to be carried out. Socialist competition for the right to take part in the All-Union Agricultural Exposition must be developed.

A check-up has elicited the fact that in many regions and territories the preparations for the exposition have been proceeding without the necessary guidance. Comrade Khrushchov has also dwelt on this in his speech.

In the competition for the right to take part in the exposition the state farms will have to play a leading role. The state farms will have to meet greater requirements than the collective farms.

All the necessary conditions are present for the state grain and livestock farms to earn the right to show their achievements at the All-Union Agricultural Exposition. About 500 of the 1,684 state grain and livestock farms have already claimed the right to take part in the exposition. Our state farms have what to show. The "Gigant" State Farm in the Rostov Region, for instance, has obtained in the past two years an average harvest of over 100 poods per hectare on an area of 22,000 hectares; the Vyselkovo State Farm in the Krassnodar Territory has obtained more than 120 poods per hectare.

The Karavayevo State Livestock Farm in the Yaroslavl Region has obtained an average of 5,800 litres of milk per cow in a year; the Torosovo State Farm in the Leningrad Region has obtained 5,000 litres, and the Lesniye Polyany State Farm in the Moscow Region has obtained 4,800 litres.

The Temp State Farm—a hog-breeding farm—has obtained on an average a progeny of 18 pigs from each of its 355 sows; the Chapayev State Farm has obtained a litter of 17 pigs per sow, etc. The Bolshevik State Farm in the Orjonikidze Territory—which specializes in sheep-breeding—boasts of high indices for the amount of wool obtained per sheep. The Kazakhstan State Farm has succeeded in keeping alive 125 lambs per 100 ewes.

There are some managers of state farms who have been late in sending in their claims to the right to take part in the exposition, and the People's Commissariat of State Farms of the U.S.S.R., the People's Commissariats of State Farms of the republics, and their Chief Departments and local bodies have done nothing to help them to have their claims considered. Many state farms have not even striven for a place at the exposition. This may be explained only by the inability of some workers in charge of state farms to organize the struggle for carrying out the decisions of the Party and the Government, the struggle for higher harvest yields.

The Tikhoretskaya State Farm, for instance, has obtained a lower harvest yield this year than last year.

Little has been done to raise the harvest yield by the Priazovsky State Grain Farm in the Krassnodar Territory (director, Comrade Tambovtsev), the Bolshevik State Grain Farm in the Crimean A.S.S.R. (director, Comrade Yakovenko), the Manych State Grain Farm in the Rostov Region (director, Comrade Morozov), the Azov State Grain Farm in the Dniepropetrovsk Region (director, Comrade Kordyukov), and the Gornyak State Grain Farm in the Stalino Region (director, Comrade Krepki).

State dairy farms: the Oreshkovo State Farm in the Moscow Region (director, Comrade Vagonov) has fine cattle, but cannot take part in the exposition because of an epidemic of Bang's disease among the cattle; the Rovenets State Farm in the Voroshilovgrad Region (director, Comrade Kandaurov) has been obtaining disgracefully low quantities of milk per cow; the Comintern State Farm in the Orenburg Region (director, Comrade Sviridov) has good cows, but obtains little milk; the same

is true of the Central Lubino State Farm in the Omsk Region (director, Comrade Voronin).

The following hog-breeding state farms have bad indices as regards the survival of the young: the March Eighth State Farm in the Kharkov Region (director, Comrade Reznichenko), the Co-operator State Farm in the Voronezh Region (director, Comrade Ovchinnikov), the May First State Farm in the Orjonikidze Territory (director, Comrade Kazgunov).

Here are some sheep-breeding state farms having low indices: the Minusinsk State Farm in the Krassnoyarsk Territory (director, Comrade Pankov), the Kirk-Ishun State Farm in the Crimean A.S.S.R. (director, Comrade Serdyuk).

The comrades in charge of the lagging state farms must realize that it is their duty to reorganize their work in a Bolshevik manner in the shortest possible time. There is still time to organize competition, to tackle the work in real earnest and bring forward new forces capable of carrying out the decisions of the Party and the Government.

The People's Commissariat of Agriculture, the People's Commissariat of State Farms, the Chief Exposition Committee, the Party organizations and Soviet bodies in the regions, and the district bodies must so organize their mass political work as to impress upon every collective farmer, every state farm and machine and tractor station worker the fact that the exposition is going to be held and its political importance.

The collective farms and state farms must discuss the progress of the preparations for the exposition at their general meetings, and the conditions which they have to fulfill in order to earn the right to take part in the exposition must be made plain. The workers in charge of the state farms, collective farms, machine and tractor stations, and local bodies should bear in mind that the preparations for the exposition must be organized on the basis of widespread Socialist competition between collective farms, state farms, machine and tractor stations, collective farmers, state farm and machine and tractor station workers, agronomists, stockbreeders, engineers, surgeons and scientific workers. All workers in the sphere of Socialist agriculture should take part in the competition and strive for the right to show their achievements at the exposition. The foremost workers must bring those lagging behind into line and help them to master the Stakhanov methods of the best workers of the state farm and collective farm fields.

The Party organizations, Soviet bodies and the press in the localities must not for a moment relax their efforts in advancing the preparations for the exposition and checking up on their progress. The splendid agitators who have come to the fore during the elections to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. and the Supreme Soviets of the Union and autonomous republics must be enlisted to take an active part in the preparations for the exposition.

Organizers for the exposition committees in the localities should be recruited among the Stakhanovites of the fields, among the Stalinian fighters for higher harvest yields.

There will be a vast amount of particularly responsible work during the stage of preparations when a checkup is made on the achievements in order to determine the right of the various collective farms, state farms, machine and tractor stations and the leading workers and organizers of agriculture to take part in the exposition. We must not allow collective farms, state farms, machine and tractor stations, and collective farmers and state farm and machine and tractor station workers who have earned the right to take part in the exposition to be ignored and go unnoticed. In this respect a grave responsibility rests upon the regional, territorial and republican bodies. They must have the achievements of their agriculture vividly displayed in the zone pavilions.

The People's Commissariat of Agriculture, the People's Commissariat of State Farms and the Chief Exposition Committee are in duty bound to reorganize their work in a Bolshevik manner and tackle the job of preparing for the All-Union Agricultural Exposition in real earnest. We must lose no time in revising all the plans pertaining to the subject matter of the various pavilions, and must draw them up so as to demonstrate the achievements of the foremost collective farms and state farms and of the leading collective farmers and state farm workers. Special attention must be paid to the task of directing the work of the exposition committees in the localities.

The Chief Exposition Committee must take into consideration the new indices and the new tasks involved in the construction work at the exposition and act accordingly in drawing up the plans pertaining to the subject matter for each pavilion separately. The committee must pay attention not only to the branch pavilions, but to the zone pavilions as well. Comrade Beria is absolutely right — the zone pavilions have remained in the shade.

The exposition must be so arranged as to present a real picture of the reconstruction of our agriculture and enable visitors to readily grasp the grand achievements of our Socialist agriculture.

At a conference of workers in land departments held in February 1938, Comrade Molotov said:

"There is only one thing that the Bolshevik Party and our whole people demand of the land department workers — that they should set in motion the reserves that are latent in our agriculture. Stir up these reserves, comrades, stir them up with all vigour!"

The All-Union Agricultural Exposition will forcefully reveal the reserves latent in collective farm and state farm production.

The victory of the collective farm system furnishes us the opportunity to demonstrate before the whole world the huge victories and the further flourishing of Socialist agriculture.

The road indicated by Comrade Stalin, the road of the reconstruction of agriculture on Socialist lines, is the only correct road ensuring a life of prosperity and culture for the collective farmers, ensuring bountiful harvests on our Socialist fields.

At the All-Union Agricultural Exposition the collective farmers, state farm workers, experts, agronomists, stock-breeders, engineers, scientific workers and land department workers will demonstrate with new force their devotion to the cause of Lenin and Stalin, their devotion to and love for our great leader, teacher and friend—Comrade Stalin. (*Loud applause.*)

The Chairman: I call upon Deputy Konuspayev.

S. Konuspayev (*Alma-Ata Rural Area, Kazakh S.S.R.*): Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet. The All-Union Agricultural Exposition is of enormous economic and political importance for our country. It will display the great achievements of the working class and the collective farm peasantry in the construction of Socialism; it will be a demonstration of the complete victory of the collective farm system in our country.

This exposition will demonstrate most effectively the realization of the great words of Comrade Stalin about the happy, joyous and prosperous life of the collective farmers, achieved under the leadership of the Communist Party—the Bolsheviks—and of the Soviet Government.

Our All-Union Agricultural Exposition will demonstrate the complete victory over the enemies of the collective farm system, who had prophesied that the collective farm cause would come to grief and predicted that it would be impossible to transform the scattered small peasant farms and combine them in large Socialist farms ensuring the peasantry a rich, cultured and happy life.

The preparations for the coming All-Union Agricultural Exposition have aroused great enthusiasm among the broad masses of collective farmers, tractor drivers and harvester-combine operators in Kazakhstan. Every collective farm is keenly interested in showing how great are its achievements in obtaining big harvests from its fields and in the development of Socialist stock-raising. The Stakhanovites of the fields are establishing new records of high harvest yields and are realizing Comrade Stalin's slogan of obtaining an annual harvest of from 7,000,000,000 to 8,000,000,000 poods of grain.

The example of the stupendous growth of agriculture and general culture in Kazakhstan furnishes the most convincing proof of the greatness and magnificence of the successes that have been achieved under the guidance of the Party, under the guidance of our great leader and teacher, Comrade Stalin. (*Applause.*)

As a result of the undeviating realization of the national policy of Lenin and Stalin, the *aouls* of Kazakhstan have changed; they have become new, Socialist, collective farm *aouls*.

The sown area in Kazakhstan comprises over 6,000,000 hectares; and 99.7 per cent of the entire sowing area is cultivated by the Socialist sector—by state farms and collective farms.

This testifies to the fact that, just as throughout the Soviet Union, the Socialist forms hold undivided sway in the agriculture of Kazakhstan. Where formerly, before the Great October Revolution, the kulaks, bais and capitalists lorded it over the Kazakh steppes, we now have Socialist fields which are being furrowed by 25,000 tractors and reaped with the aid of 8,000 harvester combines.

As far back as the Eighth Congress of our Party, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin said in his report on the work in the countryside:

"If tomorrow we could supply one hundred thousand first-class tractors, provide them with fuel, provide them with drivers—you know very well that this at present is a fantasy—the middle peasant would say: 'I am for the commune' (*i.e.*, for Communism)."

Comrade Stalin, the continuator of Lenin's cause, has made this dream of Lenin's come true in the shortest possible period of time. Not a hundred thousand, but four hundred and seventy thousand tractors are now tilling our Socialist fields.

The collective farms of Kazakhstan are now served by 307 machine and tractor stations. The poverty-stricken, nomad and ignorant Kazakh *aouls* of yore have given way to seven thousand collective farms equipped with the most up-to-date agricultural machinery, and building a free, happy and joyous life. Among these collective farms there are scores of millionaire farms.

The Kzyl-Abad Collective Farm of the Pakhta-Aral District in South Kazakhstan Region earned in 1937 the sum of 1,800,000 rubles for distribution among the collective farmers for workdays put in. The Mayak Collective Farm in the same region had an income of 1,500,000 rubles in 1937. The Trud Vostoka Collective Farm had an income of 1,400,000 rubles. The Makhtaly Collective Farm earned 1,200,000 rubles. The collective farmer Tushlam Adylbekov and his family aggregated 2,380 workdays and earned 13,260 rubles. The collective farmer Mailebek Asylybekov had 931 workdays to his credit and earned 8,383 rubles.

Comrades, Kazakhstan holds third place in the Soviet Union in the production of wheat, barley, oats and rice, second place in the production of millet, and seventh place in the production of cotton. Tobacco, sugar beet, southern hemp, tausaghyz, kok-saghyz and other crops are new in Kazakhstan; they have been developed in the period of the two Stalin Five-Year Plans. Kazakhstan is becoming a centre of stock-raising for the Soviet Union, and a republic of cotton, wheat, rice and other cereals and industrial crops. Socialist industry has been growing in Kazakhstan alongside agriculture, and Kazakhstan has become a republic of copper and lead.

In preparing for the All-Union Agricultural Exposition the collective farmers, Stakhanovites and shock-brigade workers of the Socialist fields of Kazakhstan have achieved unprecedented harvests. It is not a rare thing in Kazakhstan for state farms and collective farms to obtain harvests of more than 15 centners of grain per hectare, as for instance, the Novy Poot Collective Farm in the Karaganda Region has obtained. The Karl Marx Collective Farm in the Alma-Ata Region has obtained a harvest of 17.7 centners per hectare, the Budyonny Collective Farm in the West Kazakhstan Region—15 centners, the Comintern Collective Farm in the Alma-Ata Region—15 centners, etc.

