

THE  
U. S. S. R.  
AND THE  
CAPITALIST  
COUNTRIES

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## INTRODUCTION

Twenty years ago the workers and peasants of Russia under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party overthrew the rule of the landlords and capitalists.

When the yoke of the bourgeoisie had been cast off, the capitalists and their henchmen, the Socialist-Revolutionaries and the Mensheviks, asserted that the end of the world had come, that without the bourgeoisie the workers would be unable to start the factories going and run the country, that the people would be doomed to hunger and barbarism until the bourgeois order was restored. The capitalists together with the Mensheviks and the Socialist-Revolutionaries raised Whiteguard rebellions within the country and for three years, with the direct participation of the armies of fourteen countries, they waged a counter-revolutionary war against the workers and peasants.

They did not achieve their aim. The workers and peasants of the Soviet Union, in stubborn struggle, defended their liberty and the gains of the Great October Socialist Revolution, and repelled all enemy attacks. The proletarians of the capitalist countries aided the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union in their fight against counter-revolution.

In the land of the Soviets the building of socialism proceeded on an extensive scale. Twenty years ago our country was wretched and poor. The peasant went hungry; he scratched the soil with a wooden plough. Now he has become prosperous; tractors and harvester combines do the heavy work for him. Hundreds of thousands of poor folk roamed the highways looking for work; now, under socialism, there are no unemployed in our country.

Thousands of new enterprises have been constructed; new railways, canals and big electric power stations have been built. Machines which previously were imported from abroad are now manufactured in the Soviet Union. Our country has become independent of capitalist countries. National oppression has been replaced by the free development of the cultural forces of each people. The Soviet people regard the future calmly and without apprehension. The Stalin Constitution of the U.S.S.R. guarantees the right to work, to rest and leisure, to education, to maintenance in old age and in case of sickness or loss of capacity to work. Life has become better, life has become more joyous. The mighty Red Army, which is of the flesh and blood of the working people of the U.S.S.R., defends the borders of the Soviet Union.

What can capitalism show by comparison?

Crises, idle factories, millions of unemployed, impoverishment of the workers and peasants, fascist violence that deprives the working people of every liberty, arming at a furious pace, predatory imperialist wars, a decline of culture and a decrease in the number of students, continued and intensified national and colonial oppression, gnawing fear for the future, general discontent and embitterment against the existing order on the part of the working people.

The past twenty years have clearly demonstrated all the advantages of the new social order over the old, of socialism over capitalism.

## I. FROM THE WAR OF 1914—1918 TO A NEW WORLD WAR

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### THE COST OF THE WORLD WAR TO MANKIND

The world imperialist war of 1914-18 was fought between two alliances of capitalist states: Great Britain, France, Belgium, Serbia, Russia, Italy and the United States of America on one side; Germany, Austria-Hungary, Turkey and Bulgaria on the other. The victorious Great October Socialist Revolution put an end to Russia's participation in the world imperialist war. The other states continued to fight for another whole year.

For fifty-one months, up to November 1918, tens of millions of people were engaged in mutually exterminating each other. Ten million people were killed and 20,300,000 were wounded (Russia's losses, included in this total, were 2,300,000 killed and 5,000,000 wounded). Millions of people were crippled—blinded or deprived of their arms and legs—in the war. The war left a whole army of widows and orphans in its wake.

The expenditures of all countries directly for the war amounted to about five hundred billion gold rubles. They were mainly met by loans. The national debts of all countries of the world amounted to

65	billion	gold	rubles	in	1914
550	"	"	"	"	1930

The economy of the belligerent countries declined. At one blow war destroyed values that had been created by the labour of many generations. The regions where military operations took place were completely devastated. But terrific havoc was also wrought in the rear. In the years of war houses and factories fell into disrepair; worn-out machinery was not replaced; reserves were exhausted. Houses were stripped of brass door-knobs and various other fixtures made of non-ferrous metals needed for the war industry.

The working population of the belligerent countries was badly impoverished. But the capitalists made money out of the universal misery and hunger. They speculated on the goods shortage. They supplied the armies with inferior goods at high prices. They turned out imitation goods. Inferior substitutes took the place of pure foodstuffs. Cotton was replaced by synthetic fibre, pure wool by shoddy, leather soles by soles made of pressed paper pulp. The capitalists sold goods at high prices but they paid the workers a miserly wage. Factories

and mills were militarized. Workers who dared to voice their discontent were sent off to the front. The capitalists reaped fabulous profits. The war, in Lenin's words, was hell for the workers and heaven for the capitalists.

The big landlords and rich peasants also increased their wealth. They made money by selling supplies to the army. Prisoners of war tilled their land for nothing.

The toiling peasantry, however, was impoverished. The family breadwinners were drafted for the front. Horses and livestock were requisitioned for the army. An acute shortage of labour power made itself felt. There was not enough fertilizer and the land became sterile. Peasants' houses fell into disrepair; farming implements deteriorated. Old men, women and children worked themselves to exhaustion to gather even a meagre harvest.

The lower middle class in the cities was also greatly impoverished. Artisans received no raw material; small tradesmen received no goods. The savings which the artisans, office employees, teachers and small townspeople had accumulated in the course of a lifetime, economizing on the barest necessities, were wiped out by the war. In Germany, for example, the deposits of working people in savings banks at the beginning of the war amounted to ten billion in gold rubles. Nothing was left of these savings. The working people were forced to invest their savings in war loans. The currency depreciated and thereby the savings of the working people depreciated. Instead of the comfortable and secure old age which the depositors had counted on, they had only poverty to look forward to.

The working class suffered cruelly from hunger and cold. There was no meat, fat, sugar, bread and coal. The workers' wages were too small to enable them to follow the example of the rich and buy food at profiteering prices. A prison-like military regime prevailed in the factories. Strikes were quelled by force of arms. The leaders of the Socialist Parties and the trade unions which betrayed the working class concluded "civil peace" with the bourgeoisie of their countries. They urged the working people patiently to endure all sacrifices "for the sake of victory." They did not even scruple at reporting revolutionary workers to the police.

### WHY WAS THE WAR STARTED?

The German imperialists hypocritically maintained that they were waging war in order to free the Russian people from the yoke of tsarism. The Russian imperialists talked of "aid to their brother Slavs," oppressed by the Austrian monarchy. The French and British imperialists said that they were fighting against the German and Austro-Hungarian militarists, to free the subject peoples from the yoke of the German kaiser, the Austrian emperor and the Turkish sultan. "We are fighting for peace," they said. "If we win, this war will be the last war."

Actually, the war was fought for a repartition of the world among the

imperialist robbers. The German bourgeoisie wanted to grab Poland, the Ukraine, Lithuania, Latvia and Esthonia. It sought to extend its power to the whole of Eastern Europe. It wanted to conquer Belgium, seize new colonies in Africa, etc. The French bourgeoisie wanted to win back Alsace-Lorraine, which had been seized by the Germans fifty years before. The English bourgeoisie had its mind set on the German colonies and Turkey. Japan wanted to seize the German colonies in China and enslave China. Tsarist Russia wanted to seize Constantinople and Galicia and to secure its dominance in the Balkans.

The victory was won by England, France, Belgium, and the others. The Germany and Austria-Hungary of the kaisers and the Turkey of the sultans were crushed. All the vanquished states were disarmed. They were compelled to pay huge war tribute in the form of indemnities for the war expenditures.

### THE WAVE OF REVOLUTIONS AT THE END OF THE WAR

At the end of the war the anger of the workers and peasants burst out everywhere in the form of gigantic mass actions. A strike wave rose at home in all the belligerent countries; uprisings began in the armies. In the vanquished countries, in Germany and Austria-Hungary, the monarchy was overthrown. The bourgeoisie placed in power the Social-Democratic leaders who sought to appease the workers with lavish promises. In some countries (Hungary, Bavaria, Finland) the workers overthrew the bourgeoisie and established Soviet power. However, the weakness of the Communist Parties, the treachery of the Socialist Party leaders and the support which the bourgeoisie of these countries received from world capital resulted in the fall of Soviet power in those countries.

With the aid of the Socialist Parties of the Second International the bourgeoisie succeeded in repelling the revolutionary offensive of the working class and the colonial peoples.

The power of the bourgeoisie was again consolidated everywhere beyond the borders of the Soviet Union. The oppression of the working people became even more ruthless and their poverty worse than before and during the imperialist war.

### THE ECONOMIC CRISIS OF 1920-21

Less than two years after the end of the war a new misfortune befell the masses of the people. Though the wounds which the years of war had inflicted upon the economy of capitalist countries had not yet healed, a crisis of overproduction broke out. The stores were overstocked with goods but no one bought them. Unemployment increased. Lacking a market, the merchants stopped purchasing goods from the manufacturers. The production of goods slowed down.

Why did this happen?

Under capitalism, economic activity is carried on without a general plan. The mills and\* factories are the private property of capitalists. A capitalist manufactures boots, for example, not in order to provide people with boots, but in order to make profit. He wants to make as much as he can on every pair of boots. In order to realize big profits, the capitalists try to produce commodities as cheaply as possible and sell them at as high a price as possible. They cut the wages of the workers. They install new machines which replace labour power and thereby create unemployment. They constantly reduce the income of the workers and peasants. They lower the prices of the raw materials which the peasants bring to the market. At the same time they agree among themselves not to sell goods below a certain price.

In order to make more money each capitalist tries to market more goods. To this end he does all he can to increase production. But who buys these consumers' goods? The main customers are the workers and peasants. However, in the scramble for profit the capitalists cut wages, throw "superfluous" workers on to the street and compel the peasants to sell their goods for next to nothing. Consequently, the incomes of the workers and peasants fall and the goods find no purchasers.

Therefore, under the capitalist system, crises of overproduction occur at definite intervals of time. The capitalists cannot sell the goods produced. If boots cannot be sold the manufacturer stops buying leather and machinery. If machinery cannot be sold the owner of the machinery construction works does not buy steel, and so on. Thus the crisis spreads to all enterprises.

Such crises of overproduction have repeatedly occurred in the capitalist world for the past 150 years. Once in every ten or eight years a crisis of overproduction breaks out. This is why a crisis of overproduction occurred after the war, despite the fact that the masses of the people had suffered terrible privation.

### THE WORLD CRISIS OF 1929-33

After recovering from the crisis of 1920-21 the economy of capitalist countries kept on the upgrade for a time. But in 1929 a new crisis broke out. This was the longest and most intense crisis in the history of capitalism. For three years production of commodities fell steadily. In some important branches of industry production was even below that of thirty or fifty years ago. The production of machinery was reduced by half. Tens of thousands of mills and factories stood idle. Equipment rusted, deteriorated and was scrapped. Commodity prices fell sharply. A host of traders, manufacturers and banks failed and were ruined. The state gave the big capitalists large subsidies to save them from bankruptcy. The big capitalists bought up the enterprises of their ruined competitors for a trifle.

As a result a handful of rich people grew still more powerful.

The crisis did not spare a single capitalist country. Commerce between states shrank to less than a third. In most capitalist countries the currency depreciated. Millions of peasants, artisans and small traders were ruined. Tens of millions of people were thrown out on the street without work, without shelter, and without bread; there were sixty million unemployed industrial and agricultural workers and office employees in the capitalist countries and colonies in 1932. Untold wealth was destroyed, burned or dumped into the sea by the bourgeoisie in order to raise prices. The masses of the people were still further impoverished.

The acuteness of the economic crisis of 1929-33 and its unprecedented duration are explained by the fact that this crisis occurred under the conditions of the *general* crisis of capitalism.

Now capitalism neither has nor can have the strength and stability which it possessed before the imperialist war and the Great October Socialist Revolution. The imperialist war hastened the decline of capitalism and upset its equilibrium. After the October Socialist Revolution, the socialist system appeared alongside the capitalist system of economy. It is growing and developing. It stands opposed to capitalism and by the very fact of its existence reveals the rottenness of capitalism and shakes its foundations

### THE NEW ECONOMIC CRISIS OF 1937

At the cost of the impoverishment of the workers and peasants capitalism succeeded in emerging from the crisis of 1929-33 and in somewhat raising production again. But for this very reason the bourgeoisie cannot hope for better times. The masses of the people have become impoverished, and the possibilities of marketing goods have diminished. Competition, the struggle for markets, has become even more intense.

In 1937 a new crisis broke out. Between March and December, the prices of the principal commodities—wheat, cotton, rubber, copper, tin, etc.—fell to a half.

In the United States of America, in which the crisis began sooner than in other countries, industrial output toward the end of 1937 was reduced by 30 per cent. The big American capitalists are doing their bit to intensify the crisis. In 1936 they were forced for the first time to sign collective agreements with the recently organized workers in the heavy industries. This led to an improvement in the workers' conditions of labour. Now the capitalists want to take advantage of the crisis to cancel these agreements. They hastened to throw millions of workers on to the streets. The number of jobless in the U.S.A., which even before the crisis, in March 1937, amounted to eight million, exceeded fourteen million at the beginning of 1938.

The crisis is making itself increasingly felt in England as well. Production

is declining. The number of jobless is steadily growing from month to month. The new world economic crisis means that everything that has been achieved during recent years will be destroyed, and the working people will be plunged into even worse poverty.

## THE RESULTS OF BOURGEOIS RULE

Twenty-four years have passed since the outbreak of the World War. The economic results of that period are extremely lamentable for the capitalist countries. To be sure, production in 1937 was somewhat above the pre-war level. However, a far greater portion of production goes for military purposes. The population has increased 15 per cent as compared with the pre-war period. The average amount of commodities per capita of the population is lower than it was before the war. Technical progress, inventions, new machines and the rise in the productivity of labour have not improved the supply of commodities to the broad masses.

*At the same time an enormous portion of the means of production remains unutilized under capitalism.* Thus, for instance, in the United States during the last ten years the factories have been utilized on an average only 67.5 per cent of their capacity, and in Germany 53 per cent. This is calculated on the basis of one shift per day. By calculating on the basis of two shifts per day, we find that the industrial equipment in America was utilized only to the extent of 34 per cent of capacity, and in Germany only 26.5 per cent.

Under capitalism the wealth is being concentrated to an ever greater degree in the hands of the richest people, the big bankers, the heads of trusts. The lower middle class is being ruined. The peasants are being deprived of their land. The working class is becoming more and more impoverished. The people have no money with which to buy goods. Therefore production cannot develop. But since production does not develop the workers remain unemployed and cannot buy goods. Capitalism cannot get out of this vicious circle.

Capitalism has become a hindrance to the development of mankind. If mankind is to advance, the rule of the bourgeoisie must be overthrown.

## THE INCREASE OF NATIONAL OPPRESSION

The imperialist powers waged the World War under the slogan of the liberation of nations. However, after the war national oppression continued to exist as before. It is inseparable from capitalism. Under tsarism the Russian landlords and capitalists oppressed the Poles. Today, in the Poland of the pans, the Polish landlords and capitalists oppress the Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Lithuanians, Germans, Jews, etc. The Serbian bourgeoisie oppress the Croats and Slovenes. The Italian bourgeoisie oppress the Germans in the South Tyrol, and so on.

Some colonies have changed masters but colonial oppression remains as before. The last independent country in Africa—Abyssinia—was conquered and enslaved by Italian fascism and transformed into its colony. Manchuria and North China have been seized by the Japanese bandits. Fascism propagates the fiercest national oppression, it preaches hatred and enmity among peoples, it threatens the existence of a number of small states. The German fascists are particularly savage and inhuman in their persecution of the Jews and the other national minorities.

## MILITARISM HAS GROWN MORE INTENSIVELY THAN EVER

In fascist countries they begin giving the children military drill even in the elementary school grades. The youth is completely militarized. The entire population, including the women, is being trained to serve the war, either at the front or in the rear. Standing armies are considerably larger than they were on the eve of the World War. War preparations are proceeding at a feverish pace. The entire economy of the capitalist countries is completely subordinated to the interests of war preparations. Military expenditures are far greater now than they were before the World War.

Military expenditures amounted to (figures in millions):

	1913	1936
Great Britain (pounds sterling).....	77	197
Germany (marks).....	1,479	10,000
Italy (lire).....	813	5,840
Japan (yen).....	192	1,300
United States of America (dollars).....	335	1,217

Military expenditures are absorbing larger and larger sums of money. Expenditures on economic and cultural needs, however, are being reduced. In the Japanese budget for 1936-37 the main items of expenditure were as follows (figures in millions of yen):

Army and navy (including normal and extraordinary budget) .....	1,826
Public education .....	143
Agriculture and forestry .....	97

The actual military expenditures are even greater, for every item in the budget of capitalist countries conceals some expenditure for military purposes.

The burden of militarism falls with all its weight on the shoulders of the working people of the capitalist countries. Taxes increase from year to year.

The amount of taxes per citizen was:

	1913	1936
Germany (marks).....	31	144
Italy (lire).....	54	380
Great Britain (pounds sterling).....	3.5	15
United States of America (dollars).....	6	28
Japan (yen).....	6	13

The capitalist states appropriate an ever increasing portion of the meagre income of the peasants and low wages of the workers. The condition of the working people is steadily becoming worse.

## THE FASCIST BRIGANDS WORKING TO BRING ON A NEW WORLD WAR

The bourgeoisie hypocritically termed the World War the "last war." Actually the entire post-war period has been a period of large and small wars. *Right now one-third of the population of the world is at war. At the present time the following countries are fighting:*

China	with a population of 450 million			
Japan	" "	"	70	"
Germany	" "	"	66	"
Italy	" "	"	45	"
Spain	" "	"	25	"
Total			656	

In three parts of the world—in Asia, Africa and Europe—war is already raging. With unexampled insolence and cynicism German fascism, in alliance with its Italian, Japanese and Polish accomplices, is preparing for a new world imperialist war. Fascist Germany seized weak Austria at one military stroke. The German and Italian interventionists in Spain and the Japanese invaders in China are actually waging war already for a repartition of the world. Their purpose is the predatory seizure of foreign territory and the savage repression of the working class and the entire working population.

But in this they are not successful. The working people of Spain are firmly united and are carrying on an heroic fight against the fascist interventionists. In China the Japanese robbers are meeting with the furious resistance of the entire Chinese people. They calculated that they would gain an easy victory, but instead they have already been dealt a number of telling blows.

The fascist bandits are constantly planning for an attack on the Soviet Union. They send spies, diversionists and wreckers to our country, using as their agents the traitors to our country—the Trotskyites, Bukharinites, etc.

For the time being, fear of the powerful Red Army, and apprehension as regards the masses of the people in their own countries restrain the fascist robbers from attacking the U.S.S.R.

We must always be prepared to meet the fascist aggressors fully armed and deal them a crushing blow.

## II. IMPOVERISHMENT OF THE WORKERS IN THE CAPITALIST WORLD

### MASS UNEMPLOYMENT

Unemployment is the workers' most dreadful scourge in capitalist countries. The worker is constantly oppressed by gnawing fear for the morrow.

The number of unemployed fluctuates, depending on the condition of capitalist economy at the given time. During a crisis the army of unemployed swells to tremendous proportions; when the economic situation improves it is somewhat reduced. But an army of millions of unemployed still remains even in the times of the greatest boom of capitalist economy. The League of Nations gives the following figures for the number of unemployed in 32 capitalist countries:

(In millions)							
1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936
6	12	19	26	26	22	21	20.5

At the beginning of 1938 the number of unemployed, as a result of the new economic crisis, grew to approximately twenty-five million.

If members of families are also counted the army of unemployed in the capitalist world at the present time equals in numbers half the population of the Soviet Union. Moreover, this does not include unemployed farm labourers, domestic servants, and so on. Nor does it include the unemployed of China and India where half the population of the entire capitalist world lives.

In England for the past sixteen years, on an average, every seventh worker has been unemployed, in the United States of America in 1936 every sixth worker was unemployed and in Germany from 1929 to 1933, on an average, every fourth worker was unemployed. The introduction of new machinery and the speed-up reduce the number of workers employed in industry. Thus, for example, the figures for the total number of workers employed in manufacturing industries in the United States of America were:

Years	
1919	9,041,000
1929	8,822,000
1936	7,304,000

In 1936, 7,304,000 workers produced one-quarter more goods than 9,041,000 did in 1919. But they received one-sixth less in wages. This means that the number of workers has been declining while the degree of their exploitation has been increasing.

## HOW THE UNEMPLOYED LIVE

In a few capitalist countries, such as England, for example, there is state unemployment insurance; in these countries the unemployed receive an insignificant dole. In some countries the trade unions provided assistance of a kind for their unemployed members, but the funds of these trade unions were used up in the crisis years.

In most countries the unemployed receive nothing but the charity of private philanthropic societies; they stand for hours in long lines for a plate of soup. They sell their clothing and their household belongings; they are evicted from their homes. Hundreds of thousands of unemployed roam the highways seeking work, begging and stealing. The cheerless life of the unemployed is vividly depicted in the book *America Perishes From Plenty* by the German bourgeois writer, A. F. Johann. The author publishes a number of statements by American unemployed. We shall quote a few extracts from these statements.

"In 1931 I worked a total of five days. Then, at last, I saw a newspaper ad asking married men to give in their names so as to get work in the oil fields. I read this on Monday morning. By 8:50 I was at the place; at 2:30 my turn finally came. They asked me all kinds of questions and finally told me that they would let me know within three weeks. The three weeks have already turned into six long months. The only reason I have not starved to death is that my wife is still working." (Pat Dougherty, unemployed, Los Angeles.)

"I am older than most around here who are loafing without work. I am a tramp now, an old man who has long since given up hope of ever finding a job. I no longer look for work since I am past the age when I can expect any. I cannot even say exactly how many years I have been looking for work. But I always took any job I could get: in the mines, on road-building, in the woods. And now, at my age, I have to stand in the soup line! I have reached the stage which the young fellows who still have hopes of getting rich some day will also reach presently. I am old, hungry, ragged and lousy. But I can tell you that much: for the last two weeks I have travelled through the whole state from 'Frisco to San José and to Point Reyes and everywhere I saw husky young fellows, eager for work who were just as down and out as I was. . . . I can still work. Only three weeks ago I got work, where I had to get up at 5 in the morning and work until 6 in the evening. And I stuck it out, 12 hours a day most of the time, for one dollar." (McCormack, unemployed, San Francisco, Cal.)

"I am a miner, but all the mines are shut down. Recently I was back in Grass Valley looking for work in a mine. . . . I went to Salt Lake City and from there to Paul City. . . . Then I travelled through the whole West; there's no work anywhere. Finally I came here." (Tom Moody, unemployed, Seattle, Washington.)

"I am a steel worker. For the past 30 years I have worked in the steel mills. Three years ago I was turned out on the street and I haven't found any work since. The money I had saved was used up long ago. Yesterday I slept in a shed on the docks. Of course I stand in line for soup at the 'Hoover Café' as the boys call it. I don't like it much. If we took matters into our hands the food would be better. I've given up looking for work. I have reached the conclusion that the world is at an end and that work is over. That is all I have to say. It's a good thing that my wife died. My two sons are also unemployed. Now I am alone." (Charles Doyle, unemployed, Phoenix, Arizona.)

"I am married. For two years, except for the spring of 1931, when I worked in the cotton fields, I have been without a job. My wife and two children have gone to Los Angeles now since one of my boys can earn 12 dollars a week there. That's what they live on. I have been standing in the soup line for a long time now. Sometimes I sleep in box cars, sometimes in a deserted house. I worked for the city for a while, hauling garbage. Every day some 50 or more men poked about the garbage dump looking for anything that was edible—a crust of bread, the left-overs of cabbage and meat. But the garbage men themselves managed to collect the best scraps in order to sell them. I can tell you that in many cities I have seen lots of families live only on what they can find on the garbage dumps." (Harry Logan, unemployed, Tucson, Arizona.)\*

## UNEMPLOYED YOUTH

The lot of the youth under capitalism is the most cheerless of all. Young people finish school but do not find work. They feel that they are superfluous, that society does not need their work. They are a burden to their parents who themselves often have nothing to eat. So the unemployed young fellow leaves his parents' house. He enters life as a homeless tramp, "a superfluous mouth." Hundreds of thousands of unemployed youth wander the roads in the United States of America, the richest capitalist country in the world. Here is what F. Suppol, correspondent of a Vienna newspaper, who toured the country in 1933, writes:

"It makes a painful impression on the foreigner in the United States when he sees in the cities young people in shabby, dusty clothes, with faces wan from hunger and sleeplessness, who camp in the public parks or on the outskirts of the suburbs. . . .

