A year of great achievements for the Soviet Union was 1933, the first year of the second Five-Year Plan. Industry made notable progress in all branches. The output of automobiles and tractors exceeded the year’s schedules; collective farming overcame early difficulties and surpassed planned quotas; the harvest was the best on record; giant enterprises to the value of six billion rubles were set in operation. Among them were: Ural Machine Building Works, Cheliabinsk Tractor Works, Lugansk Locomotive Works, Mojerez Railroad Supply Works, Azov Steel Works, Bobriki Chemical Works, Tashkent and Barnaul Textile Combines, Svir Hydroelectric Power Station near Leningrad. The Dnieper river was opened to navigation, the Baltic-White Sea Canal was completed and put into operation. Transportation is being reorganized; daily carloadings reached 57,000, the highest figure ever attained. Educational facilities were extended to 50,000,000 persons. The Social Insurance Fund, amounting to 4,500,000,000 rubles, was given over to the Central Council of Trade Unions to administer. The number of workers increased to 21,300,000 and wages were raised in large scale industry by 9.3 per cent. The Soviet stratostat rose 11.7 miles in the air, making a record flight. Soviet automobiles made a test run Moscow-Kara Kum-Moscow, a distance of 5,800 miles, proving the high quality of the machines and the skill of drivers.
Notable successes were achieved in foreign relations: Conventions defining aggression were signed with nine countries in July. Diplomatic relations were established with Spain and Uruguay. Negotiations for a new trade agreement were begun with England. Diplomatic relations with the United States were established on November 17, after 16 years of an anti-Soviet policy. Japanese aggressors were held back from attacking the Soviet Union. Soviet payments abroad have exceeded $500,000,000 in the last two years.

Creating a New World

While the first Five-Year Plan transformed a backward peasant country into a modern industrial state, resting on the solid foundation of large-scale collectivized farming, the second Five-Year Plan emphasizes, as its chief political task, “the final liquidation of the capitalist elements and of classes in general; fully to destroy the causes which give rise to class distinction and exploitation; to overcome the survivals of capitalism in the economy and the consciousness of the people; to transform the whole working population of the country into conscious, active builders of a classless, Socialist society.”

This means that the main concern of the second Five-Year Plan is not so much with things, as with people. It means that the vast industrial establishments and large modern farms which were created and put in operation since the revolution are not in themselves the goal of the Soviet workers and farmers, but that they merely form the material basis for the re-creation of the human element, the transformation of the working masses into skilled, well-informed, enlightened human beings with a higher mental and moral level than mankind has yet reached—a society without class distinctions and exploitation—a socialist society.
The extent of this transformation of the population of the Soviet Union in the sixteen years since the revolution would be almost incredible if it were not so strikingly evident in every phase of Soviet life. Three quarters of the population were illiterate before 1917. Now nearly every one can read and write. The peasants and workers, forming the vast bulk of the Russian people, were considered, under the Tsar's rule, as the "dark people," beasts of burden and slaves to the rich. Now every worker and collective farmer is an equal citizen of the most politically advanced country in the world, an equal shareholder in the great commonwealth which is the Soviet Union, with every opportunity for a cultured and useful life open to him. The peasant and working woman of the old days was doubly enslaved—without rights, without protection in law or custom. Today the Soviet woman, whether factory worker or farmer, or housewife, has the same rights as man, earns the same rate of wages, has the same opportunities for study and advancement.

The minor nationalities in the Soviet Union—more than 150 different racial groups—oppressed, exploited, often butchered by local and state authorities, forcibly Russianized, under the old regime, are on an equal footing with the rest of the Soviet population; are now helped by the Soviet government to build up their own national cultures, their own languages, literature, art. The children in the Soviet Union, future citizens of a new world, are in school; under the Tsarist regime, only a third of the children of the poor went to school and very few workers' or peasants' children could attain high school, let alone college or university. Child labor was common in the old days. The abolition of child labor was one of the first acts of the revolution; 16 years is the minimum
age now at which any person can enter a factory, even then only for three hours a day till the age of 18.

The Cultural Revolution

Cultural development in the Soviet Union marches hand in hand with industrial and agricultural development. Soviet expenditures on cultural objects are next in importance to capital construction. 12,000,000,000 rubles were appropriated in 1933 for education, health protection and social insurance, 20 percent above the 1932 expenditures, and the demand is for constantly increasing expenditures for culture.