Our poet, the collective farmer Jambul, has composed s ngs about the victories of the collective farm system in Kazakhstan, about the unprecedented harvests, and about the joyous, cultured and happy life of the collective farmers. In one of his songs he says:

"Turquoise the horizon. The fields shining bright
As wheat with the wind waves in Sun's glowing light.
We live and are happy by Stalin's great words;
For his slogan of eight billion poods do we fight.
On Turksib's rails trains run like fiery steeds—
They carry to towns loads of rice and of wheat.
Words uttered by Stalin—they soon become deeds.
Thus it was,
Thus it is,
And thus ever will be."

These songs of the people's poet, the collective farmer Jambul, who has twice been decorated with Orders, express the grand sweep of our achievements, and the will and readiness of the collective farmers of Kazakhstan to fight still more firmly, still more resolutely for further successes of the collective farm system.

In his report on the work of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. (B.) delivered at the Seventeenth Congress of our Party in January 1934, Comrade Stalin, in speaking about the mechanization of agriculture, said:

"Thus we have 204,000 tractors with a combined capacity of 3,100,000 h.p. in the collective farms and state farms. As you see, this is not a small force, it is a force capable of pulling out all the roots of capitalism in the rural districts; it is a force that twice exceeds the number of tractors that Lenin mentioned at one time as a remote prospect."

This force, the force of tractors, harvester combines and other agricultural machines, of which there are plenty in the collective farms of Kazakhstan, has uprooted and is uprooting the remnants of the kulak and bai elements and of the counter-revolutionary nationalists in the Kazakh *aouls*.

Excellent forces have come to the fore in the machine and tractor stations and in the collective farms of Kazakhstan; they are mastering the new technique and are showing examples of Stakhanovite work. Kazakhstan is proud of its best Stakhanovites of the Socialist fields and of its Stakhanovites in the sphere of stockraising, whose work is on a high plane. Everybody in Kazakhstan knows of Comrade Lautin, a harvester-combine operator of the Litvinov Machine and Tractor Station in the Karaganda Region. Everybody knows of Comrade Salikha Ongarbayeva, a milkmaid who has been awarded an Order and is a member of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. Everybody knows of Comrade Doskhozhanova, the Stakhanovite worker of our sugar-beet fields. Everybody knows of Comrade Logvinenko, a harvester-combine operator who has been awarded an Order and elected member of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.; Comrade Boglev, a tractor driver; and Comrade Mikhin, a

harvester combine operator of the Ishim Machine and Tractor Station, who has been awarded an Order.

The vast growth of the Socialist economy of Kazakhstan and the improvement in the well-being of the collective farmers have given an impetus to the development of culture and art, which are thriving in Kazakhstan on an unprecedented scale. Our collective farms have a great number of splendid schools and theatres. Most of the collective farmers' homes are equipped with radio receiving installations.

The successes in the agriculture of Kazakhstan would have been still greater if not for the enemy work of the Trotskyite, Bukharinite and bourgeois-nationalist fascist degenerates.

Comrades, the All-Union Agricultural Exposition will serve to demonstrate the universal and irrevocable victory of the collective farm system; it will serve to demonstrate the results of Comrade Stalin's wise direction to make the collective farms Bolshevik and the collective farmers well-to-do. This exposition will serve to demonstrate the joyous, cultured and prosperous life of the collective farms, the like of which is not to be found in the capitalist world.

The toiling peasants of the capitalist countries suffer from ruin, starvation and poverty; they are ruthlessly exploited by the landlords and capitalists. The peasants of the capitalist countries can only dream of a joyous, cultured and prosperous life such as is enjoyed by the collective farm peasantry in the land of victorious Socialism.

Our successes have become possible only because Lenin's cause has been and is now in reliable hands, in the hands of the genius of humanity, the leader of peoples, the teacher and friend of the collective farm peasantry and the great builder of the collective farm system—our own and beloved Stalin. (*Applause.*)

That is why the collective farmers of our country are boundlessly devoted to their fatherland, to the Bolshevik Party, to the Soviet Government and to our own Stalin. (*Applause.*)

The collective farm peasantry has fought against all the various enemies of the collective farm movement—against the kulaks, the bais and the Trotskyite and Bukharinite counter-revolutionaries, who tried to divert the collective farm system from the right path and to restore capitalism, restore capitalist and landlord rule in our country.

The pack of hirelings of fascism had miscalculated. We have smashed them with the assistance of the valiant Chekists and their Stalin People's Commissar, Nikolai Ivanovich Yezhov. (*Loud applause.*)

That is why the collective farmers in our country love their valiant Chekists and their militant leader, Nikolai Ivanovich Yezhov, who are doing an enormous amount of work to purge our country and our collective farms of the remnants of the Trotskyite-Bukharinite and nationalist-fascist traitors. The enemies have been smashed and destroyed, and as a result it has become easier to breathe and work in our Kazakhstan. We are full of confidence as we contemplate the morrow, for we are certain that tomorrow will bring us still greater successes.

That is why our collective farm peasantry express again and again

their great thanks to the fervently loved Comrade Stalin for their life of happiness, culture and joy. (*Loud and prolonged applause. Cheers for Comrade Stalin.*) That is why our collective farmers boundlessly love their Workers' and Peasants' Government, which is constantly working for the further advancement of Socialist agriculture, for the further advancement of culture and for the introduction of the most up-to-date machines in agricultural production.

That is why they love the head of our Government, Comrade Stalin's closest associate—Vyacheslav Mikhailovich Molotov. (*Loud and prolonged applause. Cheers for Comrade Molotov.*)

Comrades, if our Agricultural Exposition is to fulfil successfully the important tasks which we assign to it, if it is to meet fully all the requirements of our growing Socialist agriculture, and if we want all our collective farmers and collective farms to be better prepared for it, we must postpone the opening of the All-Union Agricultural Exposition to 1939.

I fully and wholeheartedly support the motion of the group of deputies from the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic as formulated by Deputy Khrushchov.

Comrades, the threats of the Japanese militarists, who are continually provoking Japan to war against the Soviet Union, hold out no terrors for us. Our glorious Workers' and Peasants' Red Army has demonstrated its invincibility in practice, by administering a crushing rebuff to the aggressors at Lake Hasan. The Red Army has thereby shown the whole world, and particularly the fascist states, that they cannot treat the Soviet Union lightly, that such attempts will bring them to a very bad end.

The Japanese *samurai* will do well to remember firmly and always that the Soviet people are ready at any moment to rise, together with their glorious Workers' and Peasants' Red Army, to the defence of their country, to the defence of the October Revolution, to the defence of their joyous, happy and cultured life.

They will also do well to remember that a war against the Soviet Union will be a dangerous war for the fascist countries. It will be a war that will put an end to fascist barbarism forever.

The pledge of this is in the indissoluble Stalinian friendship of the peoples of our country, in their being united around the Party of Lenin and Stalin.

The pledge of this is in our glorious and invincible Red Army, which is led by one of the closest associates of the great Stalin—by Kliment Voroshilov, First Marshal of the Soviet Union and hero of the Red army. (*Loud applause. Cheers for Comrade Voroshilov.*)

The pledge of this is in the fact that the Land of Soviets is led by the famed hero of our great country, by our own and beloved Stalin. (*Prolonged cheers for Comrade Stalin. Cries: "Hurrah for Comrade Stalin!"*)

The Chairman: A motion has been received to adjourn. Are there any objections? No.

Adjournment for fifteen minutes.

(*Adjournment.*)

N. M. Shvernik (*in the chair*): The sitting is resumed. I call upon Comrade Benediktov, Assistant People's Commssar of Agriiculture of the U.S.S.R.

I. A. Benediktov: Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet. In accordance with the wishes of the Second All-Union Congress of Collective Farm Shock-Brigade Workers, the Government and the Central Committee of our Party in February 1935 adopted a dec sion to organize an All-Union Agricultural Expos tion in Moscow. The All-Union Agricultural Exposition is to serve as a nation-wide review of the victories scored by Socialism in the countryside, a grand pageant of the achievements of our Socialist agriculture. It is to reflect the great victories won by the Soviet people in refashioning the countryside on Socialist lines. The All-Union Agricultural Exposition is to be a nation-wide exposition, an exposition at which the nation, the people themselves, will show what has been accomplished in the years of the Great October Revolution in the Socialist reconstruction of agriculture. The Party and the Government are organizing the Agricultural Expositi n as a mass political measure that will serve to develop Socialist agriculture still more. This exposition will be the first agricultural exposition held in our country since the victory of the collective farm system, since the abolition of the kulaks as a class. It will be a practical demonstration of the gigantic leap which the Soviet peasantry, inhabiting one-sixth of the world, led by the great Party of Lenin and Stalin and following the Stalin statutes of the agricultural artel, have taken from the realm of explo tation and capitalist barbarism to a bright, happy and prosperous life in the collective farms.

The Socialist agriculture of the Soviet Union can show worthy results and the people who accomplished them. The Soviet Union is firmly established as the world's foremost producer of wheat, rye, oats, barley, flax, sugar beet and potatoes. Over 18,000,000 peasant farms—93 per cent of the total in the Soviet Union—are combined in collective farms. 99 per cent of the area sown by peasant farms is cultivated collectively. The Socialist agriculture of the Land of Soviets is the best equipped in the world, and the largest in scale. Our agriculture is developing at an unparalleled rate, a rate inconceivable in small-scale individual peasant farming. Suffice it to say that the output of agricultural produce in the collective farms in 1937 was 25 per cent more than in 1936—a rate of increase that does not and never can exist in any capitalist country.

The Stalin collective farm in Koltsovka village, in the Chuvash A.S.S.R., is a graphic example showing how the old poverty-stricken villages have been transformed into the Socialist villages of the collective farms. Seven years before the revolution, in 1910—a year of record harvest—the peasants in this village gathered 8 centners of grain per hectare. In 1937 the peasants of this same village, combined in a collective farm, gathered an average of about 30 centners per hectare. While the harvest of grain crops in the Koltsovka collective farm in its first year—1931—was 5,390 centners, in 1937 the total harvest was 15,256 centners, nearly three times as much.

In 1910, if we discount the grain set aside for seed, the amount harvested per peasant household was 31 poods; in 1937 the average received by a household of colle tive farm members was 370 poods. Compared with pre-revolutionary times, the quality of cultivation has improved out of all recognition. For instance, while in 1913 the ploughing depth was 9-10 cm., in 1937 it was as much as 20-22 cm.

While in 1913 none of the land for spring crops was ploughed in the autumn, in 1937 all spring crops were sown on land ploughed the autumn before. In 1913 none of the seed was sorted; in 1937 all the seed sown was sorted to secure high quality. Before the revolution a third of the peasant households in Koltsovka owned no farmyard stock. Now there is not a single household in the collective farm without a cow, 100 collective farm households owning 178 head of cattle, apart from other livestock. The only cultural institution in Koltsovka before the revolution was a single elementary school. Now this collective farm village has a 10-year school attended by 400 children, a club with a seating capacity of 500 and a sound cinema installation, a radio receiving station with 200 extensions, a power station, a dispensary and a veterinary station.

Splendid people have come to the fore in this collective farm. Its chairman, Comrade Korotkov, is now People's Commissar of Agriculture of the Chuvash A.S.S.R. Nor is th s an isolated instance. Hundreds and thousands of such examples could be cited for every region, territory and republic. The Stakhanovites of the Socialist fields are already producing record yields on their sections—80 to 100 centners of grain, 1,000 or more centners of sugar beet, 12 to 15 centners of flax fibre, and 100 to 120 centners of cotton per hectare.

All this goes to show that the collective farm system has tapped inexhaustible springs of public wealth, initiative and enthusiasm and produced every condition for a cultured and a prosperous life.

The decision adopted by the Party and the Government to organize an All-Union Agricultural Exposition met with a ready response among the collective farmers, the workers on the state farms and the machine and tractor stations, and the agricultural specialists.

The exposition committees of the various republics, regions and territories have received 60,000 applications for entry, of which over 28,700 have been put in by collective farms (excluding the applications of the collective farm meat and dairy departments), 600 by state farms, 170 by machine and tractor stations and over 24,000 by individual outstanding figures and organizers of Socialist agriculture. However, the Chief Exposition Committee and the People's Commissariat of Agriculture of the U.S.S.R. have failed to cope with the preparations for the All-Union Agricultural Exposition, with regard both to selecting the exhibits and to the construction of the necessary premises. The land departments in the various localities have failed to take charge properly of Socialist competition among the collective farmers and the workers in the machine and tractor stations and state farms for the right to take part in the All-Union Agricultural Expos tion.

The enemies of the people who carried on their infamous activities in the system of the People's Commissariat of Agriculture of the U.S.S.R.

and the Chief Exposition Committee did much to damage the work of organizing the exposition. As a result, with regard to a number of branches of agriculture, the material received for entry by the Chief Exposition Committee from the various republics, territories and regions does not reflect the actual achievements of our agriculture. Thus, for instance, as regards grain-growing, only about 2 per cent of the collective farms had been nominated for entry in the Dniepropetrovsk Region, under 1 per cent in the Nikolayev Region and 2 per cent in the Altai Territory; clearly, this cannot provide a truthful picture of the place occupied by these regions in the production of grain—of their importance and achievements in this sphere. At the same time, in the Chuvash A.S.S.R. 35 per cent of the collective farms had been nominated. The grave defects which we see in the preparations for the exposition may be traced to the fact that its importance has not been grasped by the regional, territorial and republican organizations, and primarily by the land departments, and that the indices set for entry for the All-Union Agricultural Exposition were graduated according to badly delimited zones without any scientific basis. Regions were included in the same zones though their climatic and soil conditions were totally different; for example, all of the Ukraine, the Krasnodar and Orjonikidze territories, the Kursk, Voronezh and Rostov Regions and the Crimean, Daghestan, Kabardino-Balkarian, North-Ossetian and Chechen-Ingush Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republics have all been included in the 15 centners per hectare zone; all of the Volga country (except the right bank section of the Kuibyshev Region), the Omsk Region (excluding the northern districts), the Chelyabinsk Region, the Kalmyk A.S.S.R., the Stavropol section of the Orjonikidze Territory, and the Kazakh S.S.R. have all been included in the 11 centner per hectare zone.