"Where do these vagabond youths come from? For the most part they are young people between the ages of 18 and 21, who have left their par-

\* Retranslated from the German.—Ed. Eng. ed.

ents' homes where want and poverty prevail. Since they can find no work at home they leave so as not to increase the number of mouths to feed. Frequently even the parents themselves advise them to try their luck elsewhere. . . . These young people are far from being incapable or uneducated. Statistics published by the Bureau of Public Welfare in Washington show that out of 7,512 tramps who received state aid during the first three months of 1932, 1,966 had been to elementary school, 2,000 to high school and 258 to college. Their bitterest enemy is cold, because they prefer to travel by night and sleep by day. Many of them who have to endure the most frightful privation and are very lightly clothed get sick. But the hospitals, save for the most serious cases, are unable to take them in because they are overcrowded. On the roads in the north one may often encounter the bodies of unfortunates who have died from cold."

This is what the rule of capital leads to.

### LOSS OF SKILL AS A RESULT OF PROLONGED UNEMPLOYMENT

Years of chronic unemployment lead to loss of skill. Having finished his apprenticeship the worker is often compelled to undertake unskilled work. His hands lose their acquired dexterity. Meanwhile technology progresses; new types of machinery and new methods of work are introduced. Many of the unemployed get out of practice to such an extent that they are no longer able to adapt themselves to the new technology. In the United States, out of every 100 skilled workers who changed their place of employment during the crisis, 78 had to accept lower paid unskilled work.

A good many skilled workers died during the crisis. Many reached the age at which work in a capitalist factory is beyond their strength. Many lost their skill through long years of idleness. During the crisis the capitalists completely stopped training new workers.

This is why there is a shortage of skilled labour in the U.S.A. in spite of the fact that there are 14 million unemployed.

### IMPOVERISHMENT OF THE EMPLOYED WORKERS

Chronic mass unemployment leads to the worsening of the conditions of labour of employed workers. When thousands of unemployed are constantly waiting at the factory gates it is easy for the capitalist to hire workers on any terms. Workers often work one day and are idle the next. Sometimes the employer hires workers for the season and then keeps them "in reserve" for several months, without paying them wages.

The condition of the workers in fascist countries, in Germany, Japan and

Italy, is particularly bad. In these countries the workers are completely defenceless, there tyranny and lawlessness reign supreme.

*In Germany wage increases have been totally forbidden ever since the fascists came to power in 1933.* Deductions from wages for taxes, for "contributions," etc., have sharply increased. The cost of living is constantly rising. At best the German worker can buy with his wages only four-fifths of the amount of goods he could buy five years ago!

Frightful poverty prevails in fascist Portugal. According to official statistics women textile workers receive three escudos for a day's work. Maize bread costs 1.25 escudos a kilogram in Portugal. *Thus, the wages of a Portuguese working woman are the equivalent of approximately two kilograms of maize bread a day.* But it is hard to find work even at this miserable wage. That is why, in Portugal, the so-called system of "work for the sake of friendship," i.e., work without remuneration, for nothing but the workers' wretched keep, is widely practised.

Workers in Japan, especially in the textile mills, live in a condition of semi-slavery. The peasants sell their daughters to the mills by contract for a number of years. The working girls live in the factory barracks and receive meagre nourishment in the factory. They are not allowed to leave the factory premises either during the day or at night. The amount of goods which a Japanese worker can purchase for his wages decreases from year to year. According to official statistics, during the past six years prices have risen 17 per cent, while wages have risen only 3 per cent.

In India labour protection laws exist only on paper; no one compels the capitalists to observe them. In the cotton mills the working day lasts from 7 a.m. to 10:30 p.m., i.e., 15½ hours, and sometimes even until midnight. Most of the workers are women and children.

The housing conditions of workers in India are appalling. In Bombay, with a population of 1,200,000, according to official statistics, 97 per cent of the population is housed in wretched hovels unfit for habitation. *It is not surprising that in Bombay one-fourth of the children die before reaching the age of one year.*

### UNDERNOURISHMENT AMONG THE WORKERS

In the capitalist world large quantities of foodstuffs perish without finding purchasers. At the same time even in the richest countries, such as England and the U.S.A., the workers are underfed.

The noted English scientist, Orr, director of the Food Institute, in his book published in 1936, comes to the following conclusion:

Half the population of England does not have an income large enough to live on. The effects of malnutrition are especially disastrous in the case of children. Incorrect bone structure has been observed among 67 to 88 per cent

of London school children. The teeth of 88 to 93 per cent are bad because they do not get enough milk to drink.

In the working class districts of New York approximately 29 per cent of the school children in Manhattan and 23 per cent of those in the Bronx suffered from malnutrition in 1932.

The starvation disease, pellagra, takes a yearly toll of 4,000 victims in the rich United States.

The advent of the fascists to power sharply aggravated the food difficulties in Germany. The food shortage in fascist Germany is common knowledge. In Germany there is a shortage of butter, eggs, meat and bread. Ration cards have already been introduced for fats. The introduction of bread cards is expected. Wheat and rye bread is adulterated with maize.

According to the data of the Famine Relief Committee in China the number of starving in the country was as follows:

Years	
1927	9,000,000
1928	37,000,000
1929	57,000,000
1930	71,000,000

In 1916, in Japan, 75 per cent of those liable to military service were considered fit for service. In 1936 only 55 per cent were fit for service. The majority of the rejected recruits were unfit for military service because of undernourishment.

### DISASTROUS SPEED-UP

Capitalism spares neither the worker's health nor his life. For the capitalist a worker's life is the cheapest of commodities. Dozens of unemployed can always be found to take the place of the dead or incapacitated worker.

In the scramble for profits the capitalists try to spend as little as possible on wages and compel the workers to do as much work as possible. To this end they constantly speed up the work by speeding up the machinery. Those who cannot stand the mad speed of work in the capitalist factories are thrown out on to the street. In the American automobile plants the workers on the conveyor have no time even to go to the toilet or take a drink of water.

Where there is no conveyor the piece work rates are such as compel the workers to work at a furious pace. If the worker produces less than the norm the rate for the total work is reduced. Piece rates are usually based on the output of the most competent and skilful workers. The workers must tax their strength to the limit to earn a subsistence minimum.

*The speed-up, which is disastrous to the workers, enables the capitalist to economize on wages, but for the workers it means ruined health, the early loss of working capacity and an increasing number of accidents in industry.*

For example, the average wage of Japanese women textile workers in 1920 was 1.1 yen per day, whereas in 1933 it was .75 yen. One working woman tended 29 spindles in 1920, and 61 spindles in 1933; she produced 19 pounds of yarn a day in 1920 and 28 pounds in 1933. Thus the working women's wages have decreased while the degree of their exploitation has increased.

Signs are often to be seen outside American factory gates with the inscription:

"NO WORKERS HIRED ABOVE THE AGE OF 40"

A worker at the age of 40 can no longer endure the terrific speed-up. Lately the factories have stopped hiring even workers who are over 35. Often workers forge their papers so as to reduce their age. Many workers whose hair has turned grey at the age of 40 dye their hair in order to look younger. An old man has no hope at all of finding work.

The disastrous speed-up and undernourishment prematurely undermine the health of the workers. Even fascist physicians are forced to admit that in Germany a working man at 40 and a working woman even at 30 have partially lost their capacity to work. Often at this age men and women workers are forced to abandon their professions.

A weakened and emaciated constitution loses its power of resistance. The number of accidents in industry is increasing. In 1935, in Germany, there were over 88,000 serious accidents in industry (*i.e.*, such accidents as cause loss of the capacity to work for a period of over three months), and in 1936 there were 99,000. In Germany the number of accidents in industry per 1,000 workers was as follows:

1913	1932	1934	1936
61	64	79	87

The increase in the number of accidents in industry has been most marked among the youth; it has more than doubled in recent years.

The majority of these victims of accidents in industry receive no compensation whatever.

Out of every hundred workers injured in industry the number of those who received compensation was:

1913	1932	1934	1936
18	11	7	6

A worker usually looks old by the time he is 40. On the other hand, in England a politician usually cannot aspire to a cabinet post until he is past 50. The former British Prime Minister, Lloyd George, who is already 74, is displaying a great deal of energy in an endeavour to become Prime Minister again. The former French Premier, Tardieu, recently married at the age of 64. The American billionaire Rockefeller died at the age of 98.

Bourgeois leaders do not neglect their health even in the most trying times. Lloyd George, when he was Minister of Munitions during the World War, devoted one hour every day to playing ball. The German commander-in-chief in the World War, Hindenburg, took an hour's ride on horseback even on the days of the fiercest engagements. Only the proletarians must die early from exhaustion and malnutrition, or be killed at the front in imperialist wars.

## MODERN SLAVERY AND MASS MURDER OF NATIVES IN THE COLONIES

In many of the colonies, undisguised slavery exists to this day. The governor of the Portuguese colony in East Africa "supplies" 100,000 Negroes a year to the owners of the gold mines in South Africa. He gets a special premium for each Negro. These Negroes live in camps behind high fences, and are kept under the surveillance of special overseers armed with bludgeons and whips. During many years, until the expiration of the contract, the Negroes are allowed to leave the camp only when they go down to work in the mines. Every Negro must wear a metal numeral on his left wrist, which serves him as a pass. The Negroes work at a temperature of over 104° (Fahrenheit) at a depth of 2,000 metres underground. The intolerable heat, hard work, sicknesses and accidents cause the untimely death of scores of thousands of Negroes.

Mass murder of colonial workers is quite a usual occurrence. Thus, for instance, on October 6, 1937, when several thousand Negro unemployed with their families crossed the border from Haiti into neighbouring Santo Domingo in search of work (both States are situated on the Island of Haiti and are in fact semi-colonies of the United States of America), the fascist dictator of Santo Domingo, Truchilio, ordered his troops to fire on the Negroes and their wives and children. According to reports in American newspapers, the number of killed was about 5,000. Truchilio himself admitted that 3,000 people had been shot. It is characteristic that owing to the strict censorship imposed by the fascist dictator, the first news of this bloody massacre appeared in the American press only a month after the event.

## WORKERS IN FASCIST COUNTRIES HAVE NO RIGHTS WHATEVER

In bourgeois-democratic countries the workers can at least use their political rights to fight against the worsening of labour conditions.

In fascist countries the workers have no rights whatever. The trade unions have been smashed. In the factories the tyranny of the capitalists and their overseers reigns supreme. Collective bargaining has been completely abolished. The foreman decides what wages the worker shall receive. Wage increases are forbidden. Strikes are forbidden. The fascists call this penal servitude the "abolition of the class struggle." Workers' meetings are prohibited and par-

ticipation in such meetings is punished as a crime against the state. The Social-Democratic and Communist Parties have to carry on their work under the worst conditions of illegality. The workers' press has been suppressed. The entire press is under the strictest censorship. Workers have no right to change their place of work without permission of the authorities.

The fascist countries are overrun with spies and secret police agents. For a word of criticism workers are flung into prison or sent to concentration camps. A savage and bloody terror reigns. Only by fierce terror does the bourgeoisie still manage to maintain its rule.

## PALTRY WAGES FOR WORKERS, HUGE SALARIES FOR DIRECTORS

In the United States of America, where the level of wages is higher than in any other capitalist country, workers hardly earn enough to live on. On the other hand, the directors of big concerns receive huge salaries. Thus, for instance, according to the data of a Senate investigation committee, the directors of the General Motors Corporation received the following salaries in 1936:

Sloan, President .....	\$561,311	E. Fisher, Business Manager ...	\$303,423
Knudsen, Vice-President .....	\$459,878	U. Fisher, Director .....	\$303,423
Brown, Vice-President .....	\$351,732	Kettering, Director .....	\$304,400
Smith, Director .....	\$349,257	Mooney, Director .....	\$290,450
L. Fisher, Director .....	\$307,773	Grant, Director .....	\$288,394
A. Fisher, Trustee .....	\$303,423	Hunt, Director .....	\$282,749

The salaries received by twelve more directors of the Corporation exceeded \$100,000 each.

Of course the salaries are but a small part of the income of these people; besides their salaries they receive large bonuses and participate in the profits of the Corporation as stockholders.

## THE RULING CLASSES LIVE IN LUXURY

While the working class suffers hunger and want, the ruling classes wallow in fabulous luxury.

*Many English lords employ several hundred domestic servants.* A rich Englishman usually has a mansion in London with 30 or 40 rooms and one or several large palaces on his estates, where he amuses himself with hunting and sports, and a villa in Switzerland, southern France, or Italy, where he "rests" from idleness.

Every member of the family has his own automobile, his own chauffeur, a whole retinue of lackeys, chambermaids, secretaries, companions, housekeepers, chefs and cooks. The children have their nurses, tutors, sports instructors,

etc. The bourgeois travel with whole retinues of servants. A permanent staff of gamekeepers, kennelmen, stablemen, coachmen, gardeners, etc., is maintained on the estates. Many capitalists have pleasure yachts with permanent crews. Many of them keep race horses, the upkeep of which amounts to several million rubles a year.

The luxury of American millionaires and billionaires reaches the point of utter absurdity. They simply do not know what to do with their money. Many American millionaires ride around in specially built automobiles; the women go to Paris to order gowns of the latest style, to dye their hair and bedeck themselves with ornaments worth millions. The eccentricities and whims of the bourgeoisie and its hangers-on positively know no limits.

*The dogs of the rich live better than most of the workers.* They are carefully fed, bathed, combed and taken out for walks. In Paris, London and other cities there are special restaurants for dogs, special hospitals, barber shops, fashion shops, sumptuous dog cemeteries, decorated with the works of the finest artists.

### III. THE HARD LOT OF THE PEASANTRY IN CAPITALIST COUNTRIES

#### LAND HUNGER

The peasants constitute the majority of the population of the capitalist world. And wherever capitalism prevails the picture is the same: the peasants suffer severely from a shortage of land. Most of the land belongs to big landowners—to the landlords, the church, manufacturers and rich farmers. Hundreds of millions of peasants have not enough land to feed their families.

Let us take Germany as an example.

2,700,000	German farms have less than one-half a hectare* of land
849,000	" " " " " from ½ to 2 " "
797,000	" " " " " 2 to 5 " "

*These households, numbering over 4,000,000, taken together, own only 10 per cent of the land.*

At the same time there are in Germany 34,000 large estates of over 100 hectares (250 acres) each. These comprise 37.8 per cent of all the land.

The 412 biggest landlords in Germany own as much land as 2,500,000 small landowners.

The majority of these big landlords are counts, princes, or dukes. The revolution of 1918 overthrew the kaiser and the princes but it left them their "personal property." They still own a large part of the land in Germany. Here are a few examples.

<i>Name of landowner</i>	<i>Area of land holdings in hectares</i>
Wilhelm II von Hohenzollern, former German kaiser	97,043
Friedrich Leopold, Prince of Prussia.....	25,042
Friedrich August, former King of Saxony.....	21,945
Friedrich Victor, Prince Hohenzollern-Siegmaringen.	46,036
Christian Kraft, Prince Hohenloe-Eringen.....	48,221
Engelbert-Maria, Duke von Arenbert-Nordkirchen...	27,842
Friedrich, Duke von Anhalt-Dessau.....	29,300
Christian Ernst von Stolberg-Vernigerode.....	36,739

In *England*, to this day, the land is almost entirely in the hands of noble families. Huge tracts of land are not cultivated, but kept in a wild state for hunting, for the expensive pastimes of the lords.

In *Hungary*, only 11 per cent of the land belongs to the peasants, while a small handful of big landlords (they comprise only 6.2 per cent of the total

\* a hectare=about 2.5 acres.

number of landowners) holds 66 per cent of the land. Some landlords own over 100,000 hectares of excellent land.

In *Austria*, the big landlords, who comprise only 1.4 per cent of all the landowners, possess 46 per cent of all the land. Half of the landowners are small peasants, but only 6 per cent of the land belongs to them.

Things are the same in *Poland*. The princes Radziwil and Sapieha, and other "illustrious" pans own enormous tracts of the best land, while the peasants work themselves to exhaustion on wretched little patches.

In *Japan* the big landlords comprise one per cent of the total number of landowners, but they own 26 per cent of the land. The Japanese emperor and his family own over 1,500,000 hectares of the best land, while two and a half million peasant farms have less than a half a hectare each. All of them combined have less land than the emperor alone. Only half of the land belongs to peasants, who comprise 93 per cent of the total number of landowners. One-third of the peasantry own no land at all; the remaining mass of the peasantry own from one-half to one hectare of land per household.

We see the same picture in all bourgeois countries. A handful of landlords own the best land, while the toiling peasants work themselves to exhaustion on wretched little patches of land.

### HOW THE PEASANTS IN CAPITALIST COUNTRIES WERE DECEIVED

The peasantry has long been dissatisfied with the unfair distribution of the land. During the World War the peasants, clad in soldier's uniforms, were solemnly promised that after victory they would receive land at the expense of the holdings of the landlords.

After the war, for the sake of appearances, commissions of state officials were appointed in many capitalist countries. They began to potter about compiling lists and questionnaires and drawing up plans. Whole mountains of paper were used up. Then new commissions got busy compiling more lists and using up more paper. Ostensibly they were ascertaining what tracts were suitable for division among the peasants, how much the land would cost, and so on. Quite a number of years passed in this fashion, but matters practically remained where they were before.

Finally an insignificant fraction of the landlords' estates was divided up. But even for this the landlords received handsome compensation from the state. Moreover, it was not the toiling peasants who received the land thus purchased from the landlords, but mainly former army officers, officials, gendarmes and rich farmers. And even those working peasants who did manage to receive land were unable to hold on to it. They had no agricultural implements and no livestock. On receiving land they immediately went into debt. The yield of the poorly cultivated land dwindled from year to year. In the end the

land was confiscated either by the state for non-payment of taxes or by the usurers for debts. The peasants in capitalist countries suffer from land shortage today just as they did before. The land hunger has become even more acute because during the past two decades millions of peasants have been ruined and have lost their land.

### THE PEASANT IS ROBBED BY THE MERCHANT AND THE MANUFACTURER

After the World War the conditions of the peasants grew worse in all the capitalist countries. This decline was most marked in America and Australia. In these countries the grain-growing area had been greatly extended during the years of the World War. The armies needed bread and meat, and the belligerent countries paid high prices for foodstuffs. As a result the prices on land rose and the peasants contracted many debts. But when the war ended the demand for agricultural produce dropped very sharply. Vast stores of produce had accumulated. Wholesale prices on agricultural produce fell precipitately. In America, for example, they dropped to about one-third of the war-time level. Similar reductions of prices occurred in Poland, in Hungary and in the Balkans—in all countries that grew agricultural produce for export.

The peasants were placed in an exceedingly difficult position. They were now receiving for their products one-third as much money as before, while payments on debts and for taxes did not decrease but, on the contrary, increased.

The peasants are forced to market their goods for a pittance. But this does not mean that the urban consumer enjoys bread, meat and milk at a low price. A host of middlemen, merchants and big capitalists, stands between the peasant and the consumer in the cities. It is they who rake in all the profit, ruining the peasant and robbing the urban consumer.

The gap between the prices at which the peasant sells and those at which the worker in the city buys agricultural produce has widened tremendously. The American farmer receives only 30 per cent of the price the urban consumer pays for fruit and vegetables; 40 per cent of the price for milk; 45 per cent of the price for poultry; 55 per cent of the price for meat. In Berlin, the consumer pays for potatoes twice as much as the peasant receives for the same potatoes.

The first link in the chain between the peasant and the urban consumer is the buying agent, the last link is the retail trader. In between are the wholesalers, agents, commission men, brokers, auctioneers, transportation companies, owners of factories, warehouses, grain elevators, banks, and so on.

"The peasant who requires a year to grow his wheat and several years to raise his livestock, in the long run receives less for his arduous labour and his invested capital than the middleman," writes a French scholar.

Thus the state, the landlords, usurers and middlemen take advantage of the agrarian crisis to exploit the peasantry even more ruthlessly than before.

The tenant peasants are in the worst position of all. During the war and the years immediately following it they leased plots of land at high rentals. During the crisis they were no longer in a position to pay their rent. This meant wholesale evictions from the land, forced sales of property, and the utter ruin of large numbers of tenant farmers.

## PEASANTS ARE LOSING THEIR LAND AND BEING REDUCED TO POVERTY

The peasants fought hard to withstand the crisis. They worked themselves to exhaustion and compelled their children to do the same. They economized wherever they could. They strained every effort to save their homesteads and their land. However, all their efforts were in vain. Millions of peasants were evicted from the land. Millions of former landowners were reduced to tenantry.

A most striking picture of the mass ruin of the peasants is provided by rich America.

Out of every hundred American farmers the number of tenants was:

1880	1900	1920	1935
26	35	38	42

In the United States of America during the last ten years an average of 40,000 farmers a year were deprived of their land and reduced to the status of tenants or agricultural labourers.

Thus, two out of every five American farmers are now landless and compelled to rent land. Many farmers are so heavily in debt that their net receipts barely provide them with food. Their entire income goes to creditors.

The farmers lose their land mainly because they are unable to pay off their debts. In the years 1933-36 the land of 800,000 American farmers was sold at auction.

Who gets hold of the land which the farmers lose?

It is grabbed by the banks, the insurance companies, the state and the rich landowners.

In 1929, 7,000 farmsteads became the property of the banks for non-payment of debts, in 1932, 18,000, and in 1936, 30,000.

Insurance companies follow the banks in seizing the land of the ruined farmers. The state also does its share in dispossessing the farmers.

The authorities of the state of Mississippi dispossessed 60,000 farmers for non-payment of taxes in the first three quarters of 1932. In Michigan farmers had 3,750,000 acres of land taken away from them by the government through delinquent tax sales.

The peasants are losing their land while the estates of the landlords are

rapidly increasing. In the United States large estates of more than 1000 acres each comprised the following proportion of the total land:

1910	1920	1930	1935
19 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>10</sub>	23 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>10</sub>	28 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>10</sub>	29 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>10</sub>

In Japan, out of every 100 peasants the number of those working on their own land was as follows:

1910	1934
33	31

All the others worked partly or entirely on rented land.

The defenders of the bourgeoisie, the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries, spread lying tales to the effect that peasant husbandry can develop successfully under capitalism. They argued that small peasant farming would prove superior to large-scale farming. But every day the facts show that under capitalism small peasant farming is doomed to poverty and ruin.

## THE DECLINE OF PEASANT ECONOMY DURING THE CRISIS

If a mill or a factory operates at a loss during a crisis, the capitalist shuts it down and turns the workers out on the street. He can wait for better times, since he has capital accumulated. The peasant is forced to cultivate his land even when he has to do it at a loss. For he must meet the interest to the usurer and pay his taxes to the state and the local government just the same; he must feed his draught animals. His house and his implements of production depreciate. Besides, what will the peasant live on if he ceases to cultivate his land? He cannot find work for hire since the labour market is already flooded with unemployed. Like it or not the peasant must work, even if it entails a loss.

The peasant by his arduous toil often earns less than the wage worker. His farm deteriorates. If an implement breaks he has no money for repairs. If his draught horse dies he cannot acquire a new one. The peasant's implements wear out, his land loses its fertility, his harvest yield dwindles. And finally, after long years of desperate struggle, the peasant goes bankrupt.

\* The poverty of peasant farming in capitalist countries is illustrated by the following facts.

Only the landlords and rich farmers have tractors, harvester combines and steam threshing machines. The majority of the toiling peasants do not even own draught horses. In Germany, in 1933 out of 849,000 peasant farms ranging in size from one-half to two hectares, only five per cent owned horses; less than half these farms owned cows. Out of 797,000 farms ranging in size from two to five hectares only 158,000 owned horses.

The livestock of the small peasants is far inferior in quality to that of the landlords. The cows of small peasant farms with less than two hectares of land give an average of 1,600 litres of milk a year. The cows of landlords who own over 100 hectares of land give an average of 3,370 litres of milk a year.