While in the United States, educational facilities and appropriations have been so sharply curtailed that according to official estimates 2,225,000 children have been denied admission to schools, in the Soviet Union the reverse is true. The elementary schools this year taught 2,000,000 more children than in 1932; 2,000,000 Soviet students are receiving higher education; there are over 30,000 scientific workers in the 2000 Soviet research institutes; thousands of Soviet libraries and reading rooms (33,000 in the villages) dispose of nearly one hundred million books. The great Lenin Public Library in Moscow which is nearing completion, will contain the largest number of books under one roof in any library in the world.

Parents and Children

Nowhere is the cultural advance of the Soviet workers expressed more clearly than in the care and attention given to children. The love of parents for their children has not diminished in the Soviet Union. On the contrary, when the parents are not worried about the future of the child, when they know in advance that the child is assured proper education and training, and will not depend upon
them, when it grows up, for its livelihood; and what's more, when they know that in their old age they will not have to depend upon the children for support—then the relations between parents and children are freed from sordid considerations. Such relations are then based on love and reason, and are no longer governed by fear, or the animal instinct of protection. Parents become friends and companions of their children, and the home an inviting retreat.

The working mother in the Soviet Union can leave her child at the nursery in the morning, and call for it on the way back from work; if the child is over three years it goes to kindergarten. Both in nursery and kindergarten the child receives expert care, is fed and looked after, is encouraged to develop freely whatever gifts or talents nature may have endowed it with. At the age of seven it enters school; compulsory education covers a period of seven years at present, but already the Soviet government is planning to extend this period to 10 years. Thereafter the youth may continue his or her studies in college or university, or follow whatever profession he may choose—in factory, farm or office; studying while working, and receiving pay while studying. The educational system of the Soviet Union comprises a vast network of educational establishments, popular, technical, scientific, agricultural, penetrating into the most remote sections of the U.S.S.R. Every Soviet republic has its own Commissariat of Education, the better to care for the local needs.

Since the revolution, about 40,000,000 children have been born in the Soviet Union—a quarter of the present population. These children remember no Tsar or boss, know no other but the Soviet system. They ask American visitors what capitalists look like. As students in schools, as members of the Communist Pioneer organiz-
tion, millions of them are contributing their share to the building of Socialism. What a mighty force this will be in a few years—born and bred Soviet builders! The workers' republic may be assured that growing generations will continue the building started by their fathers, will give it more ample scope and will defend it against every aggression.

Soviet Youth

Kossarev, president of the Young Communist League of the Soviet Union, in an address before the world Congress of Youth in Paris, in September, said:

"The present generation of young workers in the Soviet Union is the happiest youth that ever existed. Its good fortune was that the State was conquered by its fathers and brothers with arms in hand during the days of the Revolution and the years of civil war against the White Guards and interventionists. Our youth is happy because it has been freed from all the horrors of capitalism, from misery, hunger, unemployment, exploitation, and physical and moral degeneracy."

This youth, boys and girls between 18 and 23, is in the forefront on every battle-line of socialist construction, in industry, in collective farming, in education, in national defense. The young people are in the lead in shock brigading, in the most difficult and daring exploits. They build blast furnaces at Magnitogorsk, mine coal at Stalinsk, dig a subway in Moscow and irrigation canals in Central Asia, lay railways through untrodden lands, man tractors and airplanes, go on hazardous Arctic voyages; they are teachers of the backward, fighters against old habits and prejudices, against drunkards and idlers; they excel in sports, in physical culture, in athletics. They are better built and healthier than pre-revolutionary youth. Their height and chest measurements have measurably
increased; thus young men of 18 years registered as follows:

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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1881</th>
<th>1923</th>
<th>1930</th>
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<tr>
<td>HEIGHT</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>63.6</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHEST</td>
<td>32.3</td>
<td>32.5</td>
<td>33.2</td>
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Between 1927 and 1930 height and chest measurements of the youth increased by half an inch and the weight by over two pounds in most parts of the Soviet Union. Only one conclusion can be drawn from these figures: that the material conditions of the Soviet youth are vastly better than formerly and continuously improving. This should be sufficient refutation of White Guard lies about hunger and privation. Compare this condition of the Soviet boys and girls with the condition of their brothers and sisters in capitalist Europe and America; compare this with the 30,000 registered prostitutes in Berlin, with the hundreds of thousands of homeless and starving boys and girls in the United States!