Owing to this improper classification of the various territories, regions, republics and individual districts under the different yield zones, a number of the Soviet Union's chief grain districts would have been less represented at the exposition than districts which do not hold a leading position in grain. This goes to show that the yield indices for some territories, regions, republics and districts were too high, while for others they were too low. No clear-cut differentiation of districts in accordance with their soil and climatic conditions was undertaken.

The indices for the machine and tractor stations, the tractor drivers and the harvester combine operators were such that quantity alone gave them the right to enter for the exposition, and what they did to secure big harvests in the collective farms was disregarded. This constituted the fundamental defect of the indices set for the machine and tractor stations, the tractor drivers and the combine operators.

These indices, in addition, entirely precluded the participation of tractor brigade leaders in the exposition, though many of them are among the foremost mechanizers of our agriculture.

The indices set for the link-leaders in sugar-beet and cotton production were such as to admit only individual record breakers and precluded

the participation of the masses of foremost workers in these branches of agriculture.

All this shows that for a number of territories, regions and republics appreciable amendments have to be made to the indices set for the right of entry for the All-Union Agricultural Exposition. Indices are now being drawn up on the basis of the soil and climatic conditions in the districts and of yield figures over a period of many years. The zones have been revised to include all districts with similar conditions. Sub-zones have been marked out within the zones, with differentiated yield indices. For instance, the Southern winter-wheat zone has been divided into four sections: the humid section, comprising the Kuban district and the foothills of the North Caucasus; the wooded steppe section of the Ukraine; the steppe section of the Odessa, Nikolayev, Dniepropetrovsk, Voroshilovgrad and Stalino regions and the Crimean A.S.S.R.; and, finally, the section with little rainfall, including the Kherson districts of the Nikolayev Region, the Melitopol districts of the Dniepropetrovsk Region, the Mariupol districts of the Stalino Region, certain districts of the Voroshilovgrad Region, the Salsk districts, the Stavropol districts and the Kizlyar district of the Orjonikidze Territory. The other zones of the country have been similarly divided in accordance with their climatic and soil conditions.

As regards the machine and tractor stations, figures of the amount of ground covered by the tractors and harvester combines will not be the only criterion. They will be supplemented by figures showing the yield in the district in question. This criterion is intended to secure the entry of machine and tractor stations which have succeeded in noticeably increasing the yield in the collective farms they serve.

In the case of the harvester combine operators, the standards will deal not only with the area covered but also the time taken and the amount of grain threshed.

The material received by the Exposition Committees did not present a complete picture of the achievements of Socialist stock-raising. The Central Selection Commission has received applications for entry for the All-Union Agricultural Exposition from only 552 collective farm dairy departments, 437 pig-raising departments and 941 sheep-rearing departments.

That so few stock-raising departments of collective farms have been nominated to participate in the exposition is to be ascribed to the totally unsatisfactory mass work of the People's Commissariat of Agriculture of the U.S.S.R. and of its system, owing to which many deserving collective farm stock-raising departments have not been nominated for entry. Very little has been done to secure the entry of large numbers of such departments.

In the Vologda Region, with a total of over 7,000 stock-raising departments, only three have been nominated for the exposition, though there are plenty that are entitled to participate.

In the Orenburg Region not a single dairy department and only one pig-raising department and six sheep-rearing departments have been

nominated for the exposition. The Saratov Region is represented by two dairy departments and three pig-raising departments. The Chita Region is represented by a sole sheep-rearing department; its cattle and pig-raising are not represented at all.

Owing to the poor management of the Chief Exposition Committee and the People's Commissariat of Agriculture of the U.S.S.R., and also to the wrecking activities which took place, the building of the exposition premises was undertaken without a proper general plan. The general plan made no provision whatever for such an important section of the exposition as one showing the old village and the new. A number of pavilions will have to be altered, as their architecture and appearance are unsatisfactory. This applies particularly to the Ukrainian, Byelorussian, Moscow and Far-Eastern pavilions, and also to the mechanization pavilion. Very few of the pavilions can be considered successful and require no alteration. The Leningrad Region pavilion and the fruit and vegetable pavilion of the People's Commissariat of Agriculture of the R.S.F.S.R. may be included in this category.

All these facts prove that the exposition is not ready to be opened this year, and Deputy Khrushchov is quite right in moving that the opening of the exposition be deferred till 1939.

The further preparations for the exposition should be conducted on the lines of an all-Union competition of the republics, territories, regions, districts, collective farms, machine and tractor stations and state farms, and of individual leaders and organizers of Socialist agriculture, for a big harvest, for the maximum of products from livestock, for good, efficient work in every branch of agricultural production.

The entire Soviet public should engage in the preparations for the exposition, should work for the exposition and show concern for its progress. A tremendous responsibility rests with the local Soviet organizations, and especially the land departments. It is they who must act as the organizers of competition and must be responsible for supplying the exposition with genuinely model samples of the work and achievements of the collective farm countryside. The foremost duty of the local organizations is to take charge of Socialist competition.

Millions of people will be competing for the right to exhibit the results of their work at this nation-wide review. Socialist competition for the right of entry for the exposition should ensure that in every branch of agriculture the work still to be done this year should be performed in exemplary fashion and solid foundations laid for obtaining record results in 1939. Good sowing of winter crops, fulfilment of the autumn ploughing plan, careful preparation of winter quarters and fodder for the stock, exemplary preparations for sowing in 1939—work to achieve Stalin's slogan of 7,000,000,000 to 8,000,000,000 poods of grain and a further increase in the number and productivity of livestock in Socialist agriculture, to achieve a big incom per workday and pro perity for the collective farmers—all thi mu t provide the conditions for success in the further preparations for the exposition.

The All-Union Agricultural Exposition should not only display the achievements of agriculture; drawing on the examples of the foremost republics, territories, regions, districts, collective farms and individual Stakhanovites, it should show how these successes were achieved and demonstrate what must be done to secure the further development of Socialist agriculture.

The exposition should serve as a sort of national laboratory where millions of people, in addition to admiring the results of Socialist labour, will master the "secrets" that enabled the foremost people on the collective and state farms to achieve such records.

We should not only show the splendid achievements of our agriculture, but reproduce in a variety of forms the working methods of the leading people in our agriculture, who have achieved results that before the revolution were beyond the peasant's wildest dreams. The exposition must reveal the full scope of the work ahead and its direction, must set new tasks for the future.

The achievements of Socialist agriculture displayed at the All-Union Agricultural Exposition will be as reports by the republics, territories, regions, districts, collective farms, machine and tractor stations and thousands of the finest people working in agriculture on the successes they have attained. The achievements that the exposition will demonstrate will be as the report of our vast army of agricultural workers to all the working people of our Soviet Union, to the Soviet Government, the Communist Party and our great Stalin. (*Prolonged applause.*)

The Chairman: I call upon Deputy Tsitsin.

N. V. Tsitsin (*Tara Area, Omsk Region*): Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet. You will recall our first agricultural exposition, which was organized in 1923. Even at that time, this exposition reflected our first successes in the work of restoring agriculture.

We all remember the condition of our agriculture at that time. Comrade Stalin in his report on the Draft Constitution of the U.S.S.R. at the Extraordinary Eighth Congress of Soviets of the U.S.S.R. characterized this period as follows:

"True, the landlord class had already been liquidated, but, on the other hand, the agricultural capitalist class, the kulak class, still represented a fairly considerable force. On the whole, agriculture at that time resembled a boundless ocean of small individual peasant farms with backward, mediaeval technical equipment. In this ocean, like small dots and islands, were the collective farms and state farms, which, strictly speaking, did not yet have any serious significance in our national economy. The collective farms and state farms were weak, while the kulak was still strong. At that time we spoke not of liquidating the kulaks, but of restricting them."

At that time we were only just beginning to produce agricultural machinery. We had no tractor or harvester-combine plants, nor did we actually have any plants producing the latest agricultural machinery.

Naturally, with the antiquated system of land tenure then prevailing, with the old agricultural implements, we could not get very far. However, even so, this first exposition showed the peasants clearly and convincingly

that the way mapped out by the great Party of Lenin and Stalin, the way of combining the small, scattered peasant farms in producing co-operatives, was the only way to overcome poverty and kulak bondage.

Fifteen years have passed, comrades. In this time we have covered a distance greater than the human eye can take in. We have built giant tractor, harvester-combine and up-to-date agricultural machinery plants. 93 per cent of the peasant farms are combined in collective farms. The unparalleled development of productive forces in our country has raised agriculture to unprecedented heights.

The people working in agriculture have also been developing before our eyes.

Where and when have calves been reared as they are by Natalia Konstantinovna Antipina of the Kholmogory pedigree farm, renowned throughout the country for her splendid tending of calves, or Darya Mikhailovna Taranenko, a collective farmer of the Dniepropetrovsk Region? Now we have thousands of such workers.

Where and when have such fine cows been reared as "Poslushnitsa" of the Karavayevo pedigree farm, which gives as much as 16,500 litres of milk a year?

Alexandra Petrovna Lytkina and Natalia Sergeyevna Butakova, our famous milkmaids, get an average of 6,500 to 7,500 litres of milk from the cows in their charge; and we have hundreds and thousands of such workers in rearing and milking stock.

Tell me, who had ever heard of getting 300, 400, 500 and even more poods of wheat from a hectare of land? Yet now our big harvest raisers are doing it in every corner of our vast Soviet land. Only a few years ago they were individuals, few and far between; now they number hundreds and thousands. It was not so long ago that Maria Sofronovna Demchenko, who started the Stakhanov movement in agriculture, undertook to get 500 centners of sugar beet per hectare. At that time science regarded 300 or 400 centners as the practically unattainable maximum. But now we have Agrafena Prokopyevna Medvedeva, a famous link-leader in the Tula Region, raising an average of 1,000 centners per hectare!

We have many such instances now.

Only a few years ago, which of us would ever have believed that a single man could harvest as much in a day as used to be harvested by more than a hundred people? At that time it seemed incredible. But now our Soviet land has record-breakers in combine harvesting—not isolated individuals, but hundreds and thousands of them—working even more productively. Similarly, our first Stakhanovite tractor drivers, with their amazing records, served as the pioneers whose experience went to train thousands of new Stakhanovites. With such people, comrades, we naturally have plenty to show at the exposition.

Our 1939 agricultural exposition must serve to display the might and thriving of our country's agriculture.

Abroad, in the lands of capital, agriculture is declining. The poverty of the peasant masses is taking on shocking dimensions. In Canada,

for instance, the cash income of the farmers has diminished in the last five years by 36.5 per cent. In the fascist countries the peasants' position is particularly deplorable. Japanese peasants are robbed of a third of their income in the form of taxes. In Poland the peasants now spend on food only 63-67 per cent of what they spent five years ago. As to fascist Germany, comrades, we all know what the food situation there is like.

Against such a background, our successes in winning a life of prosperity for all the working people of the Soviet Union are particularly striking. The All-Union Agricultural Exposition shall show the world how, under the leadership of the Party of Lenin and Stalin, our villages, formerly squalid and poverty-stricken, have in a short space of time turned into villages that are flourishing, joyful and prosperous.

Taking as examples the foremost districts, collective farms and individual Stakhanovites, the exposition should teach our people to fight successfully for further progress in Socialist agriculture. It should become the highest school of Stakhanov efficiency in every sphere of Socialist agriculture. In nearly every district of the Soviet Union there is much valuable experience which the exposition must skilfully bring out and make available to every collective and state farm. However, comrades, you know that until quite recently there were a number of things wrong as regards the exposition. The enemies of the people who for a long time were active in the People's Commissariat of Agriculture of the U.S.S.R. and the Chief Exposition Committee did their best to wreck our nation-wide review of the great victories scored by Socialist agriculture. But they did not succeed, nor will they ever succeed.

Comrades, we are now faced with the responsible duty of correcting the mistakes that have been made. Whoever takes a look at the construction work on the exposition site cannot help noticing the ideological poverty and insignificance of the architecture of certain pavilions. All the pavilions except two or three have been built blind, without windows. This was done on the plea that the exhibits would look more effective in electric lighting than by daylight. The exterior and interior decoration of certain pavilions is also contrary to common sense. For instance, as you know, the chief entrance to the livestock pavilion is adorned with the figure of a bison. Why the decorators decided to use this exotic emblem to symbolize our livestock-raising is incomprehensible. Take the paintings. There are 10 altogether, and those in the grain pavilion depict various kinds of farm work. But you should see what they are like, comrades! Why, any collective farmer that takes a look at them will burst into laughter, for he will think that the way the paintings distort reality is meant for a joke. When the exhibits were installed in this pavilion to show the effect produced, it became clear that they constitute such an agglomeration of disjointed material as to make it quite impossible for the visitors to assimilate anything. The position is similar in a number of other pavilions.