The land of the small peasant farms yields a poorer harvest.

In *Austria*, in 1930, only two out of every 100 farms of less than two hectares had draught horses. Only 15 out of every 100 farms ranging in size from two to five hectares had draught horses. Even in the case of farms with from five to ten hectares of land more than half had no horses. Half the farms of less than two hectares had neither horses nor cows.

In *Rumania*, in 1936 36.9 per cent of the peasant households had no draught animals; 32.5 per cent had no cows; 48 per cent had no pigs and 46.2 per cent had no sheep.

During the crisis the peasants practically stopped buying agricultural machinery. In Germany, in 1928, 245,000,000 marks worth of agricultural machinery were sold, whereas in 1932 sales amounted to only 80,000,000 marks. In Poland sales of agricultural machinery amounted in 1932 to only one-tenth, and in 1935 to one-seventh of the sales of 1928. The same decrease is to be observed in the use of artificial fertilizers. Vast regions in capitalist countries were ruined by the agrarian crisis.

The peasants' old enemies—*drought and flood*—devastate entire cultivated regions. In recent years drought has mainly affected the United States and Canada. Tenant farmers usually lease land for one or two years. They take little care of the soil. It does not pay them to practice the proper crop rotation. Year after year the land is sown with wheat. Little fertilizer is used. The soil is eroded. In dry weather the wind blows away the entire top layer of fertile soil together with the seed. Heavy sand storms destroy all vegetation over vast areas. People are left without bread, and livestock without fodder. The farmers' houses are buried in sand. Everything perishes. This is a picture of what happened in the United States in 1934, 1936 and 1937 over a territory larger than the whole of Germany.

Drought caused untold havoc in the United States. In 1934 the losses from drought amounted to five billion dollars; equal losses were caused in 1936. Hundreds of thousands of farmers, especially tenant farmers, were left without any means of livelihood and were forced to leave their houses and flee to the cities. In two states alone—North and South Dakota—120,000 people abandoned their farms. The government was forced to provide at least some aid to save the ruined farmers from starving to death.

In the state of Oklahoma, in 1936, approximately one-seventh of the land under cultivation was laid waste. Over two and a half million acres of fertile soil have now been abandoned. Over seven million acres of land have become unproductive, mainly because of erosion of the soil. The farmers of the state suffer a yearly loss of approximately 25,000,000 dollars. Five hundred thousand people, half the farming population, found themselves in desperate straits.

Secretary of Agriculture Wallace describes the disastrous results of drought as follows.

"Unrestrained soil erosion is rapidly building a wilderness of worn-out land in the United States. . . . Approximately 35,000,000 acres of formerly cultivated land have been essentially destroyed for crop production; 100,000,000 acres of land now in crops have lost all or most of the topsoil; 125,000,000 acres of land now in crops are rapidly losing topsoil. . . .

"Farmers operating on the 100,000,000 acres of denuded land are subsoil farmers, practising bankrupt farming on bankrupt land whose productivity has been vastly reduced."\*

In the last ten years Canada has suffered as much as the United States from drought and the erosion of the soil. In 1937 the greatest damage was done in Saskatchewan (the province producing the most wheat). The southern districts of the province adjoining the boundary of the United States was turned into a desert. In 1937 the Canadian farmers were again forced to ask for government aid.

The erosion of the soil not only causes drought, but floods as well. The eroded soil does not retain the moisture from the rains and the melting snows. The water runs off into the streams and rivers too rapidly. In 1935-36 the flood of the giant Mississippi River inundated a vast area. A great number of farmers were left without means of livelihood. Thousands of people were drowned, great numbers of livestock perished.

## WHOLESALE DESTRUCTION OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE

In many countries the agrarian crisis led to peasant rebellions. The peasants refused to sell their produce for a pittance. They organized tax strikes and refused to pay taxes. They entered into agreements not to buy anything at the public sales when the property of ruined peasants was sold under the hammer. Matters reached the stage of sanguinary encounters with the police and the troops. The danger arose that the peasants would go over *en masse* to the side of the revolutionary workers.

The bourgeois governments made efforts to intervene. In the countries which import agricultural produce—England, Germany, Italy, etc.—tariffs were raised and imports were limited. The fall in prices was checked as a result.

The situation was more complicated in those countries which export surplus agricultural produce: in the United States, Canada, Argentina, Brazil, Poland, and so on. The Canadian government bought wheat from the farmers; the United States government bought wheat, cotton and cattle. In Brazil the government bought coffee. These purchases cost hundreds of millions but brought little benefit. Sooner or later these supplies had to be disposed of. In many countries the governments tried to induce the peasants voluntarily to limit production; but these efforts were unsuccessful. What, indeed, would the

\* *Yearbook of Agriculture*, 1934, p. 78.

peasant live on if he stopped cultivating the land? In the United States the government began to pay premiums for *non-cultivation of the soil*. This was very profitable for the big landlords. They pocketed the premiums and dismissed their workers.

But neither did this measure save agriculture. Finally, there was no alternative but to *destroy the produce which found no market*. At a time when millions of unemployed were starving and clothed in rags, the governments bought up millions of tons of wheat and maize, coffee, cotton, pigs and cows in order to destroy them.

Here are a few examples. In the winter of 1933 many schools in the agricultural districts in the United States *were heated with corn and wheat*. This was cheaper than heating with coal. In 1933, in the United States, the cotton crop from 10,000,000 acres was destroyed by order of the government. That same year the tobacco crop over half the planted area was ploughed under by order of the government.

In Brazil, prior to 1933, 22,000,000 sacks of coffee were destroyed. Another 20,000,000 sacks of coffee were destroyed in 1933. Coffee was dumped into the sea, burned and used for road building. The destruction of coffee continues to this day; in 1937, 7,000,000 sacks of coffee were destroyed.

In England, in August 1933, 1,500,000 oranges were dumped into the sea. In 1933, 7,000 tons of hops were destroyed in one district of Czechoslovakia.

In 1933, in Denmark, 1,000 cows were slaughtered every week and their meat used for the production of artificial fertilizer and pigs' feed.

In Argentina and Chile hundreds of thousands of head of sheep were destroyed because their sale for export would not cover the cost of transportation. Their meat was used for the manufacture of lubricants.

In the autumn of 1933 the United States government purchased and destroyed millions of young pigs, at a time when millions of unemployed and their families were starving in the country.

This list is far from complete. In France whole cargoes of fish were thrown into the sea. In Holland hundreds of carloads of cauliflower were dumped into the sea, etc.

However, this wholesale destruction of agricultural produce would not have yielded important results were it not for the *serious crop failures* which occurred in the United States in 1934 and 1935 and in Canada and Germany in 1937.

The crop failure in America was eagerly looked forward to as a great stroke of good fortune. The American newspaper *Herald Tribune* wrote in 1933: "We who used to pray for our daily bread, now pray God to take it away from us."\*

\* Retranslated from Russian.—*Ed. Eng. ed.*

*At present all the states are piling up reserves in case of war.* Grain prices are rising in capitalist countries. But again only the speculators, rich farmers and landlords profit by this. Needless to say, if every hungry person could eat his fill and if every one clothed in rags could buy decent clothing, there would be no question of a superfluity of agricultural produce. It is only because the working masses live in poverty that agricultural produce finds no purchasers.

## THE PEASANTRY IN GERMANY UNDER FASCIST OPPRESSION

The situation of the peasants in fascist Germany is particularly hard. The German fascists are feverishly preparing for war. They are importing from abroad tremendous quantities of goods of every description needed for war. They are doing everything to reduce imports of agricultural produce. "Cannon instead of butter," is the slogan of the fascists. But Germany's internal production is insufficient to cover the requirements. The fascists have therefore deprived peasants of the right to sell their produce. Fascist officials take all the grain, cattle, meat, milk, vegetables and eggs from the peasants. The peasants are left with barely enough to feed their families.

A huge bureaucratic apparatus watches the peasant's every move. Huge sums are spent on the maintenance of this army of fascist officials. Fascist inspectors keep a minute check on peasant farming. The size of the harvest is calculated when it is on the stem. The peasant cannot even sell an egg without the permission of a fascist official. Everything is taken by the fascist state. The prices which the fascist government fixes for commodities are extremely unprofitable to the peasants.

The toiling peasant in Germany owns little land; he lives mainly on what he gets from stockraising. He does not grow enough fodder himself and so he must buy fodder from the landlords. At the present time the peasant receives 13 per cent less for his livestock than he did before the war, but he pays 8 per cent more for fodder.

The toiling peasants of Germany carry on a fierce and persistent struggle against the fascist regime which dooms them to poverty and starvation.

Thousands of peasants are punished because they sell hogs directly for slaughter. Thousands of butchers are arrested because they buy hogs from the peasants. The fascists make raids on the villages and confiscate the peasants' produce.

Peasants who protested against these measures were arrested and shut up in concentration camps.

This fierce struggle between the German peasants and the fascists has been going on now for several years.

## THE PEASANT MASSES ARE STARVING

Millions of tons of foodstuffs were destroyed in capitalist countries in recent years in order to raise the prices of these commodities. At the same time hundreds of millions of middle and poor peasants are starving.

Let us take fascist *Italy*, for example. On September 17, 1930, Mussolini declared in a speech in the Senate:

"Fortunately the Italian people are not yet accustomed to eating several meals a day, and since their standard of living is modest they bear want and privation with less suffering."

What does the diet of the Italian peasant consist of? It mainly consists of "polenta," a gruel made of maize flour. The fascist "scientists" preach to the people restraint in eating. One Italian professor wrote some years ago:

"Polenta must be restored to its former place of honour. The peasant's diet should include only a little bread, and meat should be almost completely discarded."

The German fascists also try to persuade the people to use less meat, less butter, less milk and less bread.

In fascist *Portugal* half the population lives on maize bread and gruel. The cheapest food is a soup made from a weed called Galician cabbage. The consumption of milk is extremely limited; it averages less than half a glass a day per inhabitant. Portuguese peasants hardly ever eat meat.

In *Poland* poor peasant families eat potatoes, cabbage and skimmed milk. The consumption of sugar averages less than one gram a day per person.

In *Rumania* the peasant's staple food is maize porridge (mamaliga). Every year in Rumania from 5,000 to 10,000 people die of pellagra, the "starvation disease."

Italy, Poland and Rumania are poor countries. But even in rich countries want is rife among the farmers. Thus, for example, in Canada the diet of the poor section of the farmers is limited to bad home-baked bread with syrup or a few potatoes. Instances are related when roasted field mice or other field animals and thistle soup were the only means of keeping body and soul together.

The plight of the peasantry in the backward dependent countries of the Orient is most frightful. Starvation, and death from starvation are common occurrences among the poor peasants of China in years of crop failure. Due to the crop failure in 1936 in the Province of Szechwan, approximately 200 peasants died of hunger every day, according to Chinese newspapers.

The poor Chinese peasants eat wild herbs instead of bread or rice. Here is what the Chinese magazine *Tun Fan Tsa Chi* reports:

"Peasants in the Pensi County of Szechwan Province eat wild grass and white clay. In Kiangsu and Chekiang, the richest provinces of China, the majority of the poor people live on thin gruel and many eat nothing but rice chaff

and wild herbs, which are sometimes poisonous. As a result many suffer from swelling of the body which is sometimes fatal.

Poverty and hunger amid plenty, such is the reality of the capitalist world.

## THE PEASANTS ARE UNABLE TO BUY MANUFACTURED ARTICLES

As a result of the fall in the prices of agricultural produce the rural population cannot buy manufactured goods.

Matters have reached such a pass that among the poorest peasants in Poland it has become the custom to split matches in two. The poor Polish peasant cannot afford to spend a couple of grosze on a box of matches.

The poverty of the poor peasants in Poland, Rumania and Hungary is appalling. In many households there is even no salt. The Polish writer Kurek in his book *Grippe Rages in Naprawa*, describes life in the countryside as follows:

"For more than a week now a pot of salt water in which they put the potatoes has been standing in Gwizdz's house. The water must not be thrown out after the potatoes have been removed, for salt water is extremely valuable: it will be used another ten or fifteen times to boil potatoes in."

In 1936 the average annual income of a Japanese peasant family amounted to the equivalent of 425 rubles including the value of all the agricultural produce grown. The average peasant family consisted of five people. *Thus the income for one person amounted to the equivalent of 85 rubles a year.* This is not even enough for food, let alone for purchasing manufactured goods.

The poor peasant is unable to repair his hut, to put in window panes or patch up holes and cracks. The peasant huts in Portugal have no chimneys; the smoke goes out through the door or the window. The Rumanian peasants live in dugouts, like moles.

Expenditures for *cultural requirements* are out of the question. A considerable section of the peasantry is illiterate. Books and newspapers are an unattainable luxury in the countryside.

## THE COUNTRY POOR CANNOT FIND EMPLOYMENT ANYWHERE

Before the war the country poor could get work in the cities on construction jobs or in the mills and factories. At present the cities are overcrowded with unemployed. During the economic crisis of 1929-33 the reverse happened, and in some places the unemployed fled from the cities to the country.

Before the World War the country poor found work on railway construc-

tion. At present very few new railways are being built. In the United States of America traffic has even been suspended on some of the existing lines.

Before the World War the country poor could at least find work in summer time on the landlords' estates, especially during the harvest season. The introduction of harvesting machines and harvester combines has drastically reduced the demand for hands. The country poor are no longer able to provide themselves by working at least during the summer with as much as a crust of dry bread for the winter.

Before the war millions of peasants emigrated from Europe, across the ocean, to America. After the war immigrants were barred from America.

The supply of hands is greater than the demand.

The Hungarian writer G. Feya describes the labour market in a large Hungarian city as follows:

"The farm labourer is now just as much a commodity as wheat, eggs, or cattle. The city has not only a livestock, vegetable, poultry and fruit market but a labour market as well. Dealers in horses and livestock are not the only ones doing business, there are likewise dealers in human beings. The law of supply and demand determines the fate of the farm labourers also, with the one difference that in this field the supply always exceeds the demand.

"Therefore man, as a commodity, never enjoys the advantages of 'free competition.' The farm labourers spend most of their time on the 'human market.' Motionless human figures, ragged and weary, stand around in groups of from five to ten. Sometimes they quietly converse among themselves, but for the most part they are silent. Worry, anger and bitterness are written on their faces. The agricultural employer who hires workers regards these people as so many animals. He is interested in their physical strength and their age, and inquires into their family status. Then the bargaining begins. A cow or a horse is better off because if the bargain is not clinched its owner again gives the animal a tubful of hay or turnips. But man as a free creature with human rights conducts his own negotiations and if the deal falls through his only alternative is to beg or starve."

Those among the country poor who own plots of land but no means of production are no better off; they must borrow the means of production from rich farmers in return for work. This work is reminiscent of the corvée system. The amount of work, *i.e.*, the number of work days, is established by the landlord or the rich farmer at his discretion. He may set them at a time which suits his own convenience. Needless to say there is no labour protection. If the peasant happens to have some work to do at the particular time, he must leave it and go to work off his debt.

The plight of the country poor is even worse in Japan, China and India. The poor peasants never have enough to eat. They always go about in rags.

Their distress is so great that they have to sell their daughters into slavery. A poor Japanese peasant by the name of Kisaragi recently sent the following letter to the labour exchange in Simonoseki.

"I want to sell my daughter. Help me. Life is so hard that we cannot go on living this way. I am faced with death from starvation. Much as I love my daughter I cannot change my stomach and make a back out of it. My sixteen year-old daughter Hanaye cried bitterly at first, but she finally agreed. If possible find her a place somewhere near Simonoseki. She does not need luxuries. At the worst she may be sent to Formosa or Manchuria. Save our home."

Such is the life of the working peasantry in the capitalist world: *impoverishment, desperate want, heavy stultifying toil, ignorance and hunger.*

## IV. UNDER CAPITALISM ALL ROADS TO A BETTER LIFE ARE CLOSED TO THE WORKING PEOPLE

### THE WORKER REMAINS A PROLETARIAN TO THE END OF HIS LIFE

The capitalists and their hired literary hacks assert: "Let us admit that the worker is badly off. But every industrious and thrifty worker can become a capitalist. All the roads to wealth are open to capable people. Why, the American billionaires, old Morgan and Rockefeller, began their careers as poor men."

This is all a fraud; only rarely do individuals succeed in "making good," as the saying goes, in emerging from poverty. As a rule *the worker remains a propertyless proletarian to the end of his days.*

Wealth can only be acquired by the exploitation of other people, by cheating and robbing, after the manner of Rockefeller and Morgan.

Let us take the German worker as an example. The average weekly wage of the German worker amounts to 25 marks. Five marks go to pay taxes, insurance and various collections for fascist organizations.

By economizing every cent, by denying himself everything, an unmarried worker may at best save from 100 to 200 marks a year. But if he once falls sick the savings of several years are wiped out. Some lucky man may, perhaps, save up 1,000 or so marks in the course of a lifetime. Let us assume that he succeeds in becoming an "independent" artisan. What does that mean? It means that his work and his worries increase, while his former starvation level of a proletarian remains.

The very first crisis spells inevitable ruin for the artisan. The big capitalists constantly buy all the new expensive machines and produce goods more cheaply. The small capitalist is unable to acquire the expensive machines and to stand the ruinous competition with big capital. A wretched existence and inevitable ruin await him. Under capitalism the working people are doomed to wage slavery and to permanent want and privation.

### THE SALARIED EMPLOYEE ALSO REMAINS A PROLETARIAN TO THE END OF HIS DAYS

The lot of the salaried employees of various categories is no better. Their number amounts to one-third of that of the workers. The position of the overwhelming majority of salaried employees is in no way different from that of proletarians. They are the factory clerks, bookkeepers, stenographers and salesmen in stores. The capitalists do everything to separate these employees

from the manual workers. They unctuously call these employees "brain workers," although in most cases their work requires no more brains than that, say, of a fitter or a harvester-combine operator. They wear white collars. They are flatteringly called "gentlemen." But the office employee's salary is no higher than the wages of the proletarian.

In Germany, in 1936, the average earnings of a clerk were 199 marks per month. This is no more than the wage of a skilled industrial worker. One-third of the clerks earned even less than the workers.

Highly paid jobs (directors, department managers of large enterprises, etc.) are open only to the sons of the rich.

### EDUCATION IS UNAVAILABLE TO THE WORKERS AND PEASANTS

Under capitalism higher education is available only to the children of the ruling classes.

In 1933 in Germany out of every 100 students there were:

	<i>In universities</i>	<i>In higher technical schools</i>
Children of workers	2.9	2.7
" " poor peasants	2.2	1.1
" " middle and rich peasants	3.2	1.9
" " minor employees	2.9	2.7
" " artisans	6.2	8.5
Total	17.4	16.9

In Germany workers comprise half of the total population, but out of every 100 students only three are of working class origin. Workers, office employees, peasants and artisans taken together constitute 90 per cent of the total population. However, they provide only one-sixth of the number of students in the higher schools.

Education is beyond the reach of workers' children. Only one-tenth of the students in Germany receive scholarships from private and religious societies. Usually the scholarships are exceedingly small. (The average is 70 marks for a semester.) Each lecture and each examination is paid for separately. In five and a half years a medical student must pay four thousand marks for tuition alone (not counting food, lodging and clothing). Where can the worker obtain so much money? The policy of the fascists has led to the point where worker's children cannot possibly enter a higher educational institution.

The poverty among students from the non-propertied classes is extremely great: students of the famous Harvard University in America work as waiters, clean windows and shovel snow in the streets or take jobs as servants in bourgeois families. Class differences exist among the students, too. There are

"aristocratic" and "common" universities. In England special universities exist for the sons of the ruling classes from which the sons of the poor are excluded. A bourgeois student has his own apartment at the university, his own horse, his own car. He devotes far more time to sports than to study. The money spent on the maintenance of one such "aristocratic" student is more than the wages of ten workers.

But even a diploma by no means guarantees a livelihood. The earnings of young physicians, lawyers and architects are miserable. Often a money-lender buys medical instruments for a capable young physician and provides him with a furnished apartment, but in return he pockets half his earnings.

### OVERPRODUCTION OF BRAIN WORKERS

In America during the crisis there were more than 200,000 unemployed teachers; 65 per cent of the engineers, 50 per cent of the pharmacists and two-thirds of the musicians were unemployed.

The salaries of brain workers were reduced by half.

In 1934 teachers in the state of Arkansas received \$465 a year; in the state of Mississippi they received \$474 and in Georgia \$561 a year. This is less than ten dollars a week, whereas a skilled factory worker earns \$30 a week.

In 1932 in Italy there was an announcement that policemen were wanted. There were 150 vacancies. A thousand applications were sent in, many of them from individuals with a university education. The municipal council of Budapest (Hungary) advertised for street cleaners. Twelve of the hundred applications received came from people with a university education.

The plight of aged artists, writers, musicians, and so forth, is frightful. Some of them are forced to beg. Last year in America Dr. Brandage, a famous chemist, a former university professor and a member of many scientific societies, was evicted from his apartment at the age of 74 for non-payment of rent. In 1932 the police of the city of Budapest issued official permits to seven old actors to beg on the city streets. Suicides among artists, writers and scientists because of material want are a daily occurrence.

Want is shaking the confidence of intellectual circles in capitalism and is drawing them closer to the revolutionary proletariat. The ruling classes are striving to reduce the number of the young people who attend school and stem the growth of the intelligentsia. This policy is being pursued most vigorously in fascist countries. According to official statistics there were 145,000 students in Germany in 1932. In the school year of 1935-36 there were only 76,000. The number of women students was reduced from 25,000 in 1932 to 13,000 in 1936. Everything possible is being done to make it hard for people from the poorer sections of the population to gain admission to the universities. Tuition rates have been doubled in higher educational institutions in recent years.

### THE RUIN OF THE LOWER MIDDLE CLASS

A considerable part of the population in capitalist countries consists of the lower middle class sections: artisans, owners of small workshops, small traders, saloon and restaurant keepers, etc. The bourgeoisie shrewdly exploits the prejudices of these sections as small property-owners for the consolidation of its own rule. The fascists, particularly, excel in this respect. They are lavish with false demagogic promises to protect the small property-owners from big capital, to defend their "independence." Before they seized power the German fascists promised the artisans and small traders golden mountains. They promised to close the big stores, to release the small businessmen and artisans from debt bondage and to provide them with work.

All of this was, of course, impudent lying and brazen demagoguery.

The "independent" artisans, small traders and small restaurant owners in capitalist countries are wholly dependent on the big capitalists. In former times independent artisans led a secure existence. They worked with their own implements of production. The artisan usually hired one or two journeymen and several apprentices, bought his raw material from the peasants and sold his goods direct to the consumer. All this was changed long ago. Big capitalists have captured all branches of artisan production. The artisan, the owner of a small workshop, is not in a position to compete with a factory. Almost nothing has remained as the share of the "independent" artisans save unremunerative repair work.

*The overwhelming majority of artisans are independent in name only.* They work for factories or big stores. The capitalists control the expenditures and fix the earnings of these workers who do their work at home. The rates paid by the capitalists are so low that the income of an "independent" artisan is no higher than the wages of a skilled worker.

In Germany there were 1,540,000 "independent" artisan enterprises in 1935. Their income amounted to 1,800,000,000 marks. This makes an average of 1,168 marks a year for every artisan enterprise, i.e., 22.5 marks a week. This is less than the wage of a skilled worker. The artisan is by no means secured against unemployment. If the business of the capitalist for whom he works goes badly the artisan is left without any earnings. But he does not even receive unemployment benefit. For the artisan is regarded as an "independent entrepreneur."

*Nor is the position of the small trader any better.* The big manufacturers everywhere establish their own stores for the sale of their goods. The small, supposedly "independent," traders are actually mere agents of big capital. The manufacturer fixes the price at which the trader must sell his goods. The income of the small trader is often scarcely distinguished from the wages of the worker. Only 75 per cent of the 350,000 food and delicatessen stores in Germany in 1935 had a clear profit of over 80 marks a month, that is, 18.6 marks a week. This does not exceed the wages of a worker.