**The Older Generation**

The cultural achievements of the sixteen years of the workers' rule in the Soviet Union affected the older generation almost as much as the children and the youth. Old workers and peasants have learned to read and write. They have become articulate. They have thrown out the icons from their homes and superstitions from their minds. They are appreciating the value of knowledge, cleanliness, orderliness. 90 per cent of the workers are members of trade unions, and 65 per cent of the peasants are members of collectives. Professional people—lawyers, doctors, engineers, chemists, as well as office workers, belong to the trade unions. There are popular organizations, like Osoviakhim, with millions of members. In every way the Soviet workers of hand or brain, the collective farmers,
are drawn into collective work, social interests, the interests of the whole Union and the working class, as against individual interests which dominate under capitalist rule. Thus the toiling masses of the Soviet Union are rapidly attaining a high level of cultural development; they become more conscious, more active, they make greater use of their native intelligence for social objects, they become eager and conscious builders of the new social order.

No Racial Distinctions

This truly marvelous rise of social consciousness, which, after all, represents but the sum total of individual minds, better educated and developed, is not confined to any one group or any one section. About 150 different nationalities, speaking different languages, varying in color from white to dark brown and black, with different racial traits and characteristics, participate equally in the cultural advance. Formerly under the Tsar, as in all capitalist countries at the present time, there was a sharp division between Jew and Gentile, between black and white, between so-called "higher" and "lower" races. In other words, between the rulers and the ruled. But in the Soviet Union the toiling masses are the rulers, and there is no distinction between man and man because of his color, his ancestry or former religion. On the contrary, the distinctive traits of the various nationalities are given free play, their development is encouraged, so that together the different national cultures may blend into one pattern, into a colorful, vital, many-sided pattern of living forces, of an all-embracing classless socialist society.

The U.S.S.R. is not a nation in the capitalist sense. It is a union of free Soviet republics, each with its own language and its own national culture. The Finns in Karelia, the Ukrainians, the White Russians, the Caucasians and Asiatics, the Jews in Biro-Bidjan or the Crimea,
the Armenians and Volga Germans, teach their children the language and culture of their race, manage government offices, courts, the local industries, theatres and public functions, with native officials and native talent. The lowliest peasant, the illiterate tribesman, the former nomad or gypsy can talk to the highest official as to an equal, is made to feel that he is not a stranger in his own land. Among tribes where no written language existed, one is created; newspapers and books are published in that language. A new world is opened to the backward natives—a world of human brotherhood and common effort.

**Autonomous Soviet Republics**

The cultural, industrial and agricultural development of the native autonomous Soviet republics is advancing with the same rapid pace as in the rest of the Soviet Union. Leninakan in Soviet Armenia is a modern city with textile factories, sugar refineries, schools, and colleges. Baku, in Azerbaidjan, the centre of the Soviet oil industry, is a rapidly growing workers' city, with a population of 700,000. Tiflis, capital of Georgia, is a beautiful city on the southern slope of the Caucasus, noted for its art, music and cultural institutions. Batum, capital of Adjar, is a modern port on the Black Sea, bathing in semitropical sunshine, surrounded by collective farms raising oranges and lemons, tea plantations and vineyards. Further east are the Central Asiatic Soviet Republics—Kazakstan, Turkmenistan, Tadjikistan, Uzbekistan, Kirghizia—formerly desert and impassable wilderness, now served by the Turksib railroad and good automobile roads, with flourishing cotton and cattle ranches, and State and collective farms and fast growing industries. The natives of the Far East, Mongols, Buryats, Votyaks, Yakuts—build collective farms and industrial cities, with schools, hospitals, etc., where formerly there was no sign of civilized life.
Biro-Bidjan, in the Far East, is becoming the home of thousands of Jewish families of the former Russian "pale" and immigrants from foreign lands. 12,000 new Jewish settlers are expected in Biro-Bidjan in 1934.

**White Russia and Karelia**

Minsk, capital of White Russia on the western border of the Soviet Union, is in the centre of a fast-growing industrial and collective farm region. Here, White Russians and Jews have built up a native culture which the poverty-stricken peasants of this region haven't dreamt of in the old days. The Academy of Science of White Russia has a special section for the study of Jewish history and literature and for the training of scientific workers for Jewish educational institutions. A Palace of Soviets and other cultural establishments are now being constructed in Minsk.

The Karelian Autonomous Republic, inhabited chiefly by Finns who formerly eked out a poor existence by lumbering and fishing, is becoming a region of large industry and shipping. Three years ago valuable mineral deposits were discovered in Karelia, which gave rise to new industries. Petrozavodsk, the capital, is becoming an important manufacturing center. Large paper mills were built in Kandopog. The newly constructed Baltic-White-Sea Canal is destined to play an important role in the development of Karelia.