As for showing the work of the people who are fighting with might

and main for the right to enter for the exposition, I think matters were still worse. Deputies have already remarked that, owing to the bureaucratic formalism in the selection of candidates, the Ukraine, for instance, would have been displayed as a leading cotton producer, Chuvashia as a leading grain producer, and so on and so forth.

Comrades, time will not wait. The mistakes in the preparations for the All-Union Agricultural Exposition must be rectified as we go along, and this work, a matter of honour for our country, must be accomplished in exemplary fashion.

The All-Union Agricultural Exposition is the job of all of us.

You will recall what importance was attached to the All-Russian Agricultural Exposition of 1922 by Vladimir Ilyich Lenin. In his greetings to the exposition he wrote:

"I think the exposition is very important; I am sure that every organization will do all it can to help. I heartily wish it the best of success."

The exposition of 1939 must become a genuine Socialist school for millions of collective farmers and research workers, agronomists, agricultural engineers, and for everyone connected with the agriculture of our country, for it will demonstrate what can be achieved by the creative energy of the men of science and the men of practice in the free Land of Soviets.

Unlike bourgeois countries, in our country now it is hard to find the line that divides science and practice. In our conception, genuinely progressive science permeates practical work, while practical work in its turn stimulates science.

In his speech at the First All-Union Conference of Stakhanovites, Comrade Stalin said:

"Science which had severed contact with practice, with experience—what sort of science is that? If science were the thing it is depicted to be by certain of our conservative comrades, it would have perished for humanity long ago. Science is called science just because it does not recognize fetishes, just because it does not fear to raise its hand against the obsolete and antiquated, and because it lends an attentive ear to the voice of experience, of practice."

Science in our country has become the property of the broad masses. The attraction science has for the masses is generally known. Their love of experimenting and research, their striving to master the mysteries of nature and subject her to the power of man must be the crimson thread running through all the exhibits at the All-Union Agricultural Exposition.

The exposition should also reflect the exceptionally favourable conditions provided for agricultural science in our country.

Close contact with practical work renders scientific research in our country extraordinarily fruitful. No sooner is some agricultural process improved even slightly than it brings in additional hundreds, thousands and millions of centners of harvest, appreciably increases the productivity of stock, and so on.

It is only in the Soviet Union, under the conditions of Socialist agriculture, that every opportunity is provided for transforming agricultural science into genuinely progressive science, a science that, as Comrade Stalin said at the Kremlin reception of higher educational workers, "does not fence itself off from the people, that does not hold itself aloof from the people, but is prepared to serve the people, to transmit to the people all the achievements of science, and which serves the people not under compulsion, but voluntarily and willingly."

We already have such progressive science.

I shall mention a few examples and instances of the Bolshevik work of Comrade Lysenko, a Soviet scientist in the full sense of the word. You will recall that "academic" science met his early experiments in seed vernalization first with a conspiracy of silence and then with open hostility. Lysenko, a member of the Academy of Science, did not go to the patriarchs of the academy to have his theory confirmed, but put his experiment in the very reliable hands of thousands of collective farmers.

As you know, the experiment was a glorious success and has become firmly established in practice, in the actual process of production.

Another instance. You know that the Ukraine had no potato seed of its own. The seed had to be brought from the north, which encumbered our railways and was very expensive. And in any case this seed from other localities soon ceased to produce. Small wonder that potatoes in Odessa were three times the price of grapes. By his experiments in summer planting, Comrade Lysenko has once and for all solved the potato problem for the Ukraine. And these experiments too he immediately took into the collective farms.

Soviet agricultural science can boast many a name that laboured to advance science. We have only to recall I. V. Michurin, a brilliant scientist whose ideas are now flourishing with renewed vigour. And how many new people, trained by the Soviets, we have working in the field of science, who are labouring like Lysenko to secure a happy life for the working people of our Socialist society! Their number is growing every day, in scientific research institute and collective farm laboratory. These people too will demonstrate their achievements to the country at the Agricultural Exposition.

You see, comrades, that we have enough achievements and people who accomplished them to show at the exposition. Our business is to show them as vividly and graphically as possible, so that hundreds of thousands and millions of Soviet men and women may benefit by the experience of the vanguard, assimilate this experience and apply it widely in their practical work.

The exposition must serve as a general review of the victories of Socialist agriculture, the victories of the collective farm system. It must show how in the twenty years of Soviet rule the old village, with its accursed past, its backwardness and ignorance, has been transformed into a village that knows no exploitation of man by man, a village where poverty and ignorance have been abolished once and for

all, where people, rallying to the banner of Lenin and Stalin and following Stalin's statutes of the agricultural artel, have learnt to solve problems of state importance in Bolshevik fashion. The proof of this is the fulfilment of the task set by Comrade Stalin—an annual harvest of 7,000,000,000 to 8,000,000,000 poods of grain.

The exposition must show collective labour, modern technical methods and the happy, prosperous, cultured life that has come true in the Soviet countryside. It must show that the Soviets, after abolishing the exploiter classes of landlords and kulaks, handed over more than 150,000,000 hectares of former landlord, crown and monastery land and over 80,000,000 hectares of kulak land to the peasants free of all charge, and have reserved this land to the collective farms forever. It must show that in the Soviet Union, unlike any other country in the world, the very conception of "poor peasants" has become a thing of the distant past, gone, never to return.

It must show that in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, unlike any other country in the world, peasant women are really free and really enjoy equal rights with men.

It must show that as a result of the victory of Socialism in our agriculture, output has already doubled.

And, finally, it must show that labour productivity in the collective farms is even now nearly three times as high as on the individual peasant farms; and labour productivity, as Vladimir Ilyich Lenin said, "in the last analysis is the most important, the principal thing for the victory of the new social system."

Comrades, our society, which twenty years ago threw off the yoke of autocracy and capitalism and has come to taste of the joy of free labour and self-expression, is marching boldly onward to ever new victories under the leadership of the Communist Party of Bolsheviks and its great leader, Comrade Stalin. (*Loud and prolonged applause and cheers.*)

Stalin: How are you getting on with your experiments in evolving a new kind of wheat—perennial wheat?

Tsitsin: Comrade Stalin asks how I am getting on with my experiments in evolving perennial wheat—a kind of wheat that is totally new.

Joseph Vissarionovich, the work at present stands as follows: we already have ten hectares sown to this wheat, but so far all its properties have nowhere been fully ascertained. Near Moscow, as in other districts of the Union, we have an experimental plot which leads us to hope that the plants will survive the second winter as well as the first. In addition to these early varieties that we produced, we now already have some that are better. Such, briefly, is the situation. (*Applause.*)

The invincible banner of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin is flying ever brighter over our country. Our land, once so poor, is becoming prosperous. The free human beings of the Land of Soviets are decking it in ever finer garb, rich and wonderful. And in every corner of our

Soviet land, men, building a new life, utter with love and devotion the name of their cherished friend, so dear to all—our great Stalin. (*Loud and prolonged applause and cheers for Comrade Stalin.*)

The Chairman: Comrades, a motion has been made to close the debate. Are there any other motions? No. I shall put it to the vote. Those in favour of closing the debate, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No.

The debate is closed.

I call upon Deputy Khrushchov to reply to the debate. (*Loud applause.*)

N. S. Khrushchov: Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet. All the speakers support the motion that the opening of the All-Union Agricultural Exposition should be deferred until August 1, 1939.

I should like to say a few words about the speeches of Comrades Yurkin and Benediktov.

I am of the opinion, and I believe so are the other deputies, that the Session of the Supreme Soviet expected to hear Comrade Yurkin criticize his work both as People's Commissar of State Farms and as a member of the Exposition Committee.

I am of the opinion that Comrade Yurkin not only dwelt too little on this subject, but actually evaded it. His facts are quite correct, but all he did was to repeat what other deputies had said before him, whereas what Comrade Yurkin should have done was to give a criticism of the work of the Exposition Committee, a criticism of the work of the People's Commissariat of State Farms, including his own work, since he is one of those to blame that the exposition is not ready in 1938.

I am also of the opinion that Comrade Benediktov too should have given a criticism of his own work and brought out the true causes that have made it impossible to open the All-Union Agricultural Exposition in 1938.

Such are the remarks I wanted to make.

Permit me now to read the All-Union Agricultural Exposition Bill:

"The Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. notes the tremendous importance of the All-Union Agricultural Exposition which is being organized by decision of the Government for the further progress of Socialist agriculture in the U.S.S.R.

"It is the mission of the All-Union Agricultural Exposition to reflect in a worthy manner the great achievements of Socialist agriculture in the U.S.S.R., to display the best examples of agriculture in all its branches, and to demonstrate in full the multifarious power and wealth of agriculture in the republics, territories and regions of the Soviet Union. It must lend powerful impetus to Socialist competition among collective farms, collective farmers and all those engaged in the sphere of agriculture for the enhancement of the achievements of agriculture, and will help to elevate the whole mass of collective farms and state farms to the level of those in the lead, so as to secure the further steady progress of agriculture, an increasing

abundance of farm produce, and prosperity and culture for the mass of the collective farmers.

"At the same time the Supreme Soviet notes the unsatisfactory state of the preparations for the agricultural exposition. To this day the People's Commissariat of Agriculture and the People's Commissariat of State Farms of the U.S.S.R. have not set up differentiated indices by which to select participants in the exposition with reference to the manifold peculiarities of agricultural production in the various districts of the U.S.S.R., differing in climatic, soil and other conditions; the building operations on the site of the exposition are unfinished, while various pavilions now finished obviously do not answer the requirements of the All-Union Agricultural Exposition.

"For the purpose of rectifying these serious shortcomings in the preparations for the opening of the exposition, and of organizing it in the best manner possible, and for the further purpose of widely developing Socialist competition among the collective farms, state farms, machine and tractor stations and collective-farm dairy and meat departments for the right to take part in the All-Union Agricultural Exposition, the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics *resolves*:

"1) To instruct the People's Commissariat of Agriculture and the People's Commissariat of State Farms of the U.S.S.R. to rectify immediately the aforementioned mistakes and shortcomings in the organization of the All-Union Agricultural Exposition.

"2) To defer the opening of the All-Union Agricultural Exposition to 1939, setting August 1, 1939, as the opening date."

The Chairman: We shall now vote on the All-Union Agricultural Exposition Bill.

Are there any amendments?

Voices: No.

The Chairman: Each Chamber will vote separately on the All-Union Agricultural Exposition Bill.

The members of the Soviet of the Union will vote first. Those in favour of adopting the All-Union Agricultural Exposition Bill, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

The All-Union Agricultural Exposition Bill is adopted unanimously. (*Applause.*)

The members of the Soviet of Nationalities will now vote. Those in favour of adopting the All-Union Agricultural Exposition Bill, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

The All-Union Agricultural Exposition Bill is adopted unanimously. (*Applause.*)

We shall proceed to the eighth item on the agenda—the ukases adopted by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. in the interval between the First and Second Sessions and subject to confirmation by the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

I call upon Deputy Gorkin, Secretary of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., for the report. (*Applause.*)

A. F. Gorkin (*Kanash Area, Chuvash A.S.S.R.*): Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet. In the interval between the First and Second Sessions of the Supreme Soviet, the Presidium has issued a number of ukases which, in accordance with the Constitution, are subject to confirmation by the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

On the occasion of the Twentieth Anniversary of the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army and Navy, the Presidium issued ukases awarding Orders of the U.S.S.R. to a number of Red Army commanders and a ukase instituting a Twenty Years of the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army Jubilee Medal.

The Jubilee Medal was awarded to men and commanders who by February 23—Red Army day—had a twenty years' service record in the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army or Navy and to veterans of merit of the Civil War and the war for the country's freedom and independence.

The Jubilee Medal regulations provide that the record of service in the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army or Navy should include service in Red Guard detachments and squads and in the Red Partisan units operating against the enemies of the Soviets between 1917 and 1921.

These awards met with undivided approval among the people, and the determined rebuff recently administered to the arrogant warmongers in the Far East is the best possible confirmation that the Red Army fully deserves them.

In addition to the awards, the Presidium issued a ukase on an amnesty on the occasion of the Twentieth Anniversary of the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army. Following the ukase provisions, all military men serving a first sentence of up to three years' imprisonment with the exception of persons sentenced for crimes against the state have been released from custody and relieved of all other penalties entailed in the sentences. In accordance with the ukase, the sentences of military men conditionally sentenced have been struck from their records. The amnesty also includes military men awaiting trial for offences involving penalties of up to three years' imprisonment.

Inasmuch as the passing of an All-Union Amnesty Act falls, in accordance with the Constitution, within the jurisdiction of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, as represented by its supreme organ of power, the Presidium submits the ukase on the amnesty on the occasion of the Twentieth Anniversary of the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army for confirmation by the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

Since the First Session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., the Presidium has issued two ukases on the formation of new regions in the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic and in the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.