The high cost of living, the shortage of raw materials and the food crisis have further intensified the ruin of the lower middle class in fascist Germany. The masses of small business men, who were hoodwinked by fascist demagoguery, are becoming more and more disillusioned and discontented with the fascist regime of terror, hunger and war.

## THE CONDITION OF THE MASSES IN THE RICHEST COUNTRY IN THE CAPITALIST WORLD

The United States of America is the richest country in the capitalist world. Nevertheless President Roosevelt in his message to the Senate draws the following picture of the condition of the people in 1936, before the new crisis.

"In this nation I see tens of millions of its citizens—a substantial part of its whole population—who at this very moment are denied the greater part of what the very lowest standard of today calls the necessities of life.

"I see millions of families trying to live on incomes so meagre that the pall of family disaster hangs over them day by day.

"I see millions whose daily lives in city and on farm continue under conditions labelled indecent by a so-called polite society half a century ago.

"I see millions denied education, recreation and the opportunity to better their lot and the lot of their children.

"I see millions lacking the means to buy the products of farm and factory and by their poverty denying work and productiveness to many other millions.

"I see *one-third of a nation ill-housed, ill-clad, ill-nourished.*"\*

Profound discontent prevails among the working people in all capitalist countries.

The circle of people who are satisfied with capitalism is constantly narrowing. More and more people are beginning to realize that the only way out of poverty and privation is the revolutionary way. Only the overthrow of the rule of the bourgeoisie opens the way to salvation. "The idea of storming [the citadel of capitalism] is maturing in the minds of the masses." (*Stalin.*)

## THE STRUGGLE AGAINST FASCISM AND WAR

As a considerable majority of the population is discontented with the capitalist system it is becoming harder and harder for the exploiters to govern by democratic methods.

The people are demanding a radical change of the whole system.

The workers all over the world know that in Russia the capitalists were ousted and the factories nationalized, and that there are no crises and no unem-

ployment in this country. And they are asking themselves: Why not follow Russia's example?

The peasants all over the world know that in Russia the land was confiscated from the landlords and handed over to the peasants. They are asking themselves: Why not do the same?

The working people are rising against the rule of the landlords and capitalists. The capitalists are retaliating with fascist terror. They are depriving the people of even those paltry rights which they possess in bourgeois-democratic countries. In the fascist countries the working people are deprived of all rights. All parties and organizations save the fascist ones are broken up. The fascist dictators, Hitler, Mussolini and the others, are ruling their countries uncontrolled by anyone. There is no limit to the outrages perpetrated by the fascist bandits against the masses of the people. Fascism is reviving the most barbarous customs of the middle ages. The countries that are groaning beneath the fascist yoke have been transformed into vast torture chambers. The fascists burn books in the public squares; they inculcate rabid chauvinism and race hatred; they are destroying immense cultural treasures. An incautious word is enough to land one in prison or in a concentration camp, in the clutches of the fascist executioners.

In bourgeois countries the working class and, first of all, its Communist vanguard act as the pioneers in the popular resistance to fascism. The Spanish people have taken a brave stand against the fascist rebels in defence of democratic Spain. Bourgeois democracy, half-hearted and scanty though it be in comparison with socialist democracy, is at any rate better than fascist terror.

That is why the proletariat marches at the head of the united people's front in the struggle against fascism and war. It supports bourgeois democracy against the turbid waves of fascism, mustering forces for the struggle to overthrow the capitalist order and to establish the proletarian dictatorship.

The more intense the terror in fascist countries, the deeper is the people's indignation and the closer the hour of liberation.

Under these circumstances the Soviet Union, the land of genuine socialist democracy, attracts the sympathy and hopes of all progressive mankind. The flourishing of socialist democracy in the U.S.S.R., the growing might of the first socialist country in the world, lends new strength to the champions of democracy throughout the world.

\* *New York Herald Tribune*, January 1, 1937.

## V. THE SOVIET UNION—THE LAND OF SOCIALISM

### WHAT OUR COUNTRY WAS LIKE UNDER TSARISM

In October 1917 the working class, under the leadership of the great Party of Lenin and Stalin and supported by the working peasantry of our country, overthrew the power of the bourgeoisie. For more than three years the workers and peasants of the Land of the Soviets repelled the armed attacks of the Whiteguards and the foreign imperialists. Not relying on their own forces the overthrown landlords and capitalists called in foreign troops. The interventionists wanted to enslave our country, to dismember it and to make it a colony. But they failed. The workers' and peasants' Red Army swept all the interventionists from Soviet soil and destroyed the armies of the Russian bourgeoisie and landlord counter-revolution.

When the civil war ended the workers and peasants tackled the questions of economic life in a thorough manner. They were faced with a difficult task. The economy of the country had been ruined by the long years of imperialist war followed by intervention. The damage had to be repaired. The age-old backwardness, poverty and ignorance had to be abolished.

Russia was mainly an agricultural country. Agriculture predominated in the country.

The industrial goods manufactured in the country were inadequate. The country had very few machinery construction plants of its own. Pig iron, steel, copper and other metals were also scarce. Machinery, equipment, and also many other manufactured goods of general consumption were imported from abroad.

The technical equipment of the national economy of tsarist Russia was extremely meagre. Lenin referred to pre-revolutionary Russia as a country

"equipped with modern instruments of production to only one-fourth the extent of England, one-fifth the extent of Germany, and one-tenth the extent of America."

In 1911 the yearly per capita consumption of pig iron was 233 kilograms\* in America, 136 kilograms in Germany and 105 kilograms in England, while in Russia it was only 25 kilograms. And it is the amount of pig iron consumption that indicates the industrial level of a country.

The bowels of the earth in Russia contain vast deposits of ores from which metals are smelted. But in order to bring these ores to the sur-

\* 1 Kilogram=2.2 lbs.

face, mines had to be sunk and equipped with powerful machinery. To transform these ores into metal, blast furnaces and metal works had to be built. Whatever ore-mining was done in Russia was controlled mainly by foreign capitalists. They acquired as concessions from the tsarist government tracts of land rich in ore, coal and various minerals and became the masters of the iron and coal mines and of all the mineral wealth. They smelted iron and other metals which they sold abroad or in Russia itself at a huge profit.

French and Belgian capitalists had control of the Donbas. The Baku oil fields belonged to the British and French. Many mills and factories belonged to French, British and German capitalists. Heavy industry was poorly developed in tsarist Russia and consequently the country was dependent on foreign capital.

Because the country had no powerful heavy industry of its own, its entire economy was backward. Agriculture was also extremely backward. The vast peasant country with its extensive fields, pastures and forests remained on an extremely low technical and economic level, struggling along with scanty, wretched harvests.

A large portion of the land was in the hands of the landed nobility, the tsar, the church, and the kulaks. The biggest landlords, those with over 500 desyatins\* of land, numbered around 30,000; they owned approximately 70,000,000 desyatins of land. At the same time approximately 10,000,000 poor peasant households also owned 70,000,000 desyatins of land. A peasant family owned around 7 desyatins, while a big landlord owned around 2,300 desyatins. The wealthiest members of the landed nobility owned huge stretches of land. Count Bobrinsky owned 60,000 desyatins, Rukavishnikov over 800,000 desyatins, Golitsin over a million desyatins.

Only the landlords and the kulaks owned agricultural machinery. The wooden plough was the main implement of production. One-third of the peasants had no horses. The poor peasants usually had sufficient grain to last them only till spring. Poverty and landlord and kulak oppression prevailed in the countryside.

The harvest yield was low. The people were poor and illiterate. Only one person out of four could read and write. In Siberia only one out of six and in Central Asia only one out of 17 could read and write. Four-fifths of all the children were denied an education and doomed to illiteracy. Instead of going to school, children went to church. The priests stupefied the people. Vodka clouded their minds. The state sold 75,000,000 vedro\*\* of vodka in 1905 and 105,000,000 in 1909.

The lot of the industrial workers was a hard one. The countryside constantly cast off hundreds of thousands of unemployed. Wages were low and the working day was long. In 1912 the average yearly wage of an industrial work-

\* A desyatin=2.7 acres

\*\* A vedro=approximately 3.25 gallons.

er amounted to 255 rubles; that of a textile worker to 220 rubles, and that of a worker in a sugar refinery to 106 rubles.

Workers in the factories worked from ten to twelve hours a day and sometimes more. Farm labourers hired by the kulaks and landlords worked from sunrise to sunset. There were no collective agreements; trade unions were not recognized; the police persecuted workers' organizations and there was no state social insurance.

The people had no rights whatever. The tsarist government was a dictatorship of the landlords. It protected the interests of the capitalists also. The tsar, the landlords and the bourgeoisie ruled with the aid of police, gendarmes, and priests, and they were ruthless in their repression of the working people. The non-Russian nationalities were subject to the fiercest oppression.

Tsarist Russia was known to the whole world as a prison of nations.

In this prison of nations about half the total population was non-Russian. Over one hundred nationalities were subjected to ruthless exploitation and national oppression.

National oppression was most intense in the outlying districts which had been conquered by Russian tsarism. The tsarist government and the ruling classes systematically robbed the peoples inhabiting these districts. The government deprived the Kazakh, Bashkir, Tatar peasants, as well as those of other nationalities, of their best land and handed it over to Russian landlords and kulaks. The tsarist government did not allow local industry to develop in the outlying districts of old Russia. The tsarist officials together with the orthodox clergy pursued a policy of "Russification" of the non-Russian peoples suppressing their culture and forcibly introducing the Russian language and the orthodox religion. Tsarism incited one nation against another. It sowed enmity and discord among the working people of various nationalities, it provoked bloody massacres between Armenians and Tyurks, Uzbeks and Turkmenians, Poles and Ukrainians. The tsarist government organized and encouraged pogroms against the Jews. Jewish toilers were robbed, beaten and murdered.

Tsarism ruthlessly stifled every spark of national culture. Some peoples were even deprived of their names. Thus, the Nentsi were dubbed "Samoyeds," the Uzbeks "Sarts," the Ukrainians "Khokhols."

The working class, in alliance with the peasantry, overthrew the rule of the landlords and capitalists in Russia. The working class freed Russia of its backwardness and ignorance, and led it to socialism.

## THE BUILDING OF SOCIALISM IN THE U.S.S.R.

When the Civil War ended the Soviet government restored with unparalleled speed the economy which had been destroyed during the imperialist and civil wars. Machines came to life again; factory chimneys began to emit smoke, mines and railways began to operate.

But it was not enough to restore the old. The old factories had to be enlarged and new ones constructed. For the building of socialism a new and advanced technique had to be created.

The task was to transform our country from a backward agricultural one into an advanced industrial country. The task was to overtake and surpass the advanced capitalist countries with regard to technical and economic development. The task was to create our own large-scale socialist industry that would be in a position to supply various types of machines to the whole of our national economy. The task was to utilize our powerful industry to reconstruct agriculture on a socialist basis. The task was to secure the complete abolition of the exploiting classes and the victory of socialism by developing socialist forms of production in industry and in agriculture.

Lenin and Stalin pointed out that our country possesses all that is necessary and sufficient for the construction of complete socialist society.

Lenin's and Stalin's plan for the construction of socialism in our country was opposed by the dastardly enemies of the working class, Trotsky, Zinoviev, Kamenev and their henchmen. They asserted that it was impossible to build socialism in our country. They did everything to hinder the building of socialism. They tried to disseminate lack of faith in the strength of the working class and to sever the alliance between the working class and the peasantry. They sought to restore capitalism. They wanted to sell out our country to the imperialist robbers.

The industrialization of the country and the collectivization of agriculture were opposed by the Right defenders of the kulaks, the would-be restorers of capitalism, Bukharin, Rykov, Tomsky and their henchmen, too. They fought against the creation of socialist industry, against the rapid construction of mills and factories. They demanded that our country remain a backward agricultural country. They opposed the formation of state and collective farms. The Rights sought to restore capitalism. They too, like the Trotskyites, wanted to sell out our country to the imperialist robbers.

All the enemies of socialism, all the enemies of the working class and the peasantry, united around the Trotskyites and the Right would-be restorers of capitalism. By hoodwinking a number of shortsighted and politically careless business managers they put mines in the Donbas out of commission, caused train wrecks, infected the cattle of collective farms with the plague, poisoned food products, etc.

The Party, under the leadership of Comrade Stalin, crushed all the hostile gangs—the Trotskyites and Zinovievites, the Right agents of the kulaks, the Bukharinites and Rykovites, the wreckers of every stripe. Having suffered defeat, the Trotskyites and Bukharinites sold themselves to the fascist intelligence services and became their paid spies and diversionists.

In a stubborn struggle with the enemies of the working people and of Lenin's cause, the Bolshevik Party secured the success of socialist construction.

Construction work on an unparalleled scale was carried on all over the country. In the course of two Stalin Five-Year Plans tremendous changes took place in our land. The country was transformed.

The country's industrialization was already achieved in the course of the First Five-Year Plan period (1928-32), and the U.S.S.R. was transformed from a backward agrarian country into an advanced industrial power. The capitalist elements were almost completely eliminated from industry and trade. A wave of collectivization swept the countryside, the middle peasants took the road of socialism and entered the collective farms *en masse*. The kulaks were completely liquidated as a class, on the basis of universal collectivization. Thus, during the First Five-Year Plan period the foundations of socialist economy were laid in the U.S.S.R.

Under the Second Five-Year Plan (1933-37) the construction of socialism in the U.S.S.R. continued. By now the exploiting elements have been finally abolished, nearly all the peasant households have joined the collective farms, and the entire national economy has in the main been reconstructed on the basis of new technique.

During the Second Five-Year Plan period we have in the main created socialist society in the U.S.S.R.

## OUR COUNTRY IS A MIGHTY INDUSTRIAL POWER

Under the two Stalin Five-Year Plans our country has become transformed from a backward agrarian land into a mighty industrial power, into a land with an advanced technique.

The relation between large-scale industry and agriculture has changed. Whereas before the revolution (in 1913) industry accounted for 42.1 per cent and agriculture for 57.9 per cent of the total output of the country, in 1937 industry produced 77.4 per cent and agriculture 22.6 per cent of the total. This of course does not mean that agriculture produces less than it did before. On the contrary, the output of agriculture has doubled. Only its share compared to industry has decreased. Our country has become an industrial country.

The relation between heavy and light industry in our country's output has also changed. Before the Great October Socialist Revolution the output of heavy industry was valued at 4,700,000,000 rubles and that of the industries manufacturing articles for consumption at 6,300,000,000 rubles. Now the proportion has changed. All industry has grown tremendously, but the proportion has changed in favour of heavy industry. In 1936 the output of industries manufacturing means of production amounted to 49,100,000,000 rubles in value and that of the industries manufacturing articles of consumption to 31,800,000,000 rubles.

The victory of industrialization has brought about a tremendous growth of heavy industry in the U.S.S.R. Pre-revolutionary Russia produced (in 1913) 4,216,000 tons of pig iron, 4,231,000 tons of steel and 3,660,000 tons of

rolled steel. In the U.S.S.R., the years of the Stalin Five-Year Plans witnessed the construction of many giants of the iron and steel industry, unequalled not only in tsarist Russia, but also in contemporary advanced capitalist countries. If we take only three of the ten largest, newly erected giants of the iron and steel industry—the Stalin Metal Works in Magnitogorsk, the Stalin Metal Works in Kuznetsk, and the Kirov Metal Works in Makeyevka—these three plants alone produce more pig iron than was produced by all the plants of old tsarist Russia. In 1936 these three plants produced 4,236,000 tons of pig iron as compared with a total output of 4,216,000 tons in 1913. In 1936 all the plants of the U.S.S.R. combined produced 14,400,000 tons of pig iron, *i.e.*, 3.4 times the pre-revolutionary output. In 1936 16,400,000 tons of steel were produced, *i.e.*, nearly 4 times as much as before the revolution, and 12,454,000 tons of rolled steel, *i.e.*, 3.4 times as much.

The iron and steel industry is the foundation for the development of all other industry, the basis for the development of Soviet machinery construction, which is the core of our heavy industry. The growth in production of pig iron and steel in the U.S.S.R. has provided a foundation for the development of Soviet machinery construction.

The U.S.S.R. now has its own machinery construction industry. Let us take the production of machinery for heavy industry as an example. In Russia, before the Great Proletarian Socialist Revolution, 1,490 metal cutting lathes were produced annually, whereas in 1936, in the U.S.S.R., 46,049 were produced, *i.e.*, thirty-one times as many. Before the revolution, in 1913, steam boilers with a total heating surface of 28,000 square metres were produced in Russia, whereas in 1936, in the U.S.S.R., production amounted to 265,400 square metres, *i.e.*, nine times as much. Before the revolution, in 1913, steam turbines with a total capacity of 5,900 kilowatts were produced, whereas in 1936, in the U.S.S.R., the capacity amounted to 622,900 kilowatts, *i.e.*, 106 times as much. Before the revolution no coal cutting machines, pneumatic pick-hammers, excavators and hydraulic turbines were manufactured in Russia. In 1936 the U.S.S.R. produced 421 coal cutting machines, 8,648 pneumatic pick-hammers, 573 excavators, and hydraulic turbines with a capacity of 72,700 kilowatts. During the Stalin Five-Year Plan periods gigantic machinery construction plants have been built in the U.S.S.R.: the Stalin Works in Kramatorsk, the Kaganovich Ball-bearing Works, the Kharkov Turbine Generator Works, the Ural Machinery Works and many others.

Many branches of industry have grown up in the U.S.S.R., which did not exist in tsarist Russia. Thus, for example, there was no tractor industry in Russia before the revolution. During the Stalin Five-Year Plan periods huge tractor plants were built in Stalingrad, Kharkov and Chelyabinsk. In 1936 alone these plants produced 116,054 tractors. In pre-revolutionary Russia no harvester combines were produced, whereas in the U.S.S.R. 42,600 of these excellent machines were produced in 1936.

The automobile industry was unknown in old tsarist Russia, whereas now we have built such giants of the automobile industry as the Stalin Automobile Works in Moscow and the Molotov Automobile Works in Gorky. In 1936 alone our newly-created automobile industry produced 136,700 automobiles.

Pre-revolutionary Russia had almost no chemical industry. In 1936 the output of the chemical industry exceeded the pre-revolutionary output 13.6 times; 121,000 tons of sulphuric acid were produced in 1913, whereas 1,208,000 tons were produced in 1936. Moreover, in the same year, three sulphuric acid plants: the Stalin plant at Konstantinov, the Neva plant and the Kuibyshev plant at Voskresensk, produced 353,000 tons, *i.e.*, about three times as much as the entire sulphuric acid industry of pre-revolutionary Russia. The output of the rubber industry in the U.S.S.R. is ten times as much as it was in tsarist Russia. In 1936 the new combined rubber and asbestos works in Yaroslavl alone turned out three times as much as the entire rubber industry of tsarist Russia.

During the years of Soviet rule a tremendous amount of work has been accomplished on the electrification of the Soviet Union. Whereas in 1913 the capacity of all the electric power stations of tsarist Russia combined amounted to 1,100,000 kilowatts, in 1936 the capacity of the electric power stations of the Soviet Union reached the figure of 7,500,000 kilowatts. The Dnieper Hydro-Electric Power Station, which was put in operation in 1932, produced more electric power in 1936 than all the electric power stations of tsarist Russia combined produced in 1913.

New branches of industry, such as airplane construction, motor construction, the production of synthetic rubber and artificial silk, and so on, have been created in the U.S.S.R.

The light industry and the food industry also made gigantic progress in the U.S.S.R. The production of fabrics, clothing and shoes in the U.S.S.R. in 1936 was six times the pre-war production, and the production of food products was four and a half times the pre-war production. The output of the large-scale knit goods industry was 72 times the pre-war output, that of the shoe industry 20 times. The output of the canned goods industry was 13.6 times the pre-revolutionary output, the output of confectionery 11 times, that of cigarettes 3.8 times, and so on.

To this should be added the fact that 286 new bread factories and 24 meat packing plants, which were non-existent in pre-revolutionary Russia, have been built in the U.S.S.R. In 1936 the Moscow meat packing plant alone produced 54,200 tons of sausage, whereas in 1913 the total output of sausage products amounted to 60,000 tons.

Our industry, which has been built up on a most up-to-date technical foundation, has greatly lightened the labour of the worker and raised his productivity. In 1913 coal mining in tsarist Russia was 1.7 per cent mechanized, whereas in 1936 in the Soviet Union the mechanization of coal mining had reached 88

per cent. The U.S.S.R. is now among the *first in the world* as regards mechanization of coal mining. Whereas in 1913 in tsarist Russia oil production was only 5.9 per cent mechanized, at the present time in the Soviet Union the production of oil is 98 per cent mechanized. All this has caused a tremendous rise in the productivity of labour in our socialist industry. In 1936, the first year following the beginning of the Stakhanov movement, alone, the productivity of labour in large-scale industry increased 21 per cent, and in heavy industry, where the Stakhanov movement originated, it increased 26 per cent. In 1913 the output of pig iron per worker was 220 tons, while in 1936 the output per worker was 676 tons, *i.e.*, more than three times as much. In 1913, one worker produced 276 tons of oil, whereas in 1936 one oil worker in the Soviet Union had already produced 1,319 tons, *i.e.*, nearly five times as much.

*The Soviet Union has been transformed from a country importing manufactured goods into a country exporting them.* Thus, whereas in 1913 tsarist Russia imported agricultural machinery to the value of 38,729,000 gold rubles and exported none, in 1936 the U.S.S.R. imported agricultural machinery to the value of 114,000 gold rubles and exported to the value of 664,000 gold rubles, *i.e.*, exports were five times as large as imports. Whereas in 1913 tsarist Russia imported automobiles to the value of 17,381,000 gold rubles and exported none, in 1936 the Soviet Union imported automobiles to the value of 459,000 gold rubles and exported to the value of 2,719,000 gold rubles; hence, the export was many times greater than the import. In 1913 tsarist Russia imported pig iron to the value of 3,084,000 gold rubles. In 1936 the Soviet Union did not import a single ton of pig iron and it exported pig iron to the value of 5,571,000 gold rubles.

The Soviet Union has been transformed from a backward agrarian country into an advanced industrial country; it has become economically independent. Our country now possesses a powerful technical foundation for the reconstruction of the whole of national economy. All this means that we are successfully accomplishing the task of "overtaking and surpassing" the advanced capitalist countries as regards economic and technical development. The following eloquent figures showing the place held in Europe and in the world by the industry of tsarist Russia and the place now occupied by the industry of the Soviet Union prove this better than any words.

As regards the total volume of industrial output tsarist Russia held fifth place in the world and fourth in Europe, whereas now, the industry of the Soviet Union occupies *first* place in Europe and *second* place in the world. As regards the machinery construction industry old Russia held fourth place in the world and third in Europe, whereas the machinery construction industry of the Soviet Union occupies *first* place in Europe and *second* place in the world. In the manufacture of agricultural machinery the Soviet Union holds *first place in the whole world*. In the production of electric power old Russia occupied fifteenth place in the world and seventh place in Europe, whereas

the Soviet Union now holds *third* place in the world and *second* in Europe. In coal output tsarist Russia held sixth place in the world and fifth in Europe; the Soviet Union now holds *fourth* place in the world and *third* in Europe. In output of iron ore the Soviet Union has risen to *first* place in Europe and *second* in the world. The Soviet Union now holds *first* place in Europe in gold output and in the manufacture of superphosphates, and *first* place in the world in the production of beet sugar.

The swift progress of the country's industrialization has been accompanied by a rapid growth of the working class of the Soviet Union. In 1913, in tsarist Russia, the number of workers and office employees in all branches of the country's economy amounted to 11,400,000, whereas in the Soviet Union in 1936 the number of workers and office employees employed in all branches of industrial economy had already reached 25,800,000; it thus increased by 14,400,000, *i.e.*, to 2.3 times as many.