The Chuvash Soviet Republic is an example of the advance made by one of the most backward minor nationalities in the Soviet Union. Before the revolution the Chuvash people were practically dying out because of the poverty forced upon them by the Tsarist regime. The peasants were among the most backward, working their small farms in the most primitive manner. There wasn't a village where half the population was not suffering from
trachoma and other diseases; 82 per cent of them were illiterate. In 1933 Chuvashia was one of the first to complete the harvest. The collectivization plan was exceeded three times. Nine machine tractor stations were organized in the republic with 210 tractors. Production per acre has risen by 60 per cent compared with last year. Roads were built throughout the republic and a number of large industrial plants erected. Illiteracy was completely wiped out. The health of the population, the material and cultural level has improved immensely. Instead of a race that was doomed to death, Chuvashia is now increasing in population. It has become a flourishing part of the Soviet Federation.

German Volga Republic

Another national minority in the Soviet Union is formed by Germans, whose forefathers emigrated to Russia in the time of Catherine and settled on the Volga. There are nearly 1,500,000 Soviet Germans, most of whom reside in the Autonomous German Volga Republic. This region had practically no industries until they were built under the Five-Year Plan. The farms of this republic are 100 per cent collectivized, with 361 collectives and 31 State farms, tractor stations with 2000 tractors, 217 combines and modern agricultural machinery. The 1933 harvest gave the Volga farmers an income 12 times as great as they had before the revolution. How much better off are these Soviet German farmers than their German brothers under the fascist rule of Hitler! Yet Hitler had the affrontery to publish gruesome tales of death and starvation on the Volga!

Standard of Living, 1933

That the Soviet Union has made tremendous strides in industrialization, collectivization, and the widespread
rise of the cultural level of the population, all honest observers and investigators, friendly and unfriendly, admit. But what about living conditions, the general standard of living of the workers and peasants—has any improvement taken place in the 16 years since the revolution? Does the Soviet worker or peasant eat better, is he better housed and clothed, does he enjoy better health, are the children better nourished and taken care of now than formerly? These are important questions; the casual observer, who is usually most impressed by appearances, may grant that industry is making rapid progress, that a great deal of construction is going on, that the Soviet theatre is the finest and best patronized in the world, but will contend that living conditions are very poor, that there is insufficient food, housing, clothing. These observations are only partly correct. Of course, the crowds on the "Main Street" of any Soviet city do not look as well dressed or well fed as the crowds on Fifth Avenue, New York, or Picadilly, London, or Rue de la Paix, Paris. A tourist will be less impressed by shops in Moscow than in New York, London or Paris. But when professional observers, so-called impartial students of economic conditions, especially such as flaunt their friendliness to the Soviet Union, make assertions that the first Five-Year Plan has "actually lowered the material standard of living," then it is time to expose the shallowness of their observations.

The statement just quoted is made by Maurice Hindus in his recent book, *The Great Offensive*; Mr. Hindus is accepted in America as an authority on Soviet Russia. But if Mr. Hindus had in mind the millions of America's unemployed and the other millions who barely get along—in all a majority of the population of the U. S.—and compared their standard of living with that of the Soviet workers and collective farmers, he would
had been obliged to admit that the average Soviet worker and farmer eats more, is better housed and clothed, than he was at the beginning of the Five-Year Plan and incomparably better than under the Tsar. His health is better, his children are provided for vastly better than the children of the laboring masses anywhere. These facts are not communist propaganda—they are attested by many observers. It is true that a section of the population—the former bourgeois classes, do not live as well as they did when they belonged to the ruling class. It is true that the kulaks were deprived of their privileged position in the village. It is true that some sections of the country suffered last winter from a shortage of food and other goods because of wrecking activities, local mismanagement and temporary maladjustments and dislocation due to the rapid transition from individual to collectivized farming. Soviet enemies, social-democratic leaders and trade-union bureaucrats, Russian emigre White Guards, together with the Pope and his Cardinals, shed bitter tears over the plight of the dear, suffering Russian people. What lying hypocrisy, what calculated maneuver to fool the starving people in the capitalist countries, and set them against the Soviet Union!

The Masses Live Better

The Soviet workers and farmers may not be getting all the things they want, but they are not starving, nor are they without a roof or in rags. They are building more workers' homes this year than ever before. The output of light industries—foodstuffs, clothing, household goods—is greater than ever. Factory kitchens, workers' restaurants supply hot meals to children and adults. The Soviet worker has forgotten the meaning of unemployment. He works seven hours a day, in heavy industries only six hours. He is protected by Social Insurance
against illness, accident, old age. He takes his summer vacation in a well equipped rest home. His children go to school, happy and proud of their Soviet fatherland. Sacrifices and privations there are, that is freely admitted. But these are not due to the lowering of the standard of living of the masses. The steadily rising living standard of the majority of the workers and farmers is making greater demands on Soviet industry and agriculture than these are able to meet, under the conditions of rapid industrialization and collectivization.