On May 28, 1938, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. endorsed the decision adopted by the All-Russian Central Executive Committee to form a Murmansk region in the R.S.F.S.R.

On June 3, 1938, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. endorsed the decision adopted by the Central Executive Committee of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic to divide the Donets Region into the Stalino and Voroshilovgrad regions.

The first sessions of the Supreme Soviet of the R.S.F.S.R. and the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian S.S.R. amended the Constitutions of these republics accordingly.

The formation of the Murmansk Region in the R.S.F.S.R. and the division of the Donets Region of the Ukrainian S.S.R. into the Stalino and Voroshilovgrad Regions, which are now being submitted for confirmation by the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., reflect the political and economic changes that have taken place in our country, the further development of national economy and the progress of Socialist culture.

The establishment of these new regions was called for by the need for bringing the regional Soviet bodies closer to the districts, the enterprises, machine and tractor stations and collective and state farms; this will make their leadership more efficient, since these bodies will have a better grasp of the region's economic and cultural affairs and will be in a position to settle more promptly the practical problems arising.

The formation of these new regions was called for by the fact that rapid economic development, the growth of the towns and economic progress in the collective-farm countryside are imposing ever more complex political and economic tasks upon the Soviet bodies, and increasing demands are made upon them as a result of the growing culture, Socialist enlightenment and material welfare of the working people.

The formation of the new regions will also further the promotion of new forces to leading posts in Soviet, economic and cultural work.

The formation of the Murmansk Region in the R.S.F.S.R. is of great importance for this republic. I shall quote a few facts about this new region.

Before the revolution the territory now occupied by the Murmansk region was bleak and desolate; its total population numbered 9,500. The vast natural resources of the Kola Peninsula were not exploited, nor even surveyed. The gross output of industry in 1913 was only 4,500,000 rubles. The population of the Kola Peninsula was subjected to brutal exploitation by the tsarist officials and by profiteering traders. The intervention of 1918-20 utterly devastated the region.

The Great October Socialist Revolution has drawn this distant formerly backward and downtrodden region into the quickly moving life of the Soviet Union. At the will of the Bolshevik Party the formerly desolate expanses of the Kola Peninsula have changed beyond recognition.

July 22, 1933, was a historic day for the Kola Peninsula, for on that day this region and the town of Murmansk were visited by Comrades Stalin, Voroshilov and Sergei Mironovich Kirov. From that day on, the Kola Peninsula began to progress more rapidly. Sergei Mironovich Kirov said in one of his speeches: "Beyond the Arctic Circle, in regions

that only yesterday seemed absolutely dead, utterly god-forsaken, as people would say, regions that in tsarist times were used only as a place of exile—in the semi-tundra where no human foot ever trod, a new and rapidly growing industrial centre has been created by the will of the Bolsheviks on the basis of its natural resources (apatites, iron, molybdenum, mica, thorium, titanium, and others)."

Under Soviet rule a great deal of work has been performed in the Kola Peninsula to survey its vast natural resources. The Barents Sea abounds in fish. Practically unlimited mineral reserves, including Khibiny apatite (used for phosphor fertilizer), nepheline (used for aluminium production), titanium and pottery materials have been discovered. Vast iron ore reserves (over 1,500,000,000 tons) have been established. The mining of copper and nickel has been started on a commercial scale. Reserves of fluor-spar and eudyalite have been located. Practically unlimited limestone reserves have been discovered, and the vast supply of mica is already being exploited. Gold, lead, quartz and molybdenum have also been found in a number of places. Pearls have been discovered in nearly every river on the peninsula.

The Murmansk Region is one of the Soviet Union's industrial regions, and some of its industries are of national importance. Its chief industries are fishing, mining, metal-working, ship repairs, timbering and wood-working. Non-ferrous metallurgy will very soon also come to the fore.

The region numbers 67 industrial enterprises, exclusive of the fishing fleet. The gross output for 1938 is to total 355,600,000 rubles in the fixed prices of 1926-27.

Before the revolution, the annual catch of fish totalled 13,000 tons. The plan for 1938 provides for a catch of about 300,000 tons, and 175,000 tons of finished fish products.

Second place in gross output for the Murmansk Region is occupied by mining, for which the plan of 1938 provides a gross output to the value of 85,200,000 rubles, the output of apatite ore alone totalling 294,000,000 tons.

In cultural development this region is also progressing rapidly. The town of Murmansk, which formerly amounted to no more than a small settlement, now numbers a population of over 100,000. It is growing and developing as the region's industrial and cultural centre and now has a number of cultural institutions and schools.

There is no need to quote at this Session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. detailed information regarding the Donets Region which called for its division into the Stalino and Voroshilovgrad Regions. Everybody knows how enormously the Donets basin has developed under Soviet rule and how necessary it was to divide the Donets Region into two independent regions.

The division of the Donets Region into the Stalino and Voroshilovgrad Regions will further its even more rapid economic development and cultural progress and bring increasing material welfare for the working people in this most important section of the Soviet Union.

In accordance with the Constitution of the U.S.S.R., the ukases of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet regarding the formation of these new regions must be submitted for confirmation to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. They also call for corresponding amendments in Articles 22 and 23 of the Constitution, which enumerate the regions of the R.S.F.S.R. and the Ukrainian S.S.R.

The Presidium is submitting for confirmation by the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. its decision to form a Murmansk region and divide the Donets Region into a Stalino region and a Voroshilovgrad region, and moves that Articles 22 and 23 of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R., which enumerate the territories, regions and autonom us republics making up the R.S.F.S.R. and the Ukrainian S.S.R., be amended accordingly.

During the interval in question, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., at the instance of the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R., has removed a number of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. from their posts.

By ukases issued by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. on April 5 and 8, May 5, July 16 and August 7 and published in the *Gazette of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.*, A. V. Bakulin, People's Commissar of Railways, N. I. Pakhomov, People's Commissar of Water Transport, M. V. Popov, People's Commissar of Agricultural Stocks, A. D. Bruskin, People's Commissar of the Machine-Building Industry, and A. L. Gilinsky, People's Commissar of the Food Industry, have been relieved of their duties.

In accordance with Article 49 of the Constitution, the removal and appointment of individual People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. between Sessions is subject to subsequent confirmation by the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

The Presidium submits for confirmation by the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. the ukases I have enumerated removing certain People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. from their posts.

In accordance with Article 49 of the Constitution, the Presidium submits for confirmation by the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. the following appointments of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. made by the Presidium on the nomination of the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R.:

Lazar Moisseyevich Kaganovich, appointed People's Commissar of Railways, which office he is to hold simultaneously with that of People's Commissar of Heavy Industry. (*Loud applause.*)

Nikolai Ivanovich Yezhov, appointed People's Commissar of Water Transport, which office he is to hold simultaneously with that of People's Commissar of Internal Affairs. (*Loud applause.*)

Semyon Yemelyanovich Skrynnikov, appointed People's Commissar of Agricultural Stocks. (*Applause.*)

Victor Konstantinovich Lvov, appointed People's Commissar of the Machine-Building Industry. (*Applause.*)

Ivan Grigoryevich Kabanov, appointed People's Commissar of the Food Industry. (*Applause.*)

The Presidium also submits for confirmation by the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. the appointment of Lazar Moisseyevich Kaganovich Vice-Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. (*loud applause*), which office he is to hold simultaneously with that of People's Commissar of Heavy Industry and People's Commissar of Railways.

Such are the ukases the Presidium submits for confirmation by the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. (*Applause.*)

The Chairman: We shall vote on the ukases enumerated by the speaker.

Does anyone wish to speak? No one?

Voices: No.

The Chairman: I shall put it to the vote. Those in favour of confirming the ukase of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. regarding the amnesty on the occasion of the Twentieth Anniversary of the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

The ukase of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. regarding the amnesty on the occasion of the Twentieth Anniversary of the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army is confirmed unanimously. (*Applause.*)

Now we shall vote on the ukases of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. regarding the removal from office of the People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. enumerated by Deputy Gorkin. Those in favour of confirming these ukases of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

The ukases are confirmed unanimously. (*Applause.*)

Next are the ukases of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. on the appointment of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R.

The appointment of Lazar Moisseyevich Kaganovich People's Commissar of Railways, which office he is to hold simultaneously with that of People's Commissar of Heavy Industry; those in favour of confirming the ukase, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

The ukase is confirmed unanimously. (*Loud applause.*)

The appointment of Nikolai Ivanovich Yezhov People's Commissar of Water Transport, which office he is to hold simultaneously with that of People's Commissar of Internal Affairs; those in favour of confirming the ukase, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

The ukase is confirmed unanimously. (*Loud applause.*)

The appointment of Semyon Yemelyanovich Skrynnikov People's Commissar of Agricultural Stocks; those in favour of confirming the ukase, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

The ukase is confirmed unanimously. (*Applause.*)

The appointment of Victor Konstantinovich Lvov People's Commissar of the Machine-Building Industry; those in favour of confirming the ukase, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

The ukase is confirmed unanimously. (*Applause.*)

The appointment of Ivan Grigoryevich Kabanov People's Commissar of the Food Industry; those in favour of confirming the ukase, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

The ukase is confirmed unanimously. (*Applause.*)

Now I shall take the vote on the ukase of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. appointing Lazar Moisseyevich Kaganovich Vice-Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R., an office to be held by him simultaneously with that of People's Commissar of Heavy Industry and People's Commissar of Railways. Those in favour of confirming this ukase, please raise their hands. (*Loud applause.*) Anybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

The ukase is confirmed unanimously.

Now we shall take up the amendments to Articles 22 and 23 of the Constitution, the Fundamental Law of the U.S.S.R. In accordance with Article 146 of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R., the vote on the amendments to the Constitution, the Fundamental Law of the U.S.S.R., will be taken for each Chamber separately.

The members of the Soviet of the Union will vote first. Those in favour of confirming these amendments, please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Anybody against? No. Any abstentions. No.

The Act amending Articles 22 and 23 of the Constitution, the Fundamental Law of the U.S.S.R., is confirmed unanimously. (*Applause.*)

The members of the Soviet of Nationalities will now vote. Those in favour of confirming the amendments to Articles 22 and 23 of the Constitution, the Fundamental Law of the U.S.S.R., please raise their hands. Please lower your hands. Aybody against? No. Any abstentions? No.

The Act is confirmed unanimously. (*Applause.*)

Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet. There are no more points on the agenda of the Second Session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. This closes the proceedings of the Second Session of the Supreme Soviet. (*Loud applause.*)

APPENDIX

LAWS ADOPTED BY THE SUPREME SOVIET OF THE U.S.S.R.

UNIFIED STATE BUDGET OF THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS (1938) ACT

The Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics *resolves*:

1. To adopt the Unified State Budget of the U.S.S.R. for 1938 submitted by the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R., with the amendments adopted on the reports of the Budget Commissions of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities, to wit: total revenues—132,637,993,000 rubles, and total expenditures—131,137,993,000 rubles, revenues exceeding expenditures by 1,500,000,000 rubles.

2. In accordance with Article 1 of the present law, to aporove the revenues and expenditure of the Union Budget in the sum of 97,878,963,000 rubles for revenues and 96,378,963,000 rubles for expenditures, revenues exceeding expenditures by 1,500,000,000 rubles.

3. To approve the State Budgets of the Union republics for 1938 in the following sums:

	Revenues (in thous. rubles)	Expenditures (in thous. rubles)
Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic	21,406,731	21,406,731
Of which: Republican Budget	15,480,076	3,844,894
Local Budgets	5,926,655	17,561,837
Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic	5,977,218	5,977,218
Of which: Republican Budget	4,462,583	1,451,792
Local Budgets	1,514,635	4,525,426
Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic	1,167,210	1,167,210
Of which: Republican Budget	1,022,220	460,827
Local Budgets	144,990	706,383
Azerbaidjan Soviet Socialist Republic	915,723	915,723
Of which: Republican Budget	762,496	356,207
Local Budgets	153,227	559,516
Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic	1,068,637	1,068,637
Of which: Republican Budget	914,568	466,711
Local Budgets	154,069	601,926
Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic	388,427	388,427
Of which: Republican Budget	348,216	182,861
Local Budgets	40,211	205,566

Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic	441,284	441,284
Of which: Republican Budget	383,906	206,427
Local Budgets	57,378	234,857
Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic	1,314,693	1,314,693
Of which: Republican Budget	1,100,402	613,765
Local Budgets	214,291	700,928
Tadjik Soviet Socialist Republic	448,928	448,928
Of which: Republican Budget	407,148	211,286
Local Budgets	41,780	237,642
Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic	1,282,602	1,282,602
Of which: Republican Budget	1,157,903	466,469
Local Budgets	124,699	816,133
Kirghiz Soviet Socialist Republic	347,577	347,577
Of which: Republican Budget	312,844	153,797
Local Budgets	34,733	193,780
Total for State Budgets of Union Republics	34,759,030	34,759,030
Of which: Republican Budgets	26,352,362	8,415,036
Local Budgets	8,406,668	26,343,994

4. To approve allocations from the republican budgets to the Budgets of the autonomous Soviet Socialist republics and local Soviets in the following sums:

	(In thous. rbls.)
Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic	11,635,182
Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic	3,010,791
Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic	561,393
Azerbaidjan Soviet Socialist Republic	406,289
Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic	447,857
Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic	165,355
Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic	177,479
Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic	486,637
Tadjik Soviet Socialist Republic	195,862
Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic	691,434
Kirghiz Soviet Socialist Republic	159,047
Total	17,937,326

5. To fix the following percentages for the 1938 allocations from all-Union state taxes to the republican and local Budgets:

a) For the R.S.F.S.R., the Ukrainian S.S.R., the Byelorussian S.S.R., the Azerbaidjan S.S.R., the Georgian S.S.R., the Armenian S.S.R. and the Uzbek S.S.R.—50 per cent of the levies for housing, cultural and public service development in the towns; and for the remaining Union republics—100 per cent.

b) For all Union republics—100 per cent of the levies for housing, cultural and public service development in rural areas.

c) For the R.S.F.S.R., the Ukrainian S.S.R. and the Byelorussian S.S.R.—75 per cent of the receipts from the collective farm income tax and from the agricultural tax on collective farmers and individual peasants; and for the remaining republics—100 per cent.