All these facts bear witness to the tremendous vitality and tremendous superiority of the Soviet socialist system of economy as compared with the capitalist system. Our socialist system of economy is not subject to those severe economic crises which periodically shake the capitalist world with increasing frequency and which cause an enormous and senseless destruction of products. The working class of our country does not experience the horrors of unemployment, that inevitable concomitant of capitalist industry. The working class of our country is not subject to the oppression of capitalist exploitation; its work is free and joyous, it works for itself, for our flourishing socialist country. The workingman in our country is confident of the morrow, he knows that it will bring new victories for our country and a new rise in the material well-being of the working people. This is why our glorious and beloved country is growing and flourishing the way it does.

## THE LAND OF THE MOST ADVANCED AGRICULTURE

Before the revolution our country was a land with a poverty-stricken peasantry which had been ruined by the landlords and the tsarist government. It was a land of small-scale and exceedingly backward agriculture. Barbarous methods of labour, antiquated implements, extremely low harvest yields—these were characteristic of agriculture in tsarist Russia.

The bourgeois system knows only one road for the toiling peasantry, for the poor and middle peasant, the road of poverty and ruin. No matter how hard the peasant struggles on his patch of ground, he falls more and more into the clutches of the exploiters—the landlords, rich farmers, traders and usurers.

An entirely different road was opened to the poor and middle peasants by the Soviet power.

From its very inception the Soviet government did much to help the peasantry. The Socialist Revolution abolished private property in land and trans-

ferred to the toiling peasantry for their use 152,500,000 hectares of land that had formerly belonged to the landed nobility, the bourgeoisie, the tsar's family, the monasteries and the church.

Under the autocracy peasant economy was burdened with debts. The peasants owed the so-called Peasant Bank (actually this bank was in the hands of the landlords and the tsarist government) approximately 1,300,000,000 rubles. Every year the peasants paid about 100,000,000 rubles to this bank and 500,000,000 rubles to the landlords. The Great October Socialist Revolution completely freed the peasants from this burden.

The Soviet government did everything to assist the poor and middle peasants to improve their farming. They received loans and help in the form of machinery and seed. The Soviet government sent many agricultural experts to the countryside. For the poor peasants exemptions were made with regard to taxes.

The Soviet government restricted the kulaks and squeezed them out. They paid higher taxes. They could no longer do as they pleased in the countryside. The Soviet government protected the poor peasants from exploitation by the kulaks.

At the same time the Soviet government and the Bolshevik Party explained to the peasantry that small-scale farming can never emerge from poverty. To attain a well-to-do and cultured life in the countryside large-scale production had to be adopted. Large-scale production is more profitable than small-scale.

The Soviet government and the Communist Party helped the toiling peasants to combine their small farms into big *collective farms*.

The collectivization of the peasant farms proceeded rapidly since 1929. By that time industry had been restored and it began to send to the countryside large quantities of machinery, including tractors. The peasants saw tractors and other complex agricultural machinery at work on state farms and on various existing collective farms. The peasants could see how large-scale production works out and thus become convinced of its advantages.

In 1929, the middle peasants, following the poor peasants, began to join the collective farms *en masse*. The kulak saw that his days were numbered. He began to offer savage resistance. Kulaks began to set fire to collective farm property, slaughter livestock, damage machinery, and destroy crops. A contemptible handful of traitors to the people, the Bukharinites and Trotskyites, aided the kulaks in their struggle against socialism. The Party crushed these traitors and helped the peasantry to break the resistance of the kulaks and to abolish them as a class.

Collective farms grew with unparalleled speed. Having suffered defeat in open combat the kulak tried to worm his way into the collective farms by deceit. He engaged in wrecking and did mischief on the sly. The Party exposed this dodge and helped the peasants to strengthen the collective farms.

The collective farms were the road by which the peasantry, helped by the

Soviet government and the Communist Party, arrived at a well-to-do and cultured life, arrived *at socialism*.

A radical change had taken place in agriculture. Before the beginning of the widespread development of collective farming there still were 25,000,000 small and dwarf farms in the countryside, whereas in 1937 approximately 1,400,000 peasants with individual farms remained. Almost the whole mass of poor and middle households united into collective farms. Nowhere in the world is there such large-scale mechanized agriculture, organized in a socialist manner. In the Soviet Union the average area of cultivated land per collective farm is 497 hectares, while in the United States of America, the country where agriculture is largely based on big farms, the average per farm is only 20 hectares.

Before the war there were over 8,000,000 wooden ploughs in the countryside. In 1928, on the very eve of the First Five-Year Plan, approximately 4,500,000 of these ploughs remained. The victory of the collective farm system completely eliminated these obsolete implements from the fields in our country.

Tractors splendidly played the part of bombs which shattered the old bourgeois world, and they opened up the way to a new, socialist, order in the countryside.

In 1924 there were 2,600 tractors in the U.S.S.R. with an aggregate capacity of 25,000 h.p. At the end of 1936 422,700 tractors with an aggregate capacity of 7,670,000 h.p. were operating on the socialist fields, and by the end of 1937, there were 453,800 tractors with an aggregate capacity of 8,380,000 h.p. in operation.

Harvesting machines, combines, began to be widely used in our agriculture during the period of the Second Five-Year Plan. In 1931 there were 1,700 harvester combines; at the end of 1936 their number had reached 87,800, and at the end of 1937, according to preliminary data, there were 131,300.

The introduction of efficient machines, and primarily of tractors and harvester combines, made it possible to mechanize farming on an extensive scale. In 1928 approximately one-tenth of all the ploughed area under spring crops was cultivated with the wooden plough; approximately nine-tenths with the horse-drawn plough, and only one-hundredth with the aid of tractors. In 1936 over one-half the area under spring crops was cultivated with the aid of tractors and slightly less than half by horse-drawn ploughs, while the wooden plough vanished without leaving a trace. In 1932 combines harvested 4 per cent of the total area under grain crops, in 1936 27 per cent, and in 1937, according to preliminary data, the proportion had already reached 39.2 per cent. The sown area increased from 105,000,000 hectares in 1913 to 135,300,000 hectares in 1937.

The land occupied by the collective farms is secured to them for their free and permanent use. The law does not allow any reduction of the land area of the collective farms; it can only be increased.

The peasantry of tsarist Russia was in the throes of land hunger. The wretched strips of peasant land were carved up in fantastic fashion. The open field system prevented any improvement in cultivation and the abandonment of the antiquated "three-field" system.

Collectivization meant ploughing up field boundaries and made it possible to organize cultivation in conformity with the requirements of modern agricultural science.

When the land is secured to the collective farms in perpetuity, extensive survey work is conducted. The collective farm boundaries are straightened out, their lands are combined into tracts that are most convenient and best adapted to farming. In 1935-37 by government decision, over 22,000,000 hectares of land which had belonged to state farms were transferred to the collective farms to increase the area of land at their disposal.

The fact that the land is secured in perpetuity to large collective farms, and that they are provided with the latest machinery by the machine and tractor stations, has created the most favourable conditions for the best cultivation of the land and the development of highly productive agriculture.

The Stakhanovites of our fields have shown what socialist agriculture can accomplish. The collective farmers now gather unprecedentedly big harvests. At the congress of collective farm shock brigaders, Maria Demchenko promised Comrade Stalin to raise the sugar beet yield to 50 tons per hectare. In 1935 she and her comrades kept this promise. Since then many brigades have gathered 100 and more tons of sugar beet per hectare. In one summer the women tractor drivers of Pasha Angelina's brigade plough on an average more than 1,000 hectares for each wheeled tractor. Tractors are used with better effect in our country than in the United States of America. Each tractor does from five to six times as much work as in capitalist America.

The task set by Comrade Stalin in December 1935—to raise the yearly grain harvest to from seven to eight billion poods\* within the next three or four years—has become the fighting slogan of the best people in socialist farming.

It took the country of large-scale capitalist agriculture, the United States of America, twenty years to increase its grain harvest by two billion poods (from four billion poods in 1880 to six billion in 1900). Socialist agriculture is solving this task in three or four years. In 1937 the grain harvest already reached about seven billion poods.

*Collectivization has radically changed the appearance of the countryside.* The old countryside, where the majority of the peasants lived in wretched hovels, where poverty went arm in arm with ignorance, where the prominent personages were the kulak, the merchant-speculator and the priest, has receded into the past. A tremendous eagerness for culture and learning distinguishes

\* 1 pood = 36 lbs

the new countryside, where the road to a well-to-do and cultured life is open to every honest toiler. Its prominent people are the best tractor drivers and combine operators, the brigadiers and managers of the collective farms, the men and women shock brigaders of the collective farm fields.

The cultural level of the countryside has risen immeasurably. But the countryside wants to go further ahead.

At the conference of the foremost combine operators, combine operator Polagutin said:

"So now we come to Moscow and we see that in Moscow people live well and in a cultured way and we want our village to live the way Moscow does. We want to make the countryside the same as Moscow."

As a result of the growing prosperity of the collective farmers the standard of living in the country is approaching the city standard. Formerly the peasant worked alone on his patch of land. In the collective farms work is done in common. All work together, share their experience and help one another. The experience of the foremost collective farmers serves as an example for all.

The large-scale socialist production of the collective and state farms has created all the conditions for an unprecedentedly rapid flourishing of agriculture. Only one condition—conscientious organized work on the part of the entire mass of the collective farmers—is required to open up all the well-springs of agricultural wealth.

## ALL THE WEALTH OF OUR COUNTRY BELONGS TO THE WORKING PEOPLE

In the capitalist countries all the mills, factories, mines, railways, steamships, the best land, the houses and structures belong to the mill owners, manufacturers, landlords, bankers and so on. They are small in number. The big capitalists do not constitute even one-ten-thousandth of the population. But in every bourgeois country they own the lion's share of all the property. They take advantage of this to make the great masses of workers and peasants work for them.

In our country the Great October Socialist Revolution deprived the capitalists of their mills and factories and the landlords of their land. When the bulk of the peasantry entered the collective farms, the last exploiting class, the kulak class, was abolished. When entering the collective farms the peasants pooled their implements and their draught animals. Now the socialist system of economy holds undivided sway in our country. All exploitation of man by man has been abolished. All citizens work for themselves, for their society. All the wealth of the country belongs to the working people.

When the flyer Chkalov, Hero of the Soviet Union, flew to the United

States, people there asked him whether he was rich. He answered: "Yes, I am very rich. All of us are rich in the Soviet Union. I have no capital, but I have 170,000,000 people working for me just as I work for them."

The principal part of the national wealth of our country is the *possession of the whole people*. This includes first of all the territory of the U.S.S.R. which occupies one sixth of the globe comprising 2,100,000,000 hectares. One-fifth of this territory, or 421,900,000 hectares is agricultural land which is cultivated by the collective farms, the state farms and the individual peasants. Forests cover 922,500,000 hectares.

As regards mineral wealth, the U.S.S.R. holds one of the first places, if not first place, in the world. Having cast off the fetters of private property and eliminated capitalism with its greed for profit, the Great Socialist Revolution opened extensive opportunities to the bold explorers of the bowels of the earth. Thus the known iron ore deposits, which before the revolution were estimated at 2,000,000,000 tons, now amount to 10,000,000,000 tons, and if we include iron-bearing quartzites and the deposits in the region of the Kursk magnetic anomaly they reach 260,000,000,000 tons. The known oil resources of the U.S.S.R. amount at the present time to 6,376,000,000 tons, *i.e.*, more than half the total known oil deposits of the world. As regards oil deposits, the U.S.S.R. holds first place, just as it does as regards iron ore and manganese. In 1913 the coal deposits were calculated at 230,000,000,000 tons; now they are calculated at 1,654,000,000,000 tons. As regards coal deposits the U.S.S.R. is second only to the United States of America. Every year geologic prospecting in the U.S.S.R. increases our known reserves.

Our country holds first place as regards water power which amounts to 280,000,000 kilowatts. Tsarist Russia did not have a single hydroelectric power plant of over 1,000 kilowatts capacity. The U.S.S.R. already has over 30 hydroelectric power stations with a total capacity of approximately one million kilowatts.

The possession of the whole people further includes the 40,947 mills and factories of large-scale state industry with a total fixed capital of 42,800,000,000 rubles as per January 1, 1936.

The possession of the whole people includes the entire railway network with a total length of 85,080 kilometres and a fixed capital of 17,800,000,000 rubles. The fixed capital in water transport amounts to 3,000,000,000 rubles.

The possession of the whole people includes state enterprises in agriculture. This applies first of all to the 4,137 large state farms and to tens of thousands of subsidiary agricultural enterprises. Their fixed capital amounted to 7,400,000,000 rubles on January 1, 1937. It further applies to the machine and tractor stations; at the beginning of 1937 their fixed capital had already reached 4,300,000,000 rubles; on January 1, 1938, there were 5,819 machine and tractor stations.

Finally, a considerable part of the housing space in the cities, especially in the large cities, belongs to the state; this includes hundreds and thousands of large buildings that have been constructed in recent years. The possession of the whole people includes all forms of municipal enterprises, from electric power stations and street railways down to public baths, etc.

All the instruments and means of production owned by the state were valued in 1935 at 83,200,000,000 rubles. To this figure must be added the raw materials, manufactured articles and goods stored in state warehouses, in state shops, etc. The value of these materials runs into many billions of rubles. All this is state property, the possession of the whole people of the U.S.S.R.

Cooperative and collective farm property represents a considerably smaller part of the national wealth of the U.S.S.R.

This includes first of all the property of 244,000 collective farms. At the beginning of 1937 the fixed capital of the collective farms amounted to 11,800,000,000 rubles. Of this amount, approximately 3,700,000,000 rubles represented the value of farm buildings and structures, about 2,700,000,000 rubles that of draught animals, about 2,000,000,000 rubles that of produce animals, over one billion rubles that of agricultural machinery and implements and about 1,200,000,000 rubles that of means of transportation.

Further, 18,000 producer cooperative organizations have a fixed capital of over 1,400,000,000 rubles.

The fixed capital of consumers' cooperatives is valued at 780,000,000 rubles.

State property (the possession of the whole people) was originally created by the nationalization of the land, mills and factories, banks, and railways, which were in the hands of the exploiter classes. It has increased and multiplied by the construction of new mills and factories and of state farms and machine and tractor stations. Thus, for example, the fixed capital in large-scale industry amounted to 7,200,000,000 rubles at the end of 1913 and to 50,400,000,000 rubles on January 1, 1937. This construction was carried out at state expense.

Collective farm property originated in a different manner. It originated later, when the bulk of the peasantry changed over to socialism. This change took the form of cooperative associations of peasants who voluntarily pooled their individual means of production.

Our Constitution permits the collective farmer to have for his own use a small plot of land attached to his house and, in personal ownership, an auxiliary establishment, the house, produce animals, poultry and minor agricultural implements.

The entire income from work, the wages of the workers and office employees and the income of the collective farmers, is their personal property. The Constitution of socialist society protects the rights of citizens of the

U.S.S.R. to their income from work and to their savings, to their dwelling houses and auxiliary household economy, to their domestic furniture and utensils, and to objects of personal use and convenience, as well as the right of inheritance of personal property.

## OUR ECONOMY IS RUN ACCORDING TO PLAN

In the capitalist world economic crises are inevitable. We have already seen what untold hardships they cause to the working people. Certain defenders of the bourgeoisie maintain that crises may be avoided under capitalism. But this is a deception. For under capitalism the enterprises belong to private owners, each of whom is the absolute master of his own factory. He arranges production to suit himself and has only one purpose—to realize the most profit.

Our economy is not run for the sake of profit. Its purpose is to increase public wealth, to satisfy the needs and requirements of the working people. In our country all enterprises, whether in city or country, are public socialist property (state property or collective farm and cooperative property). Each of our mills and factories is merely a fraction of a single socialist economy. They work according to a general plan. The plan establishes how much each enterprise shall produce and what it shall produce, and how much labour power, how much raw material and fuel, what financial means it requires, etc.

Because of the public ownership of the means of production and because of the plan, our economy knows no crises, unemployment or the destruction of wealth that has been produced. A situation in which there is an abundance of goods but no one to buy them can never arise in our country. Every year the output of industry and agriculture in the U.S.S.R. increases. But at the same time the income of the workers, peasants and intellectuals also increases. The Party and the government pursue a policy of steadily reducing prices. All that is produced by the people's labour is put to good use. The vast quantities of products are consumed by the working people; their life is becoming increasingly prosperous and more cultured.

Our socialist economy is developing with unparalleled speed. Only ten years ago our country produced approximately as much as it did before the war. In these ten years the national income has increased fivefold, from 21,000,000,000 to 100,000,000,000 rubles in 1937. Even in the period of their prosperity the bourgeois countries required many decades for such growth.

The national income in the U.S.S.R. really belongs to the people. Not a fraction of it falls into the hands of idle parasites as is the case in capitalist countries. The national income is distributed in conformity with the interests of the working people of our country. A certain portion of it is used for the further consolidation of the Soviet Union's economic strength, for the construction of new factories, mills, railways, etc. A part of the national income is used to streng-

then the country's defence; another part goes for the construction and maintenance of schools, hospitals, children's nurseries, clubs, rest homes, etc. All this goes to benefit the working people of our country.

## TO EACH ACCORDING TO WORK PERFORMED

In bourgeois countries rich idlers live in luxury while the mass of the working people subsist in want and poverty. In the U.S.S.R. there is an infeasible law: "He who does not work neither shall he eat."

In capitalist society a person's position depends on whether he inherited capital or land from his parents or succeeded in getting rich on the work of others. Under socialism, on the contrary, only work and personal ability give one position in society. Comrade Stalin in his report on the Draft Constitution said:

"It is not property status, not national origin, not sex, not office that determines the position of every citizen in society, but personal ability and personal labour."

Those who work more and better receive more. The high wages of the Stakhanovite workers are well known. Those who overfulfil their norm, who produce more goods, earn more. On the collective farms the income is divided according to work days. A good worker earns more work days than a bad one. The amount per work day, the income of each member of the collective farm, depends on the quality of the work of the collective.

In the Soviet Union the principle of socialism is realized: "From each according to his ability, to each according to the work performed." This principle has been written into our Constitution.

## WORK IS A PRIME DUTY AND A MATTER OF HONOUR

Under capitalism work is a despised and menial occupation. The rich idlers are everything; the workingman is nothing. In the U.S.S.R. work is honoured and respected. There is no place for idlers in our country. The whole country knows the names of the splendid heroes of labour: Stakhanov, Busygin, Smetanin, Dusia and Maria Vinogradov, Krivonos, Demchenko and many others.

The heroes of labour, the Stakhanovites, enjoy merited honour. The entire people love them and are proud of them. The Party and the government promote them to posts of leadership. Thus the Stakhanovite engineer Yusim has been appointed director of one of the largest Moscow plants, the Ball-Bearing Works. The shoemaker Smetanin has been made assistant director of the Skorokhod factory in Leningrad. The People's Commissar of Heavy Industry, L. M. Kaganovich, appointed the Donetsk miner, Nikita Izotov, manager of the Anthracite Mining Trust.

Socialism has transformed work

"from a disgraceful and painful burden, as it was considered before, into a matter of *honour*, a matter of *glory*, a matter of *valour* and *heroism*. There is not and cannot be anything like it in capitalist countries." (Stalin.)

## THE RIGHT TO WORK

Socialism has realized the dream of many generations of proletarians regarding the right to work. In our country every one is guaranteed work which is paid for according to the quantity and quality of labour expended.

In our country the worker has no fear for the morrow. The young generation which has grown up under Soviet power knows about unemployment only from hearsay, from the stories of their elders or from books.

By 1931 our country had already done away with unemployment.

Collectivization destroyed kulak exploitation root and branch and eliminated the causes of poverty in the countryside. For the first time the peasant was enabled to live and work like a human being. Thus the channel which served as a constant source of unemployment in the past was closed.

The right to work is ensured by the fact that the instruments and means of production in our country are publicly (and not privately) owned, unemployment has been abolished, the possibility of economic crises has been eliminated, the productive forces of our society are steadily developing, the demand for all kinds of consumption goods is constantly increasing, and, consequently, the demand for labour power is rising all the time.

## THE RIGHT TO REST AND LEISURE

The working day has been reduced to seven hours for the overwhelming majority of the workers.

The U.S.S.R. is the land with the shortest working day in the world. Socialism, having destroyed the parasitic idlers, and having made work a matter of honour for each individual, reduced the working day to seven hours. The adoption of the seven-hour day was proclaimed by a decree of the Central Executive Committee in November 1927, on the tenth anniversary of the Great Socialist Revolution.

According to statistical data, in our country the working day in large-scale industry has been reduced on an average by four hours compared with the working day in tsarist Russia.

Workers and office employees enjoy annual vacations with pay, and there is a wide network of sanatoriums, rest homes and clubs provided for their accommodation.

The right of the collective farmers to rest and leisure, and the possibility for them to enjoy their leisure in a cultured manner, is ensured by the widespread introduction of up-to-date machinery in agriculture and by the development of cultural institutions in the countryside.

The socialist system of economy knows no hindrances to the further reduction of the working day contingent upon the further victories and further consolidation of socialism, the growth of public wealth and the rise in the productivity of labour.

The right to rest and leisure, combined with the right to education, provides all the conditions for a tremendous rise in the cultural level of the working class.

### THE RIGHT TO EDUCATION

In the twenty years that have passed since the overthrow of the bourgeoisie a tremendous cultural rise, unprecedented in world history, has taken place in our country. The U.S.S.R. has practically eliminated illiteracy; the country has been covered with a vast network of elementary schools, middle schools and universities. The right to education has become one of the fundamental rights of every Soviet citizen. The schools have developed tremendously.

The following figures show the number of students who attended school in tsarist Russia and that of students attending school in the Soviet Union:

	1914-15	1928-29	1936-37
Elementary and middle schools. . . . .	8,025,000	12,604,000	28,842,000
Schools for adults. . . . .	none	2,226,000	8,942,000
Universities . . . . .	112,000	177,000	542,000

Under tsarism only one-fourth of the children went to school. The Soviet Union has introduced universal obligatory elementary education with instruction conducted in the native language of each pupil. All children in the Soviet Union attend school.

Under tsarism only the children of the well-to-do could attend higher educational institutions, since tuition in such institutions cost a lot of money, and workers and peasants could not afford it. It was only in rare cases that children of workers and peasants got into middle and higher educational institutions.

Things are different now. It is the worker and peasant youth who study in the middle and higher educational institutions in our country. The state does everything to help the working people to study. Many attend school in their spare time. All forms of education in our country are absolutely *free of charge*. The state pays stipends to students: In 1936, about 90 per cent of all the students in higher educational institutions received stipends.

State expenditures on education amounted to (in millions of rubles):

1913	1925-26	1936	1937 (plan)
182	559	13,461	18,500

Schools are not the only places where people study. Hundreds of thousands of study circles and courses of various kinds give all the working

people the opportunity of using their spare time to improve their technical knowledge and their education.

That is how the right to education is ensured to all citizens of the Soviet Union.

### RIGHT TO MAINTENANCE IN CASE OF SICKNESS, OLD AGE OR DISABILITY

The Soviet government takes care of people when they are sick, when they are disabled and when they grow old. Expenditures on social insurance in the U.S.S.R. amounted to 10,083,000,000 rubles in four years of the First Five-Year Plan period (1929-32), and to 26,462,000,000 rubles in four years of the Second Five-Year Plan period (1933-36). Of the latter amount 9,683,700,000 rubles were spent on benefits and pensions, including 783,700,000 rubles on maternity benefits; 1,317,500,000 rubles were expended on rest homes, sanatoriums and health resorts; 6,101,200,000 rubles went for medical aid to the insured; 1,845,800,000 rubles were spent on the care of children of the insured; 3,056,800,000 rubles were spent on housing construction for workers.

P. N. Latyshev, a foreman in the Krasny Proletary factory, says:

"I am an old man, but I am not afraid of my old age. I am master in my country. Old age doesn't scare me. Formerly old people were turned out of the gates; turning out meant dismissal; now there are no such words. Now I am provided for. Live in peace, old man! Our beloved Comrade Stalin took all this and placed it right in our hands."

The right to maintenance in old age and in case of sickness or loss of capacity to work is ensured by the wide development of social insurance of workers and other employees at state expense, free medical service for working people in dispensaries, polyclinics, hospitals and at home, and the provision of a wide network of sanatoriums and health resorts for their accommodation.

In the countryside, special collective farm funds exist for the purpose of providing material assistance in old age and also in cases of temporary or permanent loss of capacity to work.

### THE ROAD TO A PROSPEROUS AND CULTURED LIFE IS OPEN TO ALL WORKING PEOPLE

"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." (*Stalin*.)

The first indication of the improvement in the material well-being of the working class is the rise in wages. Thus in the ten years between 1924-25 and 1936 total wages of workers and office employees for the year rose from

3,800,000,000 rubles to 71,600,000,000 rubles, i.e., an increase of almost 19 times. This tremendous increase in total wages is due to two causes: 1) the numerical growth of the working class and 2) the rise in the workers' wages. The average yearly wage per worker increased in this period from 450 to 2,776 rubles, i.e., six times. The wages of a worker's family have increased even more rapidly than the wages of an individual worker, since there has been an increase in the number of members of the family with independent earnings. In the five years between 1930 and 1935 the income of a worker's family from wages on the basis of one worker to a family has grown 2.9 times.

But the purchasing power of the working class has grown even faster than monetary wages. The prices of articles of consumption are being systematically reduced. With the growth of collective farm output agricultural produce is becoming cheaper. Thus, for example, in the collective farm markets of ten large cities in the U.S.S.R., during four years (from March 1933 to March 1937), the price of bread dropped to one-ninth the former price, that of vegetables was reduced by half, that of meat by more than half, that of dairy products to forty per cent. In 1937 the government reduced the prices of articles of general consumption. As a result of this year's big harvest prices in the collective farm markets have dropped sharply.

The amount of goods on sale in the state and cooperative shops and in the collective farm markets has been rapidly increasing. The retail trade turnover in the cities has grown from 7,900,000,000 rubles in 1928 to 74,700,000,000 in 1936, a ninefold increase.

However, the income of the working class is not limited to the wages each worker receives in cash. The rise in the workers' direct wages is accompanied by an increase of state and trade union expenditures on social insurance, on housing construction for workers, on the improvement of workers' living conditions, on health resorts, sanatoriums, rest homes, polyclinics, on various forms of cultural service, on payments to pupils in factory apprentice schools, etc.

The expenditure of the Soviet State for social insurance for workers and other employees amounted to more than ten billion rubles during the four years of the First Five-Year-Plan, and to about 26.5 billion rubles during four years of the Second Five-Year-Plan.

Cultural and welfare services provided by the state and the trade unions occupy a very important place in the budget of a worker's family. Thus in 1930 these amounted to 31 per cent and in 1935 to 34.5 per cent of the direct wages.

For the year 1936 alone, the expenditures of the Soviet state and of the trade unions for cultural and welfare services to the workers and other employees amounted to 15.5 billion rubles, or an average of 601 rubles per person.

Collectivization has opened the way to a prosperous and cultured life for the peasant masses. It is a known fact that, in many districts in tsarist Russia,

from one-third to one-half of the toiling peasants had no cows. They obtained cows for their own use for the first time only after they joined collective farms, as a result of the collective farm system. The task of providing all collective farmers in the U.S.S.R. with cows and other livestock has in the main been accomplished. Under the leadership of the Party, and by following the instructions of Comrade Stalin, the great leader of the peoples, the collective farms are proceeding confidently and swiftly along the road to prosperity.

The collective farms are growing in affluence. We already have hundreds of millionaire collective farms where every collective farm household has everything in abundance.

Take some average collective farm, for example, the Iskra Collective Farm in the Kashira District in the Moscow Region. In the past it was the village of Koltovo. There were 120 households in this village. The poor and middle peasants of Koltovo owned 230 desyatins of land. The yield of grain crops never exceeded 27 poods per desyatin. The peasants lived in poverty. For instance, the middle peasant Koshelev gathered in from 30 to 35 poods of grain and from 150 to 160 poods of potatoes a year. At present, the Iskra Collective Farm has 1,050 hectares of land, 5 reapers, 7 mowers, one binder, a lot of other implements, three motor trucks, an electric flour mill, and a dairy with 180 cows. In 1937 the Collective Farm gathered on an average 72 poods per hectare and, in some sections, as much as 150 poods per hectare. The same Koshelev, now a collective farmer, received for the work days he put in 300 poods of grain, 600 poods of potatoes, 150 poods of hay, and 2,000 rubles in cash. The woman collective farmer Kolushkina, a poor peasant in the past, earned 450 poods of grain, 500 poods of potatoes, 650 poods of fodder, and 2,400 rubles in cash.

As their prosperity grows the collective farmers make increasing demands for goods that were previously unknown in the village. Collective farmers buy bicycles, gramophones, radio sets, sports equipment, perfumery and articles for hygienic purposes, silk fabrics, good furniture, confectionery, canned goods, sausage, etc.

Retail trade turnover in the countryside rose from 3,900,000,000 rubles in 1928 to 32,200,000,000 rubles in 1936.

## THE DEVELOPMENT OF NATIONAL CULTURE

One of the conditions for this general rise of culture was the emancipation of the oppressed nationalities.

Many small peoples were entirely without an alphabet and had no written language. They obtained these under Soviet power. In the Soviet Union children in elementary and middle schools are taught in their native language. All peoples inhabiting the U.S.S.R. have their own schools, professional schools and higher educational institutions. Books are published in 111 languages. Newspapers are

published in 69 languages. The culture of every nationality is carefully fostered in every sphere: the theatre, the dance, music, poetry. Amateur art is flourishing. The visits of the companies of the best theatres of the Ukrainian, Georgian, Kazakh, Azerbaijan and other peoples to Moscow enjoyed tremendous successes. The government awards theatrical companies and individual artists Orders of the U.S.S.R. for distinguished services. All peoples of the Soviet Union share in the general cultural progress.

All this has caused a tremendous rise in the enthusiasm for work among the formerly oppressed peoples who have been raised to a cultured life.

Here is what the Kazakh Svengalin Bisenaliev, hammerman at the Guryev Machinery Works of the Emba Oil trust, said:

"How did we Kazakhs live in the past? We lived like dogs. The camel and the horse that belonged to the *bais* lived better on the steppes than we poor Kazakhs. My father and my grandfathers worked as herdsmen. From childhood I also tended the droves and herds of the *bais* and kulaks, the Toyupovs and Yashovs. We were ignorant, illiterate, dirty and hungry. Nearby was a teeming river, the Yaik (the Ural river), but Kazakhs were not allowed to fish in it. On the Yaik the tsarist officials incited the Ural Cossacks against the 'Kirghiz' (as they used to call the Kazakhs). Kazakhs and Russians lived side by side and hated each other.

"Only under the Soviet power did we realize that we had no cause to hate each other. Everywhere now, in the oil fields and in our machinery works, we say: equality of all citizens regardless of race or nationality.

"I live well now. I work as hammerman in the foundry of the machinery works; I am a Stakhanovite; I have learned to read and I subscribe to a newspaper. Now I am attending a Stakhanovite study circle in order to improve my technical knowledge. My family is well fed, well shod and well clothed.

"Every year the Kazakh Republic is becoming richer, the Kazakh people are becoming happier. What happiness and confidence all of us derived from the Stalin Constitution! My hammer seems to rise of its own accord, and to strike harder. Now we will show unequalled examples of labour productivity."

Dimidov, a young Chuvash, who recently joined the Red Army, says regarding his own people:

"Our people were downtrodden, uncultured, afflicted with trachoma, despised. Today Chuvashia is a healthy, literate and cultured country. Industry is flourishing, agriculture is on the upgrade. There are almost no illiterates. We have our own theatres and schools. I am proud of being a fighter in the Red army and I will defend my country."

The Udmurt Borisov, a Red Army man, voices the same sentiments:

"Could I, an Udmurt, have ever dared dream in former times of an

education, of a cultured life? Now I have a middle school education. I am a chauffeur and am in a position to live a cultured life. My people has something to defend and I, its son, will not waver at my post."

## THE EMANCIPATION OF WOMAN

Under tsarism woman had no equal rights. The tsarist laws limited her rights in the most humiliating fashion. Often she was the slave of her husband or her father. Very few girls attended school. The overwhelming majority of women, especially in the country and in the outlying national regions, could neither read nor write. They received less pay than men for the same work.

All this has radically changed. In our country women are equal to men in all spheres of economic, state and public life. Girls go to school just as boys do. Girls study in professional schools and in higher educational institutions on an equal footing with men. Women receive equal pay for equal work. Hundreds of thousands of women do executive work as chairmen of collective farms and village soviets, as engineers, architects, scientific workers, directors, etc.

One hundred and eighty-seven women have been elected to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

Ever new sections of Soviet women, awakened from age-long slumber, are rising to take an active part in political life.

## THE FIGHT FOR THE ELIMINATION OF THE CONTRAST BETWEEN CITY AND COUNTRY

Under capitalism the city enjoys a privileged position, while the countryside remains ignorant, helpless and downtrodden. Capitalism brought the countryside ruin, impoverishment, and its political, economic and cultural enslavement by the towns, by the urban mercantile, industrial and finance bourgeoisie. Under capitalism the bulk of the peasants do not share in any of the cultural achievements, often they do not even know anything about railways, electricity, the cinema, the radio, and in some cases even soap is unknown to them.

The dictatorship of the working class has brought about a radical change in the relations between city and country. Whereas the capitalist city brings exploitation, poverty, syphilis and liquor to the countryside, our socialist city gives the countryside culture, it provides the countryside with the riches which it possesses itself. The overthrow of bourgeois rule, the abolition of private property in land, the abolition of landlord and kulak oppression in our Soviet countryside with the aid and under the leadership of the working class, and the industrialization of the country were a tremendous step forward along the path of economic and cultural progress in the countryside and towards the elimination of the contrast between city and country. The same results were achieved by the Leninist-Stalinist national policy. Soviet power not only freed the outlying national regions from the oppression of the Russian landlords and capitalists, but

is doing everything to raise them to a higher level, to bring them closer to the cultural and economic level of the Soviet city.

The victory of the collective farm system in the countryside and the widespread development of state farm construction, the transformation of agriculture into large-scale socialist farming homogeneous with Soviet industry, are a decisive step towards eliminating the contrast between city and country in the Soviet Union.

The contrast between city and country is being eliminated in our Soviet Union primarily by means of the introduction of advanced technique in the countryside. The capacity of mechanical power employed in agriculture in the U.S.S.R. in 1937 was equal to 62.6 per cent of the aggregate power resources whereas in tsarist Russia in 1916 it amounted to 0.8 per cent. The Soviet countryside is being industrialized with the aid of the Soviet city. In our country agricultural labour has become a form of industrial labour. During the First Five-Year Plan period, 1,564,000 collective farmers and state farm workers completed courses for tractor drivers, combine operators, mechanics and so on. Between 1934 and August 1937, 1,419,000 people were trained in the same way.

The culture of the socialist city penetrates our Soviet countryside in a mighty stream. Electric light, radio, cinema, books, newspapers, theatres, all these things are now available to our countryside. The country youth study in schools, professional schools and universities, and attend courses.

The Soviet Union has achieved tremendous successes in the struggle to eliminate the contrast between city and country because our socialist proletarian city has led the countryside to socialism, to industrialization and to culture. And the proletarian city is continuing to play the leading role in this respect.

### THE NEW INTELLIGENTSIA

In tsarist Russia so-called mental labour was sharply distinguished from manual labour and the two were placed in opposition to each other. This state of affairs exists in all capitalist countries. The brain workers, the "intelligentsia," constitute a special section of the population. They depend on the ruling class for their livelihood and they defend its interests.

In the Soviet Union there has grown up a new intelligentsia of worker and peasant origin which has been educated under Soviet power. In the Soviet Union the position of the intelligentsia has radically changed. It serves the interests of the working people, participates in socialist construction, and is a section of socialist society on a basis of equality.

But there still remains the distinction between mental work and manual work.

The Soviet state makes it its task to eliminate this distinction and in the course of time to raise the cultural and technical standard of all workers to the level of engineers and technical workers.

The first successes in this direction are to be seen in the Stakhanov move-

ment. Comrade Stalin pointed out that the elimination of the distinction between mental labour and manual labour must take place

"by raising the cultural and technical level of the working class to the level of engineers and technical workers. . . . In this connection the Stakhanov movement is significant for the fact that it contains the first beginnings, still feeble, it is true, but nevertheless the beginnings of precisely such a rise in the cultural and technical level of the working class of our country."

In 1936 40 per cent of the workers in our large-scale industry had passed the state technical examination, and 24 out of each hundred workers were engaged in technical study. Thus they are raising their qualifications and proceeding in the direction which Comrade Stalin indicated. The important role of technical study is evident from the fact that many Stakhanovites, including Stakhanov himself, came from the ranks of the workers who studied technology and passed the technical minimum examination.

By 1941 our country will have about seven million people with an engineering and technical education. Approximately twenty-nine million children and adolescents studied in elementary and middle schools in the school year 1936-37 and the road to higher educational institutions and professional schools is wide open before them.

This is the road our country has taken toward bringing the level of the manual workers closer to that of the brain workers, toward the elimination of the distinction between the one kind of work and the other.

### THE WORKING CLASS AND THE PEASANTRY OF THE U.S.S.R.

Soviet society consists of workers, peasants and intellectuals. But the intellectuals are not a special class. They are recruited from among the workers and peasants. Thus our society is made up of two classes, the working class and the peasantry. But these are not the same as the workers and peasants in bourgeois countries. There the bourgeoisie exploits the workers, and the same bourgeoisie, together with the landlords, exploits the peasants. In our country the working class and the peasantry are free from exploitation. From an oppressed class, the working class has been transformed into the master of the country. It guides the entire construction of socialism. The working class and the peasantry are friendly classes. The fundamental differences between them disappeared after the peasants had changed over from small-scale production to the collective farms. The collective farmer, like the worker, employs socialist means of production. He no longer works all by himself but in a large collective, and not with primitive implements of production but with complex machines. His income is determined by the amount of work he does. His entire life, his culture and his way of thinking are becoming more and more like that of the worker. Like the worker he defends his socialist country in the ranks of the Red Army. The Constitution gives him equal rights with the workers.

Differences still exist between the workers and the peasants. They arise from the difference between the two forms of socialist property. The collective farm is a socialist enterprise; nevertheless it differs from the state factories and mills or state farms. The collective farm is the property not of the whole state but of a specific collective body of working people. The income of the collective farmer is calculated in terms of work days. He has his own individual auxiliary economy. However, these differences are not of a fundamental nature, and in time they will disappear.

Our Soviet peasantry has firmly taken its stand under the Red banner of socialism. This was very well expressed by the collective farmer, Sergei Nikulin, from the Probuzhdeniye Collective Farm in the Moscow region, who said:

"I won't hide the fact that I wavered. I think I'm that very middle peasant who the lord god has ordained shall waver. (*Laughter.*) But now, joking aside, I have stopped wavering because I finally have been convinced that it does work. I, as a husbandman, haven't much use for 'dreamers' and I thought it was all nonsense. Now I see that the words and dreams of Bolsheviks are in a class by themselves. They are not divorced from facts.

"The workingman has become the main power—wasn't that a dream? Everyone works together in a collective farm and they work well and in harmony—there is a second dream for you. Life goes on without the rich—there's the third dream. And now just try and waver. No, there's no longer any reason to waver. If you do, people will laugh at you, they'll think you're a fool, and they'll be right!"

The *working class* remains the leading class in our society.

In his report on the Draft Constitution, Comrade Stalin emphasized that in the Soviet Union

"... the guidance of society by the state (the dictatorship) is in the hands of the working class, the most advanced class in society. . . ."

It is necessary, not only to preserve the dictatorship of the working class in socialist society, but also to *strengthen it in every way*.

Whoever tries to weaken in the least the dictatorship of the working class in the Soviet Union, helps, in fact, the internal and foreign enemies of the Soviet Union.

## THE VICTORY OF SOCIALISM IN THE SOVIET UNION

In the Soviet Union Socialism has triumphed. Public socialist ownership of the means and instruments of production has triumphed. The exploiter classes have been finally abolished. Planned socialist economy has become a reality.

Comrade Stalin says:

"... in our country socialism is not merely being built, but has already become part of life, of the daily life of the people. . . . Our mills and factories are being run without capitalists. The work is directed by men and women of the people. That is what we call socialism in practice. In our fields the toilers of the land work without landlords and without kulaks. The work is directed by men and women of the people. That is what we call socialism in daily life, that is what we call a free, socialist life."

The great victories of socialism in the Soviet Union have been scored under the banner of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, under the guidance of the Bolshevik Party and its wise leader, Comrade Stalin.

Comrade Stalin has been able to kindle the flame of enthusiasm in our Party, in the working class and in the toiling peasantry, and to impel the whole of this mighty army of labour to the victorious construction of socialist society.

Comrade Stalin, like Lenin, has been able to defend the purity of the teachings of Marx and Engels. He, together with Lenin, armed our Party with the great doctrine of the possibility of the victory of socialism in one country; he defended and amplified this doctrine and put it into practice in the course of a merciless struggle with the rabid enemies of socialism, with the Trotskyites, Zinovievites and Bukharinists.

Under the leadership of Comrade Stalin, thanks to his iron determination and his ruthlessness towards all enemies of the people, our Party and its Leninist-Stalinist Central Committee have succeeded in exposing and destroying these thrice-accursed fascist hirelings.

Our entire social order, which was created under the leadership of Comrade Stalin, and every article of the Stalin Constitution of socialism are imbued with solicitude for the working man and woman of the land of socialism, solicitude for the individual.

And it is with good reason that our people, all the workers, collective farmers, women, our youth and our children always direct their first words of love and gratitude for their happy and joyous life to our Party and to its wise leader Comrade Stalin.

In the Soviet Union socialist society has been built in the main, and the first phase of Communism has been achieved.

We must vigilantly guard our great achievements against the machinations of our class enemies, both inside the country and abroad. We must do everything to strengthen the Soviet power, the dictatorship of the working class, and heighten our revolutionary vigilance.

We must strengthen and develop the socialist society which we have created, and prepare the conditions for our transition to the higher phase of Communism.

## VI. THE STATE ORGANIZATION OF THE SOVIET UNION AND OF CAPITALIST COUNTRIES

### FUNDAMENTAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE SOVIET STATE AND BOURGEOIS STATES

The economic foundation of capitalist states is the *private ownership* of the implements and means of production, the factories, mills, mines, the land, forests and so on. This is the main and fundamental difference between all capitalist countries and the Soviet socialist state; the economic foundation of our state is *public ownership* of the implements and means of production.

In capitalist states the principal means of production are concentrated in the hands of *large property owners*—capitalists, landlords and rich farmers. They are the exploiter classes; the economic power, the mills, factories, machines, the land and money are in their hands. They use this to exploit and oppress the proletarian and small propertied masses.

The *labouring classes* of capitalist countries—wage workers who are deprived of all means of production, and small peasants, artisans and handicraftsmen—are crushed by heavy exploitation, are oppressed, ignorant and downtrodden.

State power in the capitalist countries is in the hands of the rich exploiter classes, the capitalists and landlords. These are the ruling classes. They not only wield economic power but they also control the entire state apparatus, with its officials, police, the army, the courts, prisons, and clergy. They use this apparatus to intensify the exploitation and oppression of the labouring classes.

In the capitalist countries the state is the instrument of the class rule of the bourgeoisie, an instrument for the oppression and exploitation of the worker and peasant masses. This is another fundamental difference between all capitalist states and the Soviet socialist state. Our state serves as an instrument in the hands of the working class to suppress the bourgeoisie, an instrument for the emancipation of the labouring masses from all forms of exploitation and oppression.

The bourgeois state remains the instrument of the class rule of the bourgeoisie even when its constitution proclaims the equality of all before the law, and when it proclaims democratic rights and liberties. No matter how democratic the state system of a capitalist country may be, it preserves inviolate the private ownership of mills and factories and of the land; it preserves the entire system of class exploitation, the system that involves the poverty and oppression of the labouring masses.

Under these conditions democracy, as proclaimed by the bourgeois constitutions, is far from being actual, real democracy for the workers and peasants, for the poor people. It is democracy for an insignificant minority of the population, for the capitalists and landlords, for the rich.

There can be no real equality between capitalist and worker, landlord and peasant, exploiter and exploited. That is why Lenin characterized bourgeois democracy as "heaven for the rich, a trap and a sham for the exploited, for the poor."

Only the dictatorship of the working class, the Soviet state, is a system of real, actual democracy for the working people. Only in the land of socialism, in the U.S.S.R., is there socialist democracy, the most consistent democracy in the world, which provides all conditions for the active and intelligent participation of the working masses in the administration of the state.

Comrade Stalin says:

"Real liberty can exist only where exploitation has been abolished, where there is no oppression of some by others, where there is no unemployment and poverty, where a man is not haunted by the fear of being tomorrow deprived of work, of home and of bread. Only in such a society is real, and not paper, personal and every other liberty possible."

As we shall presently see, the state system in capitalist countries varies. But regardless of all its variations it is everywhere adapted to the purpose of securing the rule of big property owners, of preserving their "rights" to exploit and oppress the labouring masses.

### THE STATE ORGANIZATION OF TSARIST RUSSIA

Let us recall the state organization of our country as it was in the past.

Tsarist Russia was an *absolute monarchy*. All power was formally vested in the tsar, the "autocrat." The ministers were appointed by the tsar. The tsar also had a Privy Council, an advisory body composed of higher officials, likewise appointed by the tsar. Actually the power was in the hands of the *bureaucratic and landlord notables* who had at their disposal the administrative organs, the police, the gendarmes, the army, the clergy, the courts and the prisons. The tsar was the biggest landlord. The tsarist autocracy was a dictatorship, the absolute rule of the class of the landed nobility—the landlords. The tsarist government also protected the interests of the capitalists and of all big property owners in general.

The first Russian bourgeois-democratic revolution (1905) forced the tsarist autocracy to introduce certain minor changes in the state organization of Russia. The State Duma was established, a wretched imitation of a parliament. Elections to the State Duma were organized as follows: Electors were chosen to begin with, and then these electors met and voted for deputies. The big landowners chose over half the total number of electors. The city voters chose approximately

one-fourth the total number of electors; the rich section of the voters, however, chose more than half these city electors. All told, the big landowners chose one elector for every 230 voters, while the peasants chose one elector for every 60,000 voters, and the workers one elector for every 125,000 voters. Under this system, in half the provinces the majority of the electors were landlords; in the remaining half the majority of the electors were landlords and capitalists. The workers and peasants could only send a small number of their representatives to the State Duma. Women were deprived of the franchise. The oppressed non-Russian peoples, the Uzbeks, Turkmens, Kazakhs, Tadjiks, Kirghiz, Tatars and others, numbering ten million, were also disfranchised. Other non-Russian peoples were greatly limited in their franchise. For example, only ten deputies were elected from the whole of the Caucasus. Persons who did not know the Russian language could not be elected.

The tsarist Duma was, as Lenin called it, "a crude imitation of popular representation." But even this Duma had extremely limited rights and was completely dependent on the Privy Council.

The Privy Council became the upper chamber which stood above the lower chamber, the State Duma. Half the members of the Privy Council were appointed by the tsar as previously. The remaining half were elected by landowners and societies of the nobility, organizations of the big capitalists, and the orthodox clergy. No representatives of the workers and peasants were admitted to the Privy Council.

## OUR SOVIET ELECTORAL SYSTEM AND BOURGEOIS ELECTORAL SYSTEMS

In all modern capitalist countries there are elected organs of state power of one kind or another. Let us examine the bourgeois electoral systems.

In most capitalist countries the constitutions contain articles on universal suffrage. However, all constitutions establish various limitations of the right to vote, or this right is completely denied to whole sections of the citizenry.

Women, who constitute half of the population, are disfranchised in many countries. These countries include Italy, Japan, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria (monarchies); France and Switzerland (republics). In Germany, while the women's right to vote has not been officially abolished, the fascists have actually barred women from participation in political life.

In other countries the number of women who have the right to vote is limited. For example, in Hungary, in order to qualify, women must meet a number of special requirements. They must be thirty years of age or over. (For men the age requirement is 24.) They must have completed a six year course in school (for men the requirement is four years), they must have given birth to three "legitimate" children or have an income of their own. In Belgium the right to vote is only enjoyed by a small number of women who suffered during

the German invasion or who lost their husbands and sons in the World War. Restrictions on the voting rights of women exist in other countries as well.