6. In accordance with the sums approved by the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. for allocation from the turnover tax to the Union republics, to instruct the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. to fix the percentages to be allocated from this tax to each Union republic.

7. To note the unsatisfactory organization of the collection by the People's Commissariat of Finance of the U.S.S.R. and its local organs in 1937 of the legally established rural taxes and levies.

To make it the duty of the People's Commissariat of Finance of the U.S.S.R. and the local Soviet organs to adopt measures to improve the work of the finance bodies.

8. To direct the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. to introduce, for the approval of the next Session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., a draft Unified State Budget of the U.S.S.R. that will provide for the establishment of more stable sources of revenue for the republican and local Budgets.

9. To instruct the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. to submit the draft of the Unified State Budget of the U.S.S.R. for 1939 to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. not later than December 15, 1938.

10. To accept the report on the state Budget of the U.S.S.R. for 1936 showing results as follows: revenues—83,760,252,898 rubles, and expenditures—81,827,108,678 rubles, revenues exceeding expenditures by 1,933,144,220 rubles.

M. KALININ
Chairman of the Presidium
of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

A. GORKIN
Secretary of the Presidium
of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

Kremlin, Moscow
August 14, 1938.

ACT CONCERNING THE JUDICIAL SYSTEM OF THE U.S.S.R., AND OF THE UNION AND THE AUTONOMOUS REPUBLICS

I. GENERAL PRINCIPLES

Article 1. In accordance with Article 102 of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R., justice in the U.S.S.R. is administered by the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R., the Supreme Courts of the Union republics, the territorial and regional courts, the courts of the autonomous republics and autonomous regions, the area courts, the special courts of the U.S.S.R. established by decision of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., and the people's courts.

Article 2. It is the task of justice in the U.S.S.R. to protect from any and every encroachment:

a) the organization of society and of the state of the U.S.S.R., the Socialist system of economy and Socialist property established by the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. and the Constitutions of the Union and the autonomous republics;

b) the political, labour, dwelling and other personal and property rights and interests of citizens of the U.S.S.R. guaranteed by the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. and the Constitutions of the Union and the autonomous republics;

c) the rights and legally protected interests of state institutions, enterprises, collective farms, co-operative and other public organizations.

It is the task of justice in the U.S.S.R. to secure the strict and undeviating observance of Soviet laws by all institutions, organizations, official p rsons and citizens of the U.S.S.R.

Article 3. Soviet courts in applying punitive measures to criminals not only punish criminals but also aim at correcting and reforming them.

By all their activities the courts educate the citizens of the U.S.S.R. in the spirit of devotion to the country and the cause of Socialism, in the spirit of strict and undeviating observance of Soviet law, of care for Socialist property, of labour discipline, honesty toward state and public duty and respect for the rules of Socialist human intercourse.

Article 4. The courts in the U.S.S.R. carry out the tasks indicated in Article 2 of the present law by:

a) the hearing of criminal cases at the sittings of the courts, and the application of the punitive measures established by law to traitors to the country, wreckers, plunderers of Socialist property and other enemies of the people, as well as to robbers, thieves, rowdies and o her criminals;

b) the examination and determination at the sittings of the Court of cases involving the rights and interests of citizens, state institutions, enterprises, collective farms and other public organizations.

Article 5. Justice in the U.S.S.R. is administered on the following principles:

a) uniform courts equal for all citizens irrespective of their social or property status, official position, nationality or race;

b) uniform criminal, civil and procedural legislation of the U.S.S.R. binding on all courts.

Article 6. Judges are independent and subject only to the law (Article 112 of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R.).

Article 7. In accordance with Article 110 of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R., judicial proceedings in the U.S.S.R. are conducted in the language of the Union republic, the autonomous republ c or the autonomous region, persons not knowing this language being ensured every opportunity of fully acquainting themselves with the material pertaining to the case through an interpreter and likewise the right to speak in court in their own language.

Article 8. In accordance with Article 111 of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R., in all courts of the U.S.S.R. cases are heard in public unless otherwise provided for by law, and the accused is guaranteed the right of counsel for defence.

Article 9. In accordance with Article 103 of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R., in all courts cases are tried with the participation of people's assessors, except in cases specially provided for by law.

Article 10. In accordance with Articles 105, 106, 107, 108 and 109 of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R., courts in the U.S.S.R. are elective, being formed in the manner established by the present law.

Article 11. Any citizen who enjoys electoral rights may be elected judge or people's assessor.

Article 12. People's assessors are summoned for the performance of their duties in court in the order in which they appear on the panel for not more than ten days a year except when an extension of this period is called forth by the necessity of the people's assessors taking part in the completion of the hearing of a case in court.

During the performance of their duties in court people's assessors have all the rights of judges.

Article 13. People's assessors who are workers or employees are paid their wages in full for the entire period of their service in court.

In all other cases people's assessors are reimbursed the expenses they incurred in the performance of their duties in court in the manner established by the laws of the Union republics.

Article 14. In all courts cases are heard by a judge and two people's

assessors, except cases specially provided for by law which are heard by three members of the court.

Article 15. The sentences, judgments and orders of all courts except the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. and the Supreme Courts of the Union republics may be appealed by those convicted or their counsel, by plaintiffs, defendants and persons representing their interests, or may be protested by the Procurator to the higher court in the manner provided by law.

When hearing appeals and protests, the higher court reviews the legality and the merits of the sentence pronounced or the judgment rendered by the lower court by examining the material contained in the record of the case and that submitted by the parties.

Article 16. Judicial sentences, judgments and orders which have become legally effective can be protested only by the Procurator of the U.S.S.R. or the Procurator of the Union Republic, the President of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. or the President of the Supreme Court of the Union republic in accordance with Articles 51, 64 and 74 of the present Act.

Article 17. Judges may be relieved of their posts and people's assessors of their duties solely by the recall of their electors or by virtue of a sentence of court against them.

Article 18. The institution of criminal proceedings against judges and their consequent removal from office, arraignment and trial are effected in the following manner:

in respect to people's judges, members of territorial, regional or area courts and of courts of autonomous regions, and members of the Supreme Courts of Union or autonomous republics — by decision of the Procurator of the Union republic with the sanction of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union republic;

in respect to members of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. and of the special courts of the U.S.S.R. — by decision of the Procurator of the U.S.S.R. with the sanction of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

Article 19. In case of the temporary absence of a people's judge (illness, vacation, etc.), the duties of the judge for the term of his absence are imposed on one of the people's assessors by the district Soviet of Toilers' Deputies.

Article 20. In case the office of people's judge becomes vacant before the expiration of his term, a new election for people's judge to fill the vacancy is arranged for not later than two months from the day it has occurred.

The new election of the people's judge is arranged by the People's Commissariat of Justice of the Union republic, and in an autonomous republic by the People's Commissariat of Justice of the autonomous republic.

If vacancies occur in the membership of area, territorial or regional courts or the Supreme Courts of Union or Autonomous republics, or in the membership of the special courts or of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R., the elections of the new members of the courts are held at the next regular session of the Soviets of Toilers' Deputies of the region, territory or area, of the Supreme Soviet of the Union or autonomous republic, or of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

II. THE PEOPLE'S COURTS

Article 21. The people's courts hear:

a) criminal cases:

concerning offences against the life, health, liberty or dignity of citizens—concerning murder, the infliction of bodily harm, the procuring of illegal abortions, unlawful deprivation of liberty, rape, wilful non-payment of alimony, insult, rowdyism, slander;

concerning offences against property—aggravated robbery, robbery, larceny, fraud, extortion;

concerning offences committed by official persons in the discharge of their official duties—abuse of one's authority, exceeding one's authority, non-feasance, embezzlement, mismanagement, forgery, short weight or short measure, overcharging;

concerning offences in violation of administrative regulations: violations of the election law, wilful non-payment of taxes and levies established by law, refusal to comply with provisions for deliveries to the state or for compulsory services to the state, evasion of the call to the colours and of the duties of military service, violation of lawful orders of organs of the government;

b) civil cases—relating to property suits, relating to suits arising out of violations of labour laws, relating to suits for the payment of alimony, relating to suits concerning inheritance;

and other criminal and civil cases over which they are given jurisdiction by law.

Article 22. On the basis of Article 109 of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R., people's courts are elected by the citizens of the district on the basis of universal, direct and equal suffrage and secret ballot for a term of three years.

Article 23. People's judges and people's assessors are elected by the citizens of the districts according to election areas; the election area for the election of people's judges and people's assessors comprises the total population residing on the territory under the jurisdiction of the particular people's court.

Article 24. The right to nominate candidates for people's judges and people's assessors is secured to the public organizations and societies of the working people: to the Communist Party organizations, the trade unions, co-operatives, youth organizations and cultural societies, and also: to the general meetings—of workers and employees held at the respective enterprises, of persons in military service held in the respective military units, and to the general meetings — of peasants held on the respective collective farms, of state-farm workers and employees held on the respective state farms.

Article 25. The procedure for registering candidates and publishing

lists of candidates for people's judges and people's assessors, and likewise the time and manner of their election is defined in the Regulations Governing the Elections of Judges and People's Assessors approved by the Supreme Soviets of the Union republics.

Article 26. The number of people's courts for each district is fixed by the Council of People's Commissars of the Union republic on the recommendation of the People's Commissar of Justice of the Union republic. In the autonomous republics the number of people's courts for each district is fixed by the Council of People's Commissars of the autonomous republic on the recommendation of the People's Commissar of Justice of the autonomous republic.

Article 27. Before hearing a case at a sitting of the court, the people's court:

a) confirms the indictment submitted by the procurator. In case it disagrees with the indictment, the people's court has the right to refer the case back to the procurator for further investigation or to discontinue the case if there be sufficient grounds therefor;

b) decides whether the accused is to be placed in custody or released from custody;

c) renders a decision on whether the attendance of the counsel for the defence and of the procurator at the examination of the case shall be obligatory.

Article 28. The people's judge:

a) on receiving complaints or informations renders a decision whether a criminal prosecution shall be instituted or disallowed;

b) if necessary, forwards the informations or complaints to the investigating authorities for inquiry;

c) sets down cases for a hearing;

d) gives orders to summon the accused, the witnesses and the expert witnesses to court and notifies the plaintiffs and defendants of the times when their cases will be heard;

e) presides at the sittings of the people's court.

Article 29. People's judges account to the electors for their work and the work of the people's courts.

III. THE TERRITORIAL, THE REGIONAL AND THE AREA COURTS AND THE COURTS OF THE AUTONOMOUS REGIONS

Article 30. In accordance with Article 108 of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R., the territorial, the regional and the area courts and the courts of the autonomous regions are elected by the territorial, regional, or area Soviets of Toilers' Deputies or by the Soviets of Toilers' Deputies of the autonomous regions for a term of five years.

Article 31. The territorial, the regional and the area courts and the courts of the autonomous regions consist each of a President, Vice-Presidents, members of the court and people's assessors summoned to take part in the hearing of judicial cases.

Article 32. The territorial, the regional and the area courts and the

courts of the autonomous regions hear the criminal cases over which they are given jurisdiction by law concerning counter-revolutionary offences, concerning offences of extraordinary danger directed against the administrative system of the state, concerning thefts of Socialist property, concerning offences of extraordinary gravity in the performance of official duties or of duties of an economic character, and also civil cases over which they are given jurisdiction by law concerning disputes between state and public institutions, enterprises and organizations.

The territorial, the regional and the area courts and the courts of the autonomous regions in addition hear appeals from and protests against sentences, judgments or orders of the people's courts.

Article 33. The territorial, the regional and the area courts and the courts of the autonomous regions are each composed of and function through:

a) a Court Collegium for Criminal Cases—to hear the criminal cases under the jurisdiction of the territorial, the regional and the area courts and the courts of the autonomous regions, and likewise to hear the appeals from and protests against sentences or orders of the people's courts;

b) a Court Collegium for Civil Cases—to hear the civil cases under the jurisdiction of the territorial, the regional and the area courts and the courts of the autonomous regions, and likewise to hear the appeals from and protests against judgments or orders of the people's courts.