Even in those countries where women have the right to vote, the number of women in parliament is negligible. For example, in the United States of America there are six women in the House of Representatives and two in the Senate. In England there are nine women in the House of Commons and none in the House of Lords.

*In our Soviet socialist state there are no restrictions whatever on the women's right to vote.* Article 137 of our Constitution says:

"Women have the right to elect and be elected on equal terms with men."

Under our Constitution women enjoy the same rights as men in all spheres of political, social and economic life. The very thought of any restriction of women's rights seems preposterous and repulsive to us. Women occupy an honourable place in our organs of state power. Women comprise more than 26 per cent of the members of rural soviets and over 30 per cent of the members of city Soviets.

*One hundred and eighty-seven women* have been elected to the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

In capitalist states possessing colonies, the native colonial toiling population, which belongs to races other than the population of the "mother country," is disfranchised. The population of the colonies, however, is often considerably greater than that of the "mother country." Great Britain, for example, has a population of 46,800,000 while her colonies have a population of 450,000,000. France has a population of 42,000,000, while her colonies have a population of 65,000,000. Thus, in these empires only a small minority of the population enjoys the right to vote.

In capitalist countries that are inhabited by many different peoples the *rights of the national minorities are curtailed*. In Poland, for example, the Ukrainians, Byelorussians and Jews, who comprise 40 per cent of the total population, have only ten per cent of the total number of deputies in the Sejm (parliament). In the United States of America almost the entire Negro population is denied the right to vote under various pretexts, such as the failure to pass literacy tests. In Germany those sections of the population which belong to races other than the "Nordic Aryan" ("the German race") are disfranchised.

In our Soviet socialist state there are no restrictions whatever of the right to vote on account of race or nationality. According to our Constitution *all adult citizens, irrespective of nationality or race, have equal rights* (see Article 135 of the Constitution). Any restriction of rights because of nationality or race is punishable by law as a crime.

All advocacy of racial or national exclusiveness or hatred or even contempt are likewise punishable by law as a crime (see Article 123 of the Constitution).

In our country, 35 peoples are represented by deputies in the Soviet of the Union and the 54 peoples of the Soviet Union in the Soviet of Nationalities.

In all capitalist countries a *higher age* qualification is established for the right to vote. Thus, for example, in France, Belgium, Czechoslovakia and Rumania young citizens under 21 are disfranchised; in Hungary and Poland those under the age of 24, and in Holland and Denmark those under the age of 25, are disfranchised. In some countries an even higher age is required to qualify for election to parliament. For example, in the United States of America the age is 25, and in Poland 30. These restrictions are directed against the more active sections of the youth, which are often distinguished for their revolutionary sentiments.

In our Soviet socialist state all adult citizens who have reached the age of 18 have the right to vote. (See Article 135 of the Constitution.) In our country the youth of both sexes are not subject to any restrictions whatever; on the contrary, they are given every encouragement to take part in state work. More than 26 per cent of the members of rural Soviets and approximately 18 per cent of the members of city Soviets are young people under the age of 25. About 15 per cent of the chairmen of rural Soviets and about 13 per cent of the members of district executive committees are young people.

There are five citizens under twenty years of age among the deputies in the Soviet of the Union, and eight among the Deputies in the Soviet of Nationalities. Thirty-four deputies in the Soviet of the Union, and 50 deputies in the Soviet of Nationalities are between 21 and 25 years of age.

In many bourgeois countries the right to vote is restricted by property status. For example, in some states of the United States of America, a citizen must own no less than \$300 worth of property or no less than 40 acres of land to qualify as a voter. In eight states the citizens must pay a special "poll tax" before they can be included in the voters' list. In many states citizens who receive public relief (the unemployed, for example) are disfranchised. The same holds true in Hungary, Denmark, Finland and Sweden. In England citizens who have no independent lodgings (grown-up children living with their parents, parents living with their children, and domestic servants living with the occupier of the house) have no right to vote. In Austria only "heads of families" have the right to vote. In Bulgaria wage workers are disfranchised. All these restrictions are directed against the non-propertied or small propertied population and primarily against the workers.

In our country there are no restrictions whatever of the right to vote on the basis of property status. All adult citizens, irrespective of property status, have the right to vote (see Article 135 of the Constitution).

In capitalist countries electoral rights are usually restricted according to domicile. In order to qualify as a voter a citizen must reside continuously in a given place for a specified period. In England and France for no less than half a year; in Japan no less than one year; in Hungary, Egypt and Argentina, no less than two years; in various states of the United States of America from

three months to two years; in Norway no less than five years. These restrictions are directed against the workers who are forced to wander from place to place in search of work, especially in times of economic crises. These restrictions also strike at revolutionary workers, who are frequently fired from their jobs.

In our country there are no restrictions whatever of the right to vote on the basis of domicile. All adult citizens, irrespective of how long they have been living in the given place, have the right to vote (see Article 135 of the Constitution). If a voter changes his place of residence just before the elections, after the lists of voters have already been drawn up, he receives a "voting right certificate" from the Soviet, which entitles him to take part in the elections in his new locality (see Article 15 of the Regulations Governing Elections to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.).

In many countries a certain standard of education is required in order to qualify for the vote. For example, Japan, Brazil, Chile, Colombia and Peru require that the voter be literate. In Hungary, the completion of a four year course in school (a six year course for women) is required. In fifteen states of the United States of America knowledge of the English language is required. These restrictions are directed against the masses of the people whom the bourgeoisie holds in ignorance and whom it deprives of the right to vote on the pretext of "lack of education."

In our country there are no restrictions whatever of the right to vote on the basis of education. All adult citizens, irrespective of education, have the right to vote (see Article 135 of the Constitution). The ballots are printed in the languages of the population of the given electoral area. Illiterate citizens are given full opportunity to take part in the voting (see Articles 68 and 81 of the Regulations Governing Elections to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.).

In capitalist countries unequal suffrage rights are often established in the interests of the propertied and educated sections of the population. In England, for example, owners of industrial and commercial enterprises may vote in their place of residence and also in the place where their enterprises are located. University graduates may vote both in their university constituency and in their place of residence. Thus many citizens among the bourgeois sections of the population have plural votes.

In our country there is no inequality in election rights. Article 136 of our Constitution says: "Elections of deputies are equal: each citizen is entitled to one vote; all citizens participate in elections on an equal footing."

Finally, in capitalist countries people serving in the army or navy are usually disfranchised. Thus, men in the ranks, i.e., working people clad in military uniform, are excluded from politics. But this does not prevent the officers who come from the propertied classes from taking an active part in political life. It is sufficient to cite the example of the Japanese, Polish and Spanish fascist militarists.

According to our Constitution citizens serving in the Red Army and Navy have election rights on equal terms with all other citizens.

Many commanders, political workers and men in the ranks of our Red Army, Red Navy and Red Air Force have been elected to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

The purpose of all these restrictions is plain. By these means the bourgeoisie seeks to exclude the largest possible sections of the working people from participation in the elections, from participation in the administration of the state, and to secure for itself the possibility of placing in parliament people whom it considers the most desirable.

In fascist countries elections have been transformed into a disgusting farce, staged by methods of violence. The slates of candidates are drawn up beforehand by the heads of the fascist parties. For example, in Germany, in the elections of 1936 there was a fascist slate of 1,035 candidates. Fifty-nine of the fascist leaders were entered on all the local slates and their "election" was compulsory. The question of the election of the remaining candidates was decided by Frick, the Minister of Home Affairs. He decided which of these had to be "elected." In Italy the voters are compelled to vote either "yes" or "no," in reply to the one question: "Do you endorse the slate drawn up by the Grand Fascist Council?" And should anyone answer "no," he runs the risk of paying for it with his head. In fascist countries parliament has simply been reduced to assemblages of fascist appointees, which are sometimes convened to listen to the speeches of the fascist leaders.

Our Soviet electoral system differs fundamentally from bourgeois electoral systems.

In the Soviet socialist state, where power belongs to the working people as represented by their Soviets, there is not the slightest necessity for any restriction of the right to vote.

Comrade Stalin says:

"... there are no capitalists in our country, no landlords, no exploitation and nobody, in fact, to bring pressure to bear on the people in order to distort their will."

The Soviet government is not afraid of the people. It draws its support from the people. Its aim is to draw all the working people without exception into the work of governing the state.

That is why, as Comrade Stalin says:

"... our elections are the only really free and really democratic elections in the whole world."

The Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, which was elected by the people on December 12, 1937, is made up of 465 workers, 330 peasants and 325 employees, or members of the intelligentsia.

The Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. elected on the basis of universal, equal and direct suffrage by secret ballot, is the *only truly popular representative body in the world*, fully expressing the will of the peoples of the Soviet Union.

## THE UPPER CHAMBERS IN BOURGEOIS STATES

Besides the lower chamber, bourgeois states usually have upper chambers as well. Let us see how they are composed and what is their purpose.

In Italy the upper chamber, or Senate, is composed of representatives of the higher bureaucracy, the officers and clergy, who are appointed by the king. In England the upper chamber, the House of Lords, is composed of "princes of the blood" and other members of the titled nobility—dukes, marquises, earls, viscounts and barons. Their titles, which have been conferred upon them by the king, and their right to sit in the House of Lords are *hereditary* according to the right of primogeniture. Such members comprise the overwhelming majority of the House of Lords. In addition it includes 16 Scottish peers who are elected for one term of Parliament, 28 Irish peers who are elected for life, 26 archbishops and bishops, 3 higher judiciary officials who are entitled to a seat by virtue of their office.

In Japan the upper House of Peers is composed as follows: 21 members of the imperial family, 15 princes, 31 marquises, all of whom are entitled to a seat by right of birth and upon the attainment of the age of from 18 to 20; 18 counts, 66 viscounts, 66 barons chosen by persons holding the same titles; 118 members appointed by the emperor from among "prominent people"; 66 members chosen by citizens above the age of 40 who pay more than 300 yen direct taxes a year and 4 representatives of the Academy of Sciences personally appointed by the emperor. In this way, the titled Japanese nobility, which consists of 956 families, has a majority in the upper chamber and disposes of the destinies of the 70 million population of Japan (not counting the colonies).

In those countries where the upper chamber is elected special qualifications are established for election to it. Candidates to the upper house must be of a respectable age, no less than 30 in the United States, Argentina and Canada; no less than 36 in Denmark, Hungary and Sweden; no less than 40 in France, Belgium and Rumania; no less than 45 in Czechoslovakia. In addition, a candidate for membership in the upper chamber must own a considerable amount of property. In Argentina, for example, he must have an income of no less than 2,000 pesos a year; in Canada, property worth no less than \$4,000. In Egypt the candidate must occupy a high administrative post (minister, member of the higher clergy). In Belgium senators may be elected only from among the higher officials (governors, members of the clergy, who have been not less than ten years in office).

In some countries elections to the upper chamber pass through many stages. In France the election of senators proceeds as follows: To begin with the municipalities (city governments) choose electors. Then the electors together with the departmental and district councillors and the parliamentary deputies of each department elect the senator. In Denmark the upper chamber is elected by two stages of voting; and a part of its membership is chosen by the lower chamber.

In Argentina the upper chamber is elected by the parliaments of the states. In Belgium, Denmark and Greece a part of the upper chamber is "co-opted" by the chamber itself, that is, additional members are chosen by decision of the chamber itself (usually from among the members of the ruling parties who were defeated in the elections).

The upper chambers usually enjoy special rights and privileges. In the United States, for example, on many questions of prime importance the president must receive the consent of two-thirds of the Senate, whereas the consent of the lower chamber is not required. In France the president of the Republic, by agreement with the Senate, can dissolve the lower chamber, whereas the Senate cannot be dissolved.

Similarly in Japan the lower chamber can be dissolved but the upper chamber cannot be dissolved. The Japanese government cannot pass a single law without the upper chamber. The difference in the position of the upper and lower chambers in Japan is summarized by Professor Iwasaki as follows: "When a cabinet minister makes a statement in the upper chamber he always assumes the air of a servant talking to his masters; but when he appears in the lower chamber he usually regards himself as a master among his servants."

The period of office for the upper chambers is considerably longer than for the lower chambers. In France, for example, it is 9 years for the Senate and 4 years for the Chamber of Deputies. In the United States of America it is 6 years for the Senate and 2 years for the House of Representatives. In Hungary it is 10 years for the upper chamber and 5 years for the lower, and so on. In addition, the membership of the upper chambers is not re-elected all at once but in sections. In France, for example, one-third of the Senate is newly elected every 3 years. In the United States of America one-third of the senate is newly elected every 2 years. In Sweden one-eighth of the upper chamber is newly elected every year, etc.

It is obvious why such restrictions of the elections are needed and why this procedure is required for the composition of the upper chamber. In this way the bourgeoisie has made the upper chamber a reliable organ to be used as a check on the lower chamber. There are cases when under the pressure of the masses of the people a lower chamber adopts a law which is unacceptable to the ruling circles of the bourgeoisie. Such a law is rejected by the upper chamber. In that case the lower chamber must either completely drop the law or else revise it to conform with the demands of the upper chamber. "Stubbornness" on the part of the lower chamber may result in a government crisis, in the government's resignation or in the dissolution of the lower chamber.

Let us cite one example. In France in the elections to parliament held in May 1936 the parties of the People's Front (the Socialist Party, the Communist Party, and the Left-wing bourgeois Radical Party) were victorious. A government composed of Socialists and Radicals was formed with the Socialist Blum as Premier. The big bourgeoisie, the bankers, waged a fierce struggle against the new govern-

ment, seeking to undermine the country's finances by shipping gold out of the country and by speculation. Thereupon in June 1937 the Chamber of Deputies passed a law granting extraordinary powers to the government for the purpose of combating the speculative activities of the banks. But the Senate *rejected* this measure, and the Blum government resigned. A new government was formed, headed by the radical Chautemps, with the participation of the Socialists and the support of the Communists. Thus the French Senate proved to be a weapon in the hands of big capital for an attack on the People's Front government. Approximately the same role is played by the upper chambers in other countries too.

Our Soviet state organization recognizes no upper and lower chambers. Our two chambers which make up the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. have nothing in common with the upper and lower chambers of bourgeois states. In the first place, both our chambers, the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities, express the will of the working people (and not of the bourgeoisie). Both of them are elected by the *whole people* on the basis of universal, equal and direct suffrage by secret ballot. In the second place, the *rights* of both our chambers are *absolutely equal*. In the third place, the special purpose of our second chamber, the Soviet of Nationalities, is to express and defend in the supreme organ of power of the Union *the particular interests of the many peoples inhabiting the Union*. This is why our Union Republics, Autonomous Republics, Autonomous Regions and National Areas elect their deputies to the Soviet of Nationalities.

## OUR SOVIET GOVERNMENT AND BOURGEOIS GOVERNMENTS

Let us examine how governments are formed in bourgeois countries.

Usually after elections to parliament the president of the republic, or the king in countries with a monarchical form of government, commissions the leader of the party which received the most votes to form the government. By means of backstage agreements and bargaining over the distribution of ministerial portfolios among the representatives of various parties of the bourgeoisie a government is formed which is presented to the president or the king and receives his sanction. After this the government presents its program to parliament. The parliament usually expresses its confidence in the government thus formed. Subsequently the government may fail to receive a majority of votes on some question. In this case the parliament expresses its lack of confidence in the government and the latter must resign. A new government is formed in the same manner as the preceding one.

This is how governments are formed in France and England, for example. There the governments are to some degree responsible to parliament.

In the United States of America the members of the government are *personally* appointed by the President. The members of the government cannot be members of Congress or even attend its sessions. The Cabinet members are responsible not to Congress but to the President personally. The American student of government, James Bryce, says with regard to the government of the United States that "It is a group of persons, each individually dependent on and answerable to the President."\*

In Japan ministers are appointed by the emperor. According to the Constitution they are the emperor's advisors and are responsible to him alone.

Under such systems the governments of bourgeois states are in a position to govern as they please and to adopt laws regardless of parliament. Let us take Switzerland, for example, which is regarded as one of the most democratic republics. During the imperialist war and in the years immediately following it the Swiss government issued 1,004 decrees *without parliamentary procedure*. In many cases the decrees went counter to the Constitution and were directed towards the suppression of the working class. In England, which is also a democratic country, in 1927, Parliament passed 43 laws, while the ministers issued 1,349 "Orders in Council" signed by the king. These "orders" form part of the English laws on a par with the laws adopted by Parliament. In Japan during one session in 1924-25 the deputies of the Diet introduced 40 bills, only 4 of which passed both houses. The government, on the other hand, introduced 54 bills at the same session, 49 of which were passed.

Bourgeois writers call their governments "all-powerful." But in bourgeois states there is a force which is directly in charge of the administration of the state: *it is the permanent administrative apparatus, the bureaucracy*. Ministers come and go, but the permanent officials remain and they hold all the threads of government in their hands. It is this *bureaucracy* that is really *all-powerful*, both in monarchies and in republics. Kings, presidents and ministers more often than not are mere pawns in its hands.

The English student of government, Ramsey Muir, in describing the state organization of England, comes to the conclusion that the House of Commons exercises no real control over the tremendous and constantly growing powers of the bureaucracy or the sweeping prerogatives which the Cabinet (the government) has arrogated to itself.

And behind this administrative apparatus are the associations of the biggest capitalists, the syndicates, trusts, and banks. In actual fact, it is they who are the real masters of the country, regardless whether it is a monarchy or a republic.

In fascist states the governments were formed through the direct seizure of power by armed fascist bands. This is what happened in Italy, Poland, Germany and other countries. The ministers of the governments are the agents

of the heads of the fascist parties. However, behind the bloody fascist dictators are the associations of the biggest capitalists again. Big capital finds that only by savage violence and the repression of the revolutionary movement can the bourgeoisie still maintain itself in power. Therefore, big capital puts the fascists in power. But at the same time it retains the direction of economic affairs and the leading influence in the state. Thus in Germany, for example, alongside the fascist government, there exists the "Central Economic Council," which decides all the main economic questions. It includes the chairman of the Union of German Mine Operators, the chairman of the Union of German Banks, the chief director of the Potassium Syndicate, the well-known millionaire industrialists, Krupp, Siemens, and Thyssen, and a number of other big capitalists and landlords.

Thus in bourgeois states *the government stands above the people and above parliament*. State power and administration are actually centred in a powerful bureaucratic apparatus, in the ministries, the chancellories and the General Staffs. But it is the *biggest financiers* who are the *real masters* of the country.

Needless to say, nothing of the sort exists or can exist in our Soviet socialist state. The government of the Soviet Union, the Council of People's Commissars, is formed by each candidate being voted on at a joint session of both chambers of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. which has been elected by the whole people on the basis of universal, equal and direct suffrage by secret ballot. Individual People's Commissars are dismissed and appointed by the Supreme Soviet or by its Presidium, subject to later confirmation by the Supreme Soviet.

The Council of People's Commissars has the right to issue decisions and orders only on the basis and in pursuance of the laws in operation. The right to pass all-Union laws belongs only to the Supreme Soviet of the Union. If decisions or orders of the government do not conform to law, the presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. annuls them. The government is responsible to the Supreme Soviet and accountable to it. In the intervals between sessions of the Supreme Soviet the government is responsible and accountable to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet.

Thus in our country the government is the highest executive and administrative organ of state power, wholly responsible to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. The Soviet government carries out the will of the people as expressed in the laws and decisions of the highest organ of our state, the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. which has been formed at the First Session of the Supreme Soviet in January 1938, is made up as follows: Chairman, V. M. Molotov; twenty-one People's Commissars; the Chairman of the State Planning Commission of the Union; the Chairman of the State Bank; the Chairman of the Committee of Higher Education, and the Chairman of the Committee of Arts.

\* James Bryce, *The American Commonwealth*, Vol. I, p. 99.

## KINGS AND PRESIDENTS

Bourgeois states are headed by kings or presidents. They exercise great power. For example, Article 1 of the Japanese Constitution states: "The Japanese Empire is ruled and administered by a dynasty of emperors." The drafter of the Japanese Constitution, Ito, gives the following explanation of the articles regarding the emperor: "The emperor has descended from heaven, he is divine and sacred, he holds dominion over all his subjects." The power of the emperor (or king) is hereditary.

The Japanese emperor has the right to declare war, make peace and conclude treaties with foreign states. He enjoys supreme and absolute command of all the armed forces of the country. He determines the organization of the various branches of administration, and appoints and dismisses all civil and military officials.

The emperor has a Privy Council composed of 25 men from among the ministers and other higher officials appointed personally by the emperor. In addition there is the organization of "Elder Statesmen," the so-called "Genro," which exercises a tremendous influence on the decision of matters of state. Behind these court organizations of the higher dignitaries stand the *associations of landlords and big capitalists*.

Presidents are elected according to various procedures. The constitution gives the president great powers. In France the president appoints the ministers. He has the right to suspend parliament (the lower chamber) for one month. He has the right to dissolve the Chamber of Deputies with the consent of the Senate. He may refuse to confirm or promulgate any law passed by parliament. He exercises the right of pardon. He appoints ambassadors to foreign states. He may conclude secret treaties with foreign states. In Poland the president enjoys the right to issue laws irrespective of the Sejm. In the United States of America the president has the right to veto any law adopted by Congress. There are more and more instances when all manner of "emergency" decrees are issued with the signature of the head of the state. In general the powers of the president or of the king are usually resorted to whenever the ruling circles of the bourgeoisie deem it necessary.

In fascist countries there are either presidents or kings. But these are merely figure-heads. Power is in the hands of the leader of the fascist party. In Germany, after the death of President Hindenburg in 1934, the fascists abolished the post of president and conferred the title of Leader (*Führer*) of the state and Chancellor (Prime Minister) on Hitler, the leader of the fascist party. This title was conferred upon Hitler for life with the right to nominate his successor. Thus, Hitler is the uncrowned emperor of Germany with unlimited powers, the dictator. What the fascists mean by "the head of the state" was explained by the German Minister of Home Affairs, Frick. "Above, on

an unattainable pinnacle, stands the leader, and beneath him is the state which is merely an instrument for the fulfilment of his great designs."

In our Soviet socialist state, of course, there neither is nor can there be a head of the state with absolute power standing above the supreme body elected by the people. We have the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet—the "collegium president," as Comrade Stalin called it. The Presidium, consisting of the Chairman, 11 Vice-Chairmen (for each of the 11 Union Republics) and 24 members, is elected by each candidate being voted on at a joint session of both chambers of the Supreme Soviet. It is accountable for all its activities to the Supreme Soviet. The rights and duties of the Presidium are precisely defined by the Constitution.

Among other things, according to Article 47 of the Constitution, it is the duty of the Presidium to dissolve the Supreme Soviet and appoint new elections in the event of disagreement arising between the Chambers of the Supreme Soviet on any question and their failure to arrive at an agreed decision. But this by no means implies that the Presidium stands in any respect above the Supreme Soviet. By dissolving the Supreme Soviet on the basis of Article 47 the Presidium merely performs a definite duty provided for by the Constitution in the event of both chambers failing to arrive at an agreed decision on any question.

The Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union, elected at the First Session of the Supreme Soviet, is *M. I. Kalinin*.

## THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS AND BOURGEOIS FEDERATED STATES

Some of the capitalist countries are federated states, as the United States of America and the Swiss Federation, for example. These are republican federated states. From 1871 to 1918 Germany was a monarchical federated state. Let us examine the state organization in these countries.

Federated bourgeois states were formed by the union of small independent states. That was how the United States of America was formed in 1787 out of the former English colonies as the result of their struggle with England for their independence. But in the course of their further development the federated states expanded and preserved their unity by means of coercion. For example, the territory of these same United States expanded *by means of purchases and wars*. In 1803 the United States purchased Louisiana from France. In 1819 it purchased Florida from Spain, in 1845 it won Texas in a war with Mexico and in 1867 it purchased Alaska from tsarist Russia for 14,320,000 rubles.