Article 34. The Court Collegiums of the territorial, regional and area courts and the courts of the autonomous regions when hearing criminal or civil cases are composed of a presiding officer—the President or a member of the court—and two people's assessors.

Article 35. The Court Collegiums of the territorial, regional and area courts and the courts of the autonomous regions when hearing appeals from and protests against sentences, judgments or orders of the people's courts, are composed of three members of the court in question.

Article 36. In a region constituting part of a territory the composition of the area and the regional court is the same as that of the territorial court.

Article 37. The President of a territorial, regional or area court or of the court of an autonomous region presides at the sittings of the court or appoints a member of the territorial, regional or area court or of the court of the autonomous region to preside at the sittings of the court; he sets down the cases for a hearing, gives orders to summon the accused, the witnesses and the expert witnesses to court and notifies the plaintiffs and defendants of the times when their cases will be heard.

IV. THE SUPREME COURTS OF THE AUTONOMOUS REPUBLICS

Article 38. In accordance with Article 107 of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R., the Supreme Courts of the autonomous republics are elected by the Supreme Soviets of the autonomous republics for a term of five years.

Article 39. The Supreme Courts of the autonomous republics consist each of a President, Vice-Presidents, members of the court and people's

assessors summoned to take part in the examination of judicial cases.

Article 40. The Supreme Courts of the autonomous republics hear the criminal cases over which they are given jurisdiction by law concerning counter-revolutionary offences, concerning offences of extraordinary danger directed against the administrative system of the state, concerning thefts of Socialist property, concerning offences of especial gravity in the performance of official duties or of duties of an economic character, and also civil cases over which they are given jurisdiction by law concerning disputes between state and public institutions, enterprises and organizations.

The Supreme Courts of the autonomous republics in addition hear appeals from and protests against sentences, judgments or orders of the people's courts.

Article 41. The Supreme Courts of the autonomous republics are each composed of and function through:

a) a Court Collegium for Criminal Cases—to hear the criminal cases over which the Supreme Courts of the autonomous republics are given jurisdiction, and likewise to hear the appeals from and protests against sentences or orders of the people's courts.

b) a Court Collegium for Civil Cases—to hear the civil cases over which the Supreme Courts of the autonomous republics are given jurisdiction, and likewise to hear the appeals from and protests against judgments or orders of the people's courts.

Article 42. The Court Collegiums of the Supreme Courts of the autonomous republics when hearing cases are composed of a presiding officer—the President or a member of the Supreme Court—and two people's assessors.

Article 43. The Court Collegiums of the Supreme Courts of the autonomous republics when hearing appeals from and protests against sentences, judgments or orders of the people's courts are composed of three members of the Supreme Court of the autonomous republic.

Article 44. The President of the Supreme Court of an Autonomous republic presides at the sittings of the court or appoints a member of the Supreme Court of the autonomous republic to preside at the sittings of the court; he sets down the cases for a hearing, gives orders to summon the accused, the witnesses and the expert witnesses to court and notifies the plaintiffs and defendants of the times when their cases will be heard.

V. THE SUPREME COURTS OF THE UNION REPUBLICS

Article 45. The Supreme Court of each Union republic is the highest judicial organ of that Union republic. The Supreme Courts of the Union republics are charged with the function of supervising the judicial activities of all the judicial organs of the respective Union republics, and of the autonomous republics, the territories, regions and areas forming part of these Union republics.

Article 46. In accordance with Article 106 of the Constitution of the

U.S.S.R., the Supreme Courts of the Union republics are elected by the Supreme Soviets of the Union republics for a term of five years.

Article 47. The Supreme Courts of the Union republics consist each of a President, Vice-Presidents, members of the court and people's assessors summoned to take part in the hearing of judicial cases.

Article 48. The Supreme Courts of the Union republics are each composed of and function through:

a) a Court Collegium for Criminal Cases—to hear the criminal cases over which the Supreme Courts of the Union republics are given jurisdiction by law, and likewise to hear the appeals from and protests against sentences or orders of the territorial, regional and other courts of the Union republics;

b) a Court Collegium for Civil Cases—to hear the civil cases over which the Supreme Courts of the Union republics are given jurisdiction by law, and likewise to hear the appeals from and protests against judgments or orders of the territorial, regional and other courts of the Union republics.

Article 49. The Court Collegiums of the Supreme Courts of the Union republics when hearing cases are each composed of a presiding officer—the President or a member of the Supreme Court—and two people's assessors.

Article 50. The Court Collegiums of the Supreme Courts of the Union republics when hearing appeals from and protests against sentences, judgments or orders of the territorial, regional and other courts of the Union republics are composed of three members of the Supreme Court.

Article 51. The Supreme Court of a Union republic supervises the judicial activities of the courts of the Republic by:

a) hearing the protests of the Procurator of the U.S.S.R., the Procurator of the Union republic, the President of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. and the President of the Supreme Court of the Union republic against sentences, judgments or orders which have become legally effective;

b) hearing at sittings of the court the appeals and protests in cases decided by the courts of the Union republic.

Article 52. The President of the Supreme Court of a Union republic presides at the sittings of the court or appoints a member of the Supreme Court of the Union republic to preside at the sittings of the court; he sets down the cases for a hearing, gives orders to summon the accused, the witnesses and the expert witnesses to court and notifies the plaintiffs and defendants of the times when their cases will be heard.

VI. THE SPECIAL COURTS OF THE U.S.S.R.

Article 53. On the basis of Article 102 of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R there function the following special courts of the U.S.S.R.:

a) military tribunals;
b) railway line courts;
c) water transport line courts.

Article 54. In accordance with Article 105 of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R., the President, the Vice-Presidents and the members of the special courts of the U.S.S.R. are elected by the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., for a term of five years.

Article 55. People's assessors elected by the territorial and regional Soviets of Toilers' Deputies and by the Supreme Soviets of the Union and autonomous republics are drawn upon to take part in the sittings of the military tribunals and of the railway line and water transport line courts.

Article 56. The military tribunals and the railway line and water transport line courts when hearing cases are composed of a presiding officer—the President or a member of the court—and two people's assessors, except cases which according to law are tried by a court composed of three members of the court in question.

Article 57. The military tribunals are organized:

a) in military areas, at fronts and in maritime fleets;

b) in armies, army corps and other military units, and in militarized institutions.

Article 58. The military tribunals hear the cases concerning military offences, and also the other crimes over which they are given jurisdiction by law.

Article 59. The military tribunals of areas, fronts and maritime fleets hear the criminal cases over which they are given jurisdiction by law, and likewise hear the appeals from and the protests against sentences in cases tried by the military tribunals of armies, army corps and other military units, and of militarized institutions.

Article 60. The railway line and water transport line courts hear the cases over which they are given jurisdiction by law, concerning offences calculated to subvert labour discipline in the transport services and other offences preventing the normal operation of the transport services.

Article 61. The railway line and water transport line courts are organized on the railway lines and the water transport lines, as the case may be.

Article 62. The Presidents of the military tribunals and the railway line and water transport line courts preside at the sittings of the courts or appoint members of the military tribunals and the line courts to preside at the sittings of the court, set down the cases for a hearing, and give orders to summon the accused, the witnesses and the expert witnesses to court.

VII. THE SUPREME COURT OF THE U.S.S.R.

Article 63. In accordance with Articles 104 and 105 of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R., the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. is its highest judicial organ and is elected by the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. for a term of five years.

The Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. is charged with the function of supervising the judicial activities of all the judicial organs of the U.S.S.R. and of the Union republics.

Article 64. The Supreme Court performs the function of supervising

the judicial activities of all the judicial organs of the U.S.S.R. and of the Union republics by:

a) hearing the protests of the Procurator of the U.S.S.R. and of the President of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. against judicial sentences, judgments or orders which have become legally effective;

b) hearing appeals and protests in cases tried by military tribunals and by railway line and water transport line courts.

Article 65. The Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. consists of a President, Vice-Presidents, members of the Supreme Court and people's assessors summoned to take part in the hearing of judicial cases, and is composed of and functions through:

a) a Court Collegium for Criminal Cases;

b) a Court Collegium for Civil Cases;

c) a Military Collegium;

d) a Railway Collegium;

e) a Water-Transport Collegium.

Article 66. The Court Collegium of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. for Criminal Cases hears the criminal cases over which it is given jurisdiction by law, and likewise hears the protests against sentences or orders of the Supreme Courts of the Union republics.

Article 67. The Court Collegium of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. for Civil Cases hears the civil cases over which it is given jurisdiction by law, and likewise hears the protests against judgments or orders of the Supreme Courts of the Union republics.

Article 68. The Court Collegiums of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. for Criminal and Civil Cases when hearing cases are composed of a presiding officer—the President or a member of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R.—and two people's assessors.

The Court Collegiun s of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. for Criminal and Civil Cases when hearing protests against sentences, orders or judgments of the Supreme Courts of the Union Republics are composed of three members of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R.

Article 69. The Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. hears the cases over which it is given jurisdiction by law, and likewise hears the protests against and the appeals from sentences or orders of the military tribunals.

Article 70. The Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. when hearing cases is composed of a presiding officer—the President or a member of the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R.—and two people's assessors, except cases specially provided for by the Code of Criminal Procedure, which are heard by three members of the Military Collegium.

The Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. when hearing protests against and appeals from sentences or orders of military tribunals is composed of three members of the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R.

Article 71. The Railway and Water-Transport Collegiums of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. hear the cases concerning crimes over which

they are given jurisdiction by law, and likewise hear the protests against and the appeals from sentences or orders of the railway line and the water-transport line courts.

Article 72. The Railway and Water-Transport Collegiums of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. when hearing cases are composed of a presiding officer—the President or a member of the collegium in question—and two people's assessors.

Article 73. The Railway and Water-Transport Collegiums of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. when hearing protests against and appeals from sentences or orders of the railway line and water transport line courts are composed of three members of the respective collegium of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R.

Article 74. The President of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. may assume the presidency in any case under examination by a collegium of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R.

The President of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. and the Procurator of the U.S.S.R. have the right to demand the record of any case from any court of the U.S.S.R. or of the Union republics and file their protests in the case in the manner provided by law.

Article 75. Protests against sentences, judgments or orders of the collegiums of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. filed by the President of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. or the Procurator of the U.S.S.R. are heard by a Plenary Sitting of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. called for this purpose, which likewise gives guiding instructions on questions of judicial practice on the basis of the decisions adopted in the judicial cases examined by the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R.

Article 76. A Plenary Sitting of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. consists of the President of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R., the Vice-Presidents and all the members of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R.

When the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. holds a Plenary Sitting, it is obligatory for the Procurator of the U.S.S.R. to take part therein.

When the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. holds a Plenary Sitting, the People's Commissar of Justice of the U.S.S.R. takes part in the sitting.

Article 77. Plenary Sittings of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. are convened not less than once in two months.

VIII. COURT DEPUTIES

Article 78. The judgments and orders in civil cases and the sentences in criminal cases in respect to fines and confiscations are carried into execution by court deputies.

Article 79. The court deputies are attached to the people's courts, the area, the territorial and the regional courts, the courts of the autonomous regions and the Supreme Courts of the autonomous and the Union republics, and are appointed by the People's Commissariats of Justice of the Union republics, and in the autonomous republics by the People's Commissariats of Justice of the autonomous republics.

Article 80. Writs of execution of judicial sentences, judgments and orders served by court deputies are binding on all official persons and other citizens.

M. Kalinin
Chairman of the Presidium
of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

A. Gorkin
Secretary of the Presidium
of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

Kremlin, Moscow,
August 16, 1938

THE ELECTION OF THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

The Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics *resolves*:
To elect a Supreme Court of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics composed as follows:

PRESIDENT OF THE SUPREME COURT OF THE U.S.S.R.:

1. Ivan Terentyevich Golyakov;

MEMBERS OF THE SUPREME COURT OF THE U.S.S.R.:

2. Georgi Alexeyevich *Alexeyev*
3. Usman *Abdurakhmanov*
4. Alexan Agabekovich *Alexanyan*
5. Mikhail Alexeyevich *Boyarkin*
6. Alexei Alexeyevich *Bulenkov*
7. Vasili Vasilyevich *Bukanov*
8. Yekaterina Arkhipovna *Volk*
9. Andrei Grigoryevich *Gusev*
10. Ivan Vasilyevich *Detistov*
11. Leonid Dmitriyevich *Dmitriyev*
12. Dmitri Yakovlevich *Zhukov*
13. Ivan Mikheyevich *Zaryanov*
14. Boris Ivanovich *Yevlev*
15. Pyotr Alexeyevich *Kameron*
16. Nury *Karajayeva*
17. Fyodor Arsenyevich *Klimin*
18. Ivan Vladimirovich *Kornev*
19. Raisa Yakovlevna *Korobko*
20. Dmitri Yakovlevich *Kandybin*
21. Sergei Terentyevich *Lodyssev*

22. Maria Nikolayevna *Malinina*
23. Ivan Ossipovich *Matulevich*
24. Nikolai Alexandrovich *Naumov*
25. Iona Timofeyevich *Nikitchenko*
26. Anna Nazarovna *Nazarova*
27. Pavel Yefimovich *Orlovsky*
28. Ivan Konstantinovich *Ogurtsov*
29. Alexander Moisseyevich *Orlov*
30. Konstantin Alexandrovich *Ponkratov*
31. Gadji Mamedovich *Rakhimov*
32. Anna Alexandrovna *Romanova*
33. Mikhail Grigoryevich *Romanychev*
34. Tyugulbai *Sakiyev*
35. Andrei Petrovich *Solodilov*
36. Lyubov Korneyevna *Saulenko*
37. Evdokia Vasilyevna *Smirnova*
38. Andrei Grigoryevich *Suslin*
39. Nikolai Alexeyevich *Solonitsin*
40. Vasili Vasilyevich *Ulrich*
41. Vladimir Alexeyevich *Uspensky*
42. Baimukhamed *Chagirov*
43. Alexander Alexandrovich *Cheptsov*
44. Afanasi Levanovich *Chkhetiani*
45. Zarif *Sharifov*

PEOPLE'S ASSESSORS OF THE SUPREME COURT OF THE U.S.S.R :

1. Mastura *Avezova*
2. Tuleu *Aldabergenov*
3. Stepan Nikitich *Baryshev*
4. Roman Vasilyevich *Belan*
5. Miron Dmitriyevich *Dyukanov*
6. Grigori Markelovich *Ilyin*
7. Olga Fyodorovna *Leonova*
8. Nikolai Timofeyevich *Malyushin*
9. Vasili Stepanovich *Minayev*
10. Tishabai *Mirzayev*

11. Mir Asadulla Mir Alesker ogly *Mir Kasimov*
12. Vasili Fyodorovich *Molyakov*
13. Alexander Stepanovich *Ognev*
14. Pyotr Semyonovich *Orlov*
15. Nikolai Stepanovich *Smetanin*
16. Tsatur Alekovich *Tsaturyan*
17. Andrei Vasilyevich *Tsiklauri*
18. Murad *Chuletov*
19. Galim Shamsutdinovich *Shamsutdinov*
20. Pelageya Ostapovna *Yakush*

M. Kalinin
Chairman of the Presidium
of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

A. Gorkin
Secretary of the Presidium
of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

Kremlin, Moscow,
August 17, 1938

CITIZENSHIP OF THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS ACT

Article 1. On the basis of Article 21 of the Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, one Union citizenship is established for citizens of the U.S.S.R.

Every citizen of a Union republic is a citizen of the U.S.S.R.

Article 2. The following are citizens of the U.S.S.R.:

a) All persons who were subjects of the former Russian Empire on November 7, 1917, and have not lost Soviet citizenship;

b) persons who have acquired Soviet citizenship in the manner established by law.

Article 3. Citizenship of the U.S.S.R. may be conferred upon aliens, irrespective of their nationality or race, upon their petition, by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. or the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union republic in which they reside.

Article 4. Renunciation of the citizenship of the U.S.S.R. may be permitted by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

Article 5. The contraction of marriage by a male or female citizen of the U.S.S.R. with a person not a citizen of the U.S.S.R. does not entail a change in citizenship.

Article 6. When a change in the citizenship of parents takes place as a result of which both become citizens of the U.S.S.R., or both renounce their citizenship of the U.S.S.R., the citizenship of their children under the age of fourteen changes accordingly. The citizenship of children of from fourteen to eighteen years of age can change only with their consent.

In other cases a change in the citizenship of children under the age of eighteen can ensue only in the manner generally provided.

Article 7. Deprivation of citizenship of the U.S.S.R. may be imposed:

a) by sentence of court—in cases where the law so provides;

b) by virtue of a ukase of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. specially issued in each case.

Article 8. Persons residing within the territory of the U.S.S.R. who are not citizens of the U.S.S.R. by virtue of the present law and have no proof of their foreign citizenship are considered persons without citizenship.

M. Kalinin
Chairman of the Presidium
of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

A. Gorkin
Secretary of the Presidium
of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

Kremlin, Moscow,
August 19, 1938

ACT CONCERNING THE PROCEDURE FOR RATIFYING AND DENOUNCING INTERNATIONAL TREATIES OF THE U.S.S.R.

Article 1. In accordance with clause "1" of Article 49 of the Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, international treaties are ratified by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

Article 2. Peace treaties, treaties of mutual defence from aggression and treaties of mutual non-aggression concluded by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics are subject to ratification.

Likewise international treaties, upon the conclusion of which the signatories agreed that they be subsequently ratified, are subject to ratification.

Article 3. International treaties that have been ratified are denounced by ukase of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

M. Kalinin
Chairman of the Presidium
of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

A. Gorkin
Secretary of the Presidium
of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

Kremlin, Moscow
August 20, 1938

STATE HORSE TAX ON INDIVIDUAL PEASANT FARMS ACT

Whereas, on the testimony of collective farmers, the horses on individual peasant farms are usually used not for farm work on the farm in question but for purposes of profiteering outside the farm, the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, meeting the desire of the collective farmers, *resolves:*

1. To introduce a special state tax on the horses of individual peasant farms.

2. To fix the rates of the state tax on the individual peasant farms possessing horses as follows by republics, territories and regions:

Republics, Territories and Regions	For one horse	For every horse over and above one head
1. R.S.F.S.R. (with the exception of the territories, regions and A.S.S.R. indicated below), Ukrainian S.S.R. and Byelorussian S.S.R.	1st group of districts—400 rbls. 2nd group of districts—500 rbls.	1st group of districts—700 rbls. 2nd group of districts—800 rbls.
2. Azerbaidjan, Georgian, Armenian, Turkmen, Uzbek, Tadjik, Kazakh and Kirghiz S.S.R.; Far-Eastern and Krassnoyarsk territories; Irkutsk and Chita regions; Daghestan, Buryat-Mongolian, Kabardino-Balkarian, Kalmyk, Karelian, Komi, North Ossetian, Chechen-Ingush and Yakut A.S.S.R.	1st group of districts—275 rbls. 2nd group of districts—350 rbls.	1st group of districts—450 rbls. 2nd group of districts—550 rbls.

3. To impose upon the territorial and regional executive committees of the Soviets of Toilers' Deputies or, in the autonomous republics and the Union republics not divided into regions, upon the Councils of People's Commissars, the duty of classifying the districts or areas for tax-rating purposes either under the 1st or under the 2nd group, dependent upon the amount of the incomes received from the use of the horses.

4. The tax on horses shall be paid by all individual peasant farms possessing horses three years old and over at the time of the publication of the law. The sale of horses after the publication of the law does not give exemption from payment of the tax for the current year.

5. To fix October 15th as the time limit for the payment of the tax.

6. Farms which enter collective farms before October 15, 1938, and deliver their horses to the collective farms shall be exempt from the payment of the state tax on horses.

7. The revenues collected from the tax on the horses of the individual peasant farms are assigned as follows: 25 per cent to the Budgets of the Union republics, 25 per cent to the Budgets of the territories, regions and autonomous republics, and 50 per cent to the district Budgets.

M. Kalinin
Chairman of the Presidium
of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

A. Gorkin
Secretary of the Presidium
of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

Kremlin, Moscow,
August 21, 1938

ALL-UNION AGRICULTURAL EXPOSITION ACT

The Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. notes the tremendous importance of the All-Union Agricultural Exposition which is being organized by decision of the Government for the further progress of Socialist agriculture in the U.S.S.R.

It is the mission of the All-Union Agricultural Exposition to reflect in a worthy manner the great achievements of Socialist agriculture in the U.S.S.R., to display the best examples of agriculture in all its branches, and to demonstrate in full the multifarious power and wealth of agriculture in the republics, territories and regions of the Soviet Union. It must lend powerful impetus to Socialist competition among collective farms, collective farmers and all those engaged in the sphere of agriculture for the enhancement of the achievements of agriculture, and will help to elevate the whole mass of collective farms and state farms to the level of those in the lead, so as to secure the further steady progress of agriculture, an increasing abundance of farm produce, and prosperity and culture for the mass of the collective farmers.

At the same time the Supreme Soviet notes the unsatisfactory state of the preparations for the agricultural exposition. To this day the People's Commissariat of Agriculture and the People's Commissariat of State Farms of the U.S.S.R. have not set up differentiated indices by which to select participants in the exposition with reference to the manifold peculiarities of agricultural production in the various districts of the U.S.S.R., differing in climatic, soil and other conditions; the building operations on the site of the Exposition are unfinished, while various pavilions now finished obviously do not answer the requirements of the All-Union Agricultural Exposition.

For the purpose of rectifying these serious shortcomings in the preparations for the opening of the Exposition, and of organizing it in the best manner possible and for the further purpose of widely developing Socialist competition among the collective farms, state farms, machine and tractor stations, and collective-farm dairy and meat departments for the right to take part in the All-Union Agricultural Exposition, the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics *resolves*:

1) To instruct the People's Commissariat of Agriculture and the

People's Commissariat of State Farms of the U.S.S.R. to rectify immediately the aforementioned mistakes and shortcomings in the organization of the All-Union Agricultural Exposition.

2) To defer the opening of the All-Union Agricultural Exposition to 1939, setting August 1, 1939, as the opening date.

M. Kalinin
Chairman of the Presidium
of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

A. Gorkin
Secretary of the Presidium
of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

Kremlin, Moscow,
August 21, 1938.

AMENDMENTS TO ARTICLES 22 and 23 OF THE CONSTITUTION (FUNDAMENTAL LAW) OF THE U.S.S.R.

The Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics *resolves*:

1. To approve the formation of the Murmansk Region as part of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic.

In accordance herewith, Article 22 of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. is to read as follows:

"*Article 22*: The Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic consists of the Altai, Far-Eastern, Krassnodar, Krassnoyarsk and Orjonikidze Territories; the Archangel, Vologda, Voronezh, Gorky, Ivanovo, Irkutsk, Kalinin, Kirov, Kuibyshev, Kursk, Leningrad, Moscow, Murmansk, Novosibirsk, Omsk, Orenburg, Orel, Rostov, Ryazan, Saratov, Sverdlovsk, Smolensk, Stalingrad, Tambov, Tula, Chelyabinsk, Chita and Yaroslavl Regions; the Tatar, Bashkir, Daghestan, Buryat-Mongolian, Kabardino-Balkarian, Kalmyk, Karelian, Komi, Crimean, Mari, Mordovian, Volga-German, North Ossetian, Udmurt, Chechen-Ingush, Chuvash and Yakut Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republics; and the Adygei, Jewish, Karachai, Oirot, Khakass and Cherkess Autonomous Regions."

2. To approve the formation of the Stalino and Voroshilovgrad Regions as part of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.

In accordance herewith, Article 23 of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. is to read as follows:

"*Article 23*: The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic consists of the Vinnitsa, Voroshilovgrad, Dniepropetrovsk, Zhitomir, Kamenets-Podolsk, Kiev, Nikolayev, Odessa, Poltava, Stalino, Kharkov and Chernigov Regions and the Moldavian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic."

M. Kalinin
Chairman of the Presidium
of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

A. Gorkin
Secretary of the Presidium
of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

Kremlin, Moscow,
August 21, 1938

APPROVAL OF THE UKASES OF THE PRESIDIUM OF THE SUPREME SOVIET OF THE U.S.S.R. APPOINTING L. M. KAGANOVICH, N. I. YEZHOV, S. Y. SKRYNNIKOV, V. K. LVOV AND I. G. KABANOV PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS OF THE U.S.S.R.

The Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics *resolves* to approve the ukases of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. appointing **Lazar Moisseyevich Kaganovich** People's Commissar of Railways, which office he is to hold simultaneously with that of People's Commissar of Heavy Industry; **Nikolai Ivanovich Yezhov** People's Commissar of Water Transport, which office he is to hold simultaneously with that of People's Commissar of Internal Affairs; **Semyon Yemelyanovich Skrynnikov** People's Commissar of Agricultural Stocks; **Victor Konstantinovich Lvov** People's Commissar of the Machine Building Industry and **Ivan Grigoryevich Kabanov** People's Commissar of the Food Industry.

M. Kalinin
Chairman of the Presidium
of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

A. Gorkin
Secretary of the Presidium
of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

Kremlin, Moscow,
August 21, 1938

APPROVAL OF THE UKASE OF THE PRESIDIUM OF THE SUPREME SOVIET OF THE U.S.S.R. APPOINTING LAZAR MOISSEYEVICH KAGANOVICH VICE-CHAIRMAN OF THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS OF THE U.S.S.R.

The Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics *resolves* to confirm **Lazar Moisseyevich Kaganovich** as Vice-Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R., he remaining People's Commissar of Heavy Industry and People's Commissar of Railways.

M. Kalinin
Chairman of the Presidium
of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

A. Gorkin
Secretary of the Presidium
of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

Kremlin, Moscow,
August 21, 1938

ERRATA

Page	*Line*	*Read*	*Should Read*
241	10 top	and small-pot	and smallplot
347	2 bottom	collective forms	collective farms
399	6 top	any citizens	any citizen
445	16 top	Right of councel to defence	Right to councel of defence
628	13 bottom	farmers experts	Poultry farmers