Let us take the example of the Swiss Federated State. In 1847 a Union of seven cantons, the so-called Sonderbund, raised the question of secession from the remaining cantons. The central government tried to settle the matter by peaceful means, but it failed. The question was settled by a war in which the Sonderbund was defeated and forced to remain within the Swiss Federation.

The Constitution of the Swiss Federation declares, as though in derision, that the "cantons are sovereign"!

Actually, in modern bourgeois federated states there is no voluntary union and no sovereignty for the constituent parts.

To be sure, the states or the cantons of federated bourgeois states have their own parliaments and their own governments. But these organs are not independent. Here, for example, is what Bryce writes about the relations between the Federal government and the State legislatures in the United States: "All other law-making bodies are subordinate, and the enactments of such bodies must conform to the supreme law, else they will perish at its touch, as a fishing smack goes down before an ocean steamer." \*

Federated states have only retained the outward forms of federated states. Actually they have become ordinary bourgeois states where state power is centralized and the constituent states or cantons are placed in the position of mere administrative territorial divisions.

This is most strikingly apparent in the case of fascist Germany. According to the Constitution of 1919 Germany was formally a republican federated state. Its separate "lands" (states) had their own constitutions, their own parliaments (landtags) and their own governments. In Germany, besides the Reichstag (the federal parliament), there was the Reichsrat, the State Council, in which the governments of the separate "lands" (states) were represented. After coming to power in 1933 the fascists destroyed all these formal survivals of the federated state. The head of the state, the leader of the fascist party, Hitler, appointed his governors to all the "lands" and they enforced the bureaucratic centralization of all state power, although formally the Constitution of 1919 has not been abolished.

Our Soviet socialist union state is constituted quite differently. In the first place the Union Soviet Republics united entirely of their own free will. Article 13 of the Constitution says: "The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is a federated state, formed on the basis of the voluntary association of Soviet Socialist Republics possessing equal rights." In precisely the same manner the Constitutions of all the Union Republics in their turn speak of their voluntary union with the other republics (see for example Article 13 of the Constitution of the R.S.F.S.R.).

The voluntary nature of the association is confirmed and secured by the right freely to secede from the Union which is reserved to every Union Republic (see Article 17 of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R.). In their turn, all the Constitutions of the Union Republics include articles on the right to secede from the Union. (Here is, for example, Article 15 of the Constitution of the R.S.F.S.R. It states: "The Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic reserves the right to secede from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.")

\* James Bryce, *The American Commonwealth*, Vol. I, p. 273.

Secondly, the Union Republics *retain sovereign rights* and exercise state power independently, with the sole exception of those matters which they themselves have voluntarily delegated to the jurisdiction of the supreme organs of power of the Union. And what they delegated to the jurisdiction of the Union was a number of most important matters which concern all Union Republics. They did this in order to insure mutual assistance in the economic and political spheres and in their defence against the imperialist powers. What these matters are is precisely defined in Article 14 of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. The independence of each Union Soviet Republic is set forth in its Constitution. For example, the Constitution of the R.S.F.S.R. says: "Outside of the limits of Article 14 of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R., the R.S.F.S.R. exercises state power independently, fully retaining its sovereign rights." (See Article 13 of the Constitution of the R.S.F.S.R.)

The territory of the Union Soviet Republics cannot be altered without their consent. All Soviet Constitutions likewise contain articles on this point. Each Union Republic has its own higher organs of state power and state administration and its own constitution, drafted with a view to the particular features of each Union Republic and in conformity with the Constitution of the Union.

Thirdly, our Union Republics are organized *according to nationality*. In each of them the majority of the population belongs to some one nation which gives its name to the republic. Thus our Soviet Union is not a union of states that arose or were united accidentally, *but a union of peoples*, each of whom freely constituted its own state and all of whom voluntarily combined to form one *federated multi-national state based on complete voluntariness and equality of rights*.

Within the borders of the Union Republics, nations that comprise a minority of the population form either Autonomous Soviet Republics or Autonomous Regions or National Areas; all of them are represented in the Supreme Soviet of the Union, all of them send their deputies to the Soviet of Nationalities of the U.S.S.R.

## LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT IN BOURGEOIS STATES AND LOCAL ORGANS OF SOVIET POWER

Let us see how local government is exercised in capitalist countries.

In old Russia local government was exercised by officials appointed by the tsarist government—governors, district police prefects, chiefs of police, etc. In addition there were organs of so-called local self-government—City Dumas and Zemstvos. But their rights were extremely limited.

In precisely the same manner in all contemporary bourgeois states the state exercises its rule through *officials* appointed by the government. Let us take France, for example. It is divided into departments, districts, cantons and communes. At the head of each department is a prefect with a whole staff of of-

ficials. Prefects are appointed by the President of the Republic at the recommendation of the Minister of Home Affairs. The prefect is the local embodiment of the state power. He is not only the representative of the Ministry of Home Affairs but of the other ministries as well. He controls all the local officials and institutions. He supervises the police, the courts, the officers, professors and so on. He has the right to conduct investigations, make arrests and bring to trial for crimes and violations of the law.

There are also organs of local self-government in France. Their rights are limited. They have charge of such matters as the construction and maintenance of buildings for the prefectures, courts, prisons and gendarmerie, local road-building, public health and public charity. These organs are *under the supervision of government officials*. Their functionaries may be recalled and the bodies themselves may be dissolved by decree of the president. Thus, the organs of local self-government are converted into an appendage of the centralized bureaucratic machine and maintain out of the taxes paid by the local population such punitive organs of the bourgeois state, as the gendarmerie, the courts, prisons, etc.

In fascist countries the organs of local self-government have been abolished. In Italy they have been replaced by chiefs of police and government commissars. In Germany burgomeisters (mayors) are appointed by the leaders of the fascist party.

The local organs of state administration in the Soviet Socialist Republics have nothing in common with the organs of local self-government in tsarist Russia or in contemporary bourgeois states. Our local Soviets are organs of *state power*. Article 94 of our Constitution states that the Soviets of Toilers' Deputies in the territories, regions, autonomous regions, areas, districts, cities, rural localities, stanitsas, villages, hamlets, kishlaks, auls are *organs of state power*.

Local Soviets are elected by the citizens on the basis of universal, equal and direct suffrage by secret ballot. The local Soviets themselves direct the activities of the organs of administration subordinate to them, ensure the maintenance of public order, the observance of the laws and the protection of the rights of citizens, direct local economic and cultural development and determine the local budget (see Article 97 of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R.). The rights and duties of the local organs of state power are set forth in greater detail in the Constitutions of the Union and Autonomous Soviet Republics.

## RIGHTS AND LIBERTIES IN THE SOVIET UNION AND IN BOURGEOIS STATES

Bourgeois constitutions contain many fine words about liberty and equality and about the rights of the people. But what "liberty" can there be in a society where the life of the masses depends on a handful of rich property owners, capitalists and landlords, where the working people have to sell their labour

power for a crust of bread! What "liberty" can there be for the millions of unemployed who find no use for their labour! What "equality" can there be between the exploiter and the exploited, between the property owner and the propertyless, between the well fed and the hungry!

In capitalist society economic power—all the most important instruments and means of production, all wealth, is in the hands of the bourgeoisie. It controls the schools, universities, newspapers, printing plants, paper mills and meeting halls. It has at its disposal the police, the troops, the officials, the courts, the priests and the prisons. The bourgeois have sufficient leisure to concern themselves with state and public affairs. But the working masses live in want and ignorance; they are weighed down by arduous labour for the rich.

Is it at all surprising then that the rights which are spoken of in bourgeois constitutions remain on paper, since it is very hard for the working people to really exercise these rights? Is it surprising that under any, even the most democratic, constitution, with universal and equal suffrage, the bourgeoisie has every opportunity of securing its own rule while the working masses remain in poverty and oppression and are deprived of all rights?

The bourgeoisie wrote into its constitutions the right to political liberties *under pressure of the working masses*, often at the demand of the people in revolt. This is why all bourgeois constitutions are so worded that every article which speaks of rights and liberties also contains reservations which greatly circumscribe or completely nullify the rights granted to the masses.

Let us take the democratic Swiss Federated Republic which we have already mentioned. Article 55 of the Swiss Constitution says: "Freedom of the press is guaranteed." And the very next sentence reads: "However, the cantonal laws establish the necessary measures to prevent abuse. . . . The Federation has the right to institute penalties for the purpose of preventing abuses directed against the Federation or its authorities."

Let us take as another example Article 56 of the same Constitution. It reads: "Citizens have the right to form associations." And next, after a comma, comes the phrase: "only on condition that nothing in the aims of these associations and the means which they employ conflicts with the law or constitutes a danger to the state. The cantonal laws establish the necessary measures for the purpose of preventing abuses."

We only need add that in Switzerland the revolutionary, Communist, press and the Communist Party are subjected to fierce persecution.

Every bourgeois constitution contains a general reservation to the effect that the government may suspend constitutional rights and liberties if that is required for "public safety." Thus the government of the most democratic bourgeois republic has a full "legal" right simply to suspend the operation of the constitution whenever it finds it necessary.

Let us return to the Swiss Constitution. In Article 16 we read that "in

case of internal disturbances or when danger threatens from another canton the government of the canton thus menaced must immediately inform the Federal Council," that is, the central government, and the latter is obliged to send armed assistance. The "menaced" canton may demand aid from other cantons as well. The central federal government is obliged to intervene even when there is no request for assistance from the canton. Every canton is obliged to allow the punitive expedition free passage through its territory. In pure bourgeois spirit, the same article provides that the costs (the very word "costs" is used) entailed by the suppression of the disturbances shall be met by the canton which demanded aid or which caused armed intervention on the part of the Federal government.

And on more than one occasion in Switzerland "internal disturbances" were put down by the armed forces of the cantonal governments or of the Federal government. For example, in 1875 the Federal government sent troops to suppress the workers on the construction of the St. Gothard tunnel, who demanded that their extremely low wages be raised. In 1932 workers were shot down on the streets of Geneva, in 1934 on the streets of Zurich, and so on.

The falsity and hypocrisy of bourgeois constitutions as regards rights and liberties for the working people is most glaring in such states as the Japanese empire. After each of the enumerated liberties one invariably finds a reference to laws which limit and actually nullify these liberties for the masses. Take for example Article 29 of the Japanese Constitution: "Japanese subjects enjoy freedom of speech, of the press, assembly and association within the limits established by law." But according to the law "on the maintenance of order" or "on dangerous thoughts," the Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Minister of Home Affairs, the Ministers of War and of the Navy have the right to forbid at their discretion the printing of any material or to suspend publications altogether. Papers and magazines are fined so often that they are required to make a deposit of an amount up to 2,000 yen, from which fines are deducted. In Japan "responsible" editors as a rule are specially paid people, so-called "dummies," whose function it is to go to jail to serve the sentences imposed by the courts or by administrative decree. There is freedom of the press for you!

The same law on "the maintenance of order" or on "dangerous thoughts" states in Article 1: "Individuals who organize a society whose object it is to change the state system, together with the officers of the society and those who perform the duties of leaders of the society, are liable to capital punishment, life imprisonment or imprisonment for a period of no less than five years with or without hard labour." There is freedom of association for you!

This law is primarily aimed against the Communist Party and other revolutionary organizations of workers and peasants. Thousands of Japanese citizens are arrested and flung into prison. In 1932, 7,000 people were arrested, in 1933 over 8,000. The prisoners are subjected to torment and

medieval torture in the police dungeons. About fifty Communists were tortured to death in prison in 1932.

In openly fascist countries the *complete and undisguised dictatorship of the bourgeoisie* now prevails. Fascism is bloody violence against the masses of the people. Fascism denies and abolishes all liberties for the masses of the people. For example, in Germany the fascists dissolved all unions and parties, except the fascist party, and the entire press, save the fascist press. Day and night armed bands of fascists scour the streets of German cities and organize man hunts for revolutionaries. Those who fall into their clutches are taken to specially contrived torture chambers, where they are beaten, tortured and killed. In the innumerable concentration camps the prisoners are driven to exhaustion with hard labour; they are starved, tormented and shot on the pretext of "attempting to escape." During the first two years of fascist rule in Germany 4,200 people were killed, 317,800 were arrested, 218,600 were injured and maimed by beating and torture. These figures were reported by Comrade Dimitrov at the Seventh Congress of the Communist International in 1935.

Naturally, fascism excites the anger of the working masses in all capitalist countries and rouses them to fight against it. The masses of the people in the democratic countries defend bourgeois democracy against fascism.

Real freedom, however, is possible only under conditions of a Soviet socialist state. Our Constitution grants the citizens the fullest and broadest rights and liberties, such as do not and cannot exist in any bourgeois country. Our Constitution contains no reservations and restrictions of the rights and liberties which it proclaims. Our Constitution grants rights so that all citizens may enjoy them; they are not there as a decoration to serve as a means of deceiving the working people.

Our Constitution grants the working people rights which are not even mentioned in bourgeois constitutions. In addition it shows precisely how these rights are actually ensured.

All citizens of the Soviet Union have *the right to work*, i.e., the right to guaranteed employment and payment for their work in accordance with its quantity and quality (see Article 118 of the Constitution).

All citizens of the Soviet Union have *the right to rest and leisure* (see Article 119 of the Constitution).

Citizens of the Soviet Union have *the right to maintenance in old age and in case of sickness or loss of capacity to work* (see Article 120 of the Constitution).

All citizens of the Soviet Union have *the right to education* (see Article 121 of the Constitution).

These are the paramount rights which are out of the question in bourgeois countries and which in our country are actually ensured for the working people.

## THE STRUGGLE FOR SOCIALISM IN THE CAPITALIST COUNTRIES

We saw that bourgeois countries differ as to their state organization. But everywhere this organization ensures for the bourgeoisie complete rule over the masses of the people and the fullest opportunity for the exploitation and oppression of the toilers.

Some bourgeois states are monarchies, others are republics. But it is not the names that matter. England, for example, is a kingdom. But the king's power is extremely limited there and England is classed among the democratic countries. Germany and Poland are republics, but their state system is worse than that of any monarchy. They are fascist states.

Bourgeois states are now divided into two forms or types: *bourgeois-democratic* and *fascist*. In the majority of capitalist countries the bourgeoisie resorts in various degrees to fascist methods of maintaining its rule. The bourgeoisie tramples underfoot the liberties which it once proclaimed. More and more the bourgeoisie resorts to the open and direct offensive against the working class and the peasant masses, to the open suppression of the revolutionary movement by savage violence, by destroying the workers' and peasants' organizations, by exterminating revolutionary workers and peasants.

However limited, curtailed and hypocritical bourgeois democracy may be, it nevertheless provides the working masses with certain opportunities to organize, to publish their papers and magazines and to fight more or less openly for their interests. Fascism, however, stifles every effort of the masses to attain freedom. The fascist states are hard labour prisons for the people.

The masses of the people in capitalist countries are defending bourgeois democracy against fascism. Everywhere abroad our fraternal Communist Parties are organizing the masses in the *United People's Front* for the struggle against fascism. At the same time the Communists point out that complete emancipation from all oppression and exploitation can be achieved only by overthrowing the tyrannical power of the bourgeoisie, by establishing the power of Soviets, the dictatorship of the working class.

The toiling masses of Spain and France are waging a struggle against fascism under the banner of the United People's Front. A United People's Front has been established in China, where the Chinese people are waging a heroic struggle against the armies of Japanese imperialism which is seeking to enslave them.

The Communists of all countries point out to the working people the example of the Soviet Union. The masses see that the Soviet socialist system, which has now been embodied in the Stalin Constitution, has really brought the people liberation from exploitation, from the bondage in which they were held by the capitalists, landlords, rich farm-

ers and usurers. The Soviet system has placed the management of the state and of national economy in the hands of the workers and peasants themselves. Socialism means that power is in the hands of the workers and peasants. Socialism means that the factories and mills are in the hands of the workers. Socialism means that the land is secured to the peasants free of charge and in perpetuity, it means the best machinery for the tillers of the soil. Socialism means that the working people are delivered from the horrors of crises, unemployment and hunger, from unbearable taxes, from ruin and poverty. Socialism means a happy and joyous life for all working people.

All peoples and all countries see that the victory of Socialism means peace. The Soviet Union is persistently and successfully fighting for peace, against war. All peoples, who are eager for peace and for deliverance from the horrors of war, are attracted to the Soviet Union.

Our Soviet Union is the bulwark of the working people of capitalist countries in their hard struggle against fascism, against the offensive of the bourgeoisie, against war.

The Stalin Constitution shows the masses of the people all over the world that genuine and thoroughly consistent democracy can be realized only under the conditions of a Soviet socialist state where the power of the bourgeoisie has been destroyed, where the means of production are socialized and the working people themselves run the state and build their life without the bourgeoisie.

Our Constitution inspires the workers and peasants of bourgeois countries in the revolutionary struggle against the capitalists and the landlords. Our Constitution points the way to the victory of Communism in all countries.

## THE SOVIET UNION AND THE CAPITALIST ENCIRCLEMENT

Our country is surrounded by capitalist countries. The triumph of socialism in the U.S.S.R. arouses the frenzied hatred of the capitalists and landlords beyond the Soviet borders. The imperialists, especially fascist Germany and Japan, are preparing a counter-revolutionary war against the U.S.S.R., the land of socialism.

The land of Soviets does not want war. The Soviet government is, persistently striving for peace. But the Soviet state possesses a mighty Red Army which is always ready to answer blow for blow to the war incendiaries. The strength of our Workers' and Peasants' Red Army grew together with the economic strength of our country. Our Red Army is armed with first-class technique. Our Red Army possesses first-class tanks and armoured cars, pursuit planes, bombing planes and every kind of artillery.

In order to further strengthen the defences of the Soviet Union, the Eighth Congress of Soviets of the Union, which ratified the Stalin Constitution, decreed the establishment of a special All-Union *People's Commissariat of the Defence Industry*. And the First Session of the Supreme Soviet of the Union

decreed the establishment of a special All-Union *People's Commissariat of the Navy*.

Comrade Molotov pointed out at the Session that we must increase and develop our Red Navy, and that for this purpose it was necessary to establish alongside the People's Commissariat of Defence a special People's Commissariat which would organize a strong navy, complex technical equipment, with a powerful artillery and naval air force, and with skilled cadres. Comrade Molotov said:

"The mighty Soviet power must have a sea and ocean navy corresponding to its interests and worthy of our great cause."

The strength of the Red Army, however, does not lie in its armaments and technical equipment alone. Its strength lies also in the fact that each man knows what he will fight for; he knows that he is defending his mills and factories, his state farms and collective farms, his own power, his beloved and dear fatherland which ensures him a bright and happy life.

The strength of the Red Army lies also in the fact that it is of the flesh and blood of the worker and collective farm masses of the Soviet Union, that it is the first army in the history of mankind which fights for a cause which is its own, which is near and dear to it. The Red Army is backed by a firm and reliable rear, by the support and the loving care of the vast masses of workers and peasants whose interests are those of their army.

"Universal military service is the law. Military service in the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army is an honourable duty of the citizens of the U.S.S.R.," says the Constitution.

It is the duty of all citizens of the Soviet Union to defend the Socialist fatherland. Our Constitution says: "*To defend the fatherland is the sacred duty of every citizen of the U.S.S.R.*". . .

The Soviet power is ruthless in dealing with traitors to the socialist fatherland. Treason to the fatherland is not merely a crime. It is the worst of all crimes. On June 6, 1934, the Soviet law established the highest penalty, shooting, for this crime.

The bourgeois states constantly send to our country their spies, wreckers, diversionists and assassins to undermine the might of the Soviet Union and facilitate a military attack against it.

The imperialist intelligence services endeavour to recruit agents in our country among the offshoots of the abolished bourgeois classes and among the remnants of the anti-Party, counter-revolutionary groups which have been smashed by the Party.

The court trials of the Trotskyites, Zinovievites and Bukharinites have shown that these people shrink from no crime, no matter how foul and hideous.

They organized a number of underground gangs. Their criminal activities were united and directed by the "Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites." This

bloc consisted of Trotskyites, Bukharinites, Zinovievites, Mensheviks, Socialist-Revolutionaries, and bourgeois nationalists of the Ukraine, Byelorussia, the Uzbek Republic and other Soviet Republics.

This conspiratorial organization was formed on the orders of the intelligence services of capitalist countries, and the aim it set itself was to overthrow the Socialist system in the Soviet Union, restore capitalism and the power of the bourgeoisie, dismember the Soviet Union and wrest from it, for the benefit of the capitalist states, the Ukraine, Byelorussia, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Armenia, the Central Asia Soviet republics, and the Maritime Province.

The chief leader and inspirer of all the counter-revolutionary gangs was Trotsky. He established direct connections with the German fascist intelligence service, and received from it instructions, money, forged passports and arms.

The Soviet Court established that Trotsky has been an agent of the German intelligence service since 1921 and of the British intelligence service since 1926. Many other members of the "Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites", both Trotskyites and Bukharinites, turned out to be spies of long standing in the service of capitalist states. There were among them also several former agents of the tsarist secret police.

The conspirators had no support whatever in the Soviet Republics. They placed all their hopes for the seizure of power in the armed assistance promised them by the fascist states.

For their part, the conspirators did everything to facilitate a military attack against the Soviet Union and to weaken its military and economic might by means of espionage, the assassination of prominent leaders of the Soviet Union, wrecking, poisoning, causing explosions and destruction in industry, agriculture, the transport system, and in the spheres of finances, trade, planning, construction, etc. One group of traitors penetrated into the Red Army and occupied posts in its High Command.

It was on the decision of the "Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites" that one of the Secretaries of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, *S. M. Kirov*, was assassinated, and that the member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party, *V. V. Kuibyshev*, the Chairman of the O.G.P.U., *V. R. Menzhinsky*, and the great Soviet writer, *A. M. Gorky*, were treacherously put to death with the aid of fiendish physicians. Attempts were being prepared on the lives of other leaders of the Soviet government and the Communist Party. The conspirators attempted to murder the People's Commissar of Internal Affairs, *N. I. Yezhov*, who smashed their conspiracy.

By resorting to monstrous crimes this gang of old enemies of the people, traitors to the Party, agents of the tsarist secret police, spies of capitalist states, murderers and wreckers wanted to open the borders of the Soviet Union to the imperialist robbers, destroy the socialist achievements of the peoples of the Soviet Union, and restore the rule of the capitalists and landlords in the Soviet Republics.

But the foul traitors—Trotsky, Bukharin, Rykov and the whole pack of them—and their masters—the fascist General Staffs and intelligence services—miscalculated. Their designs were uncovered in time by the militant Soviet intelligence service with Comrade Yezhov at its head.

Every citizen of the Soviet Union must show *untiring revolutionary vigilance* at the post and at the work which has been entrusted to him, so as to discover the machinations of the enemies in time and render them harmless.

Socialism has triumphed in our country. This is a great historic achievement of the working class and all working people. But our country is still surrounded by capitalist states. In the other countries the bourgeoisie is still maintaining its power and domination. A large part of the bourgeois states, particularly the fascist states, are hostile to the Land of Socialism and are hatching plans for a military attack against us, for conquering our country, overthrowing the Soviet system and enslaving the working people.

Consequently, as long as we are in a capitalist encirclement, there is the danger of a military attack, the danger of intervention and of the restoration of capitalism. Therefore we cannot say that the victory of socialism in the U.S.S.R. is *final*. The final victory over capitalism throughout the world will be possible only as a result of the combined efforts of the working class of our country and the the whole international proletariat, only as a result of combining the serious efforts of the international proletariat with the even more serious efforts of our whole Soviet people.

Comrade Stalin says:

“It is necessary to increase and strengthen the international proletarian ties between the working class of the U.S.S.R. and the working class in bourgeois countries; it is necessary to organize political assistance of the working class in the bourgeois countries to the working class of our country in the event of a military attack on our country, and similarly, to organize every assistance of the working class of our country to the working class in bourgeois countries; it is necessary to increase and strengthen our Red Army, Red Navy, Red Air Force and the Chemical and Air Defense Society to the utmost. The whole of our people must be kept in a state of mobilization preparedness in face of the danger of military attack, so that no ‘accident’ and no tricks on the part of our external enemies may take us by surprise. . . .”