This steady improvement is evident in every phase of Soviet life.

**Wages**

In 1928 the average yearly wage, for all workers, was 703.40 rubles; in 1933 it was 1432.40 rubles.

The national payroll increased from 8,158,000,000 rubles in 1928 to 32,667,300,000 rubles in 1933 or over four times! The number of wage earners increased from 11,559,000 to 22,804,300, or nearly doubled; in other words, average individual wages rose 100 per cent during this period.

**Housing**

There has been a most decided improvement in the housing conditions of Soviet workers and peasants. In the old days the workers lived in cellars, in factory barracks, at best in crowded tenements, without light or air; and the majority of peasants lived in huts, often in company with chickens or pigs, and always in company with bugs and flies, dirt and squalor. Much of this dirt and squalor, and accompanying disease, has been eradicated from the countryside, most of the unsanitary workers' dwellings of the former days have been torn town. The housing construction in the past few years, both in city
and country, reached an enormous scale. Thus in Moscow, between 1929 and 1933, there were added 2,500,000 square yards of floor space, and throughout the country nearly 30,000,000 square yards. Over four billion rubles were invested in this construction. To be sure even this vast amount of new housing does not suffice. The workers and farmers are no longer satisfied to live as they were forced to do before the Revolution. Therefore housing construction, erection of new cities and municipal improvement generally will receive increased attention in the second Five-Year Plan. But already the cities and villages of the Soviet Union provide much more comfortable, more sanitary living conditions than heretofore.

Clothing

Anyone who visited the Soviet Union, say ten years ago and last year, will have noticed how much better the population both in the cities and country is clothed. Gone are the lapti (shoes made of bark) of the peasant, or the cotton shirt and trousers of the worker. Most everyone wears leather shoes or boots, with rubbers in the winter time; and both men and women dress presentably, not in silks and woolens to be sure, but in garments of fairly decent appearance. The Soviet factories are producing today more textiles, more cloth, more caps and hats, more leather goods, than at any time since the Revolution and from 40 to 100 per cent more than under the Tsar.

Food

Again and again, in the course of 16 years, have the enemies of the Soviet Union played up starvation in Russia as their trump card. Certainly the Soviet workers and peasants know what starvation is: they knew it before the Revolution, they knew it during the ensuing
five years of civil war and famine. But they have not known it since. Notwithstanding all the assertions of Soviet enemies and pretended friends, there has been no time since 1922 when Soviet workers went hungry or Soviet peasants without bread. Last winter the food shortage was acute in parts of the Ukraine or Northern Caucasus for a short while. But to interpret such local and transient conditions as mass starvation is not only untruthful, but deliberate and malicious lying. When Mr. Hindus speaks of “the lowered standard of living of the masses” on one page of his book, and on another page that “the Revolution has cultivated in the Russian masses a hunger for intellectual and artistic diversions”—he is simply mixing up his values, and providing material for anti-Soviet propagandists.

Actual consumption of food by the mass of workers and peasants increased very materially since the Revolution, in spite of temporary shortages; while the total food supply in the Soviet Union is growing from year to year. The production of some items increased 200 and 300 per cent by the end of 1932; the figures for 1933 are not as yet available, but in view of the excellent harvest and the emphasis on consumers’ goods this year, the results will no doubt exceed the planned advance.

In 1930 the value of the output of the food industries was 3.4 billion rubles; in 1932 it was 7.4 billion rubles.

The number of food producing plants — slaughterhouses, meat “combines,” canning factories, fish packing plants, sugar refineries, has increased enormously since 1930. The Moscow meat combine, completed in 1933, has an annual output of 180,000 tons of meat products. Similar “combines” have been erected in Leningrad, Orsk, Semipalatinsk, Baku, Sverdlovsk, Samara, Rostov and Pokrovsk (German Volga Republic). The canning industry produced 428,000,000 cans of foodstuffs in 1931,
850,000,000 cans in 1932; the fishing industry has been increased from a power capacity of 28,000 h.p. in 1929 to 240,000 h.p. in 1932. Twenty new sugar refineries are being erected in various parts of the Soviet Union.

Alongside of the growth of food industries is the unprecedented growth of public catering—factory kitchens, factory and kolkhoz dining rooms, school, office and public restaurants. Whereas in 1928 only 10 per cent of the workers were fed in factory dining rooms, today 75 per cent take their meals at public catering places. The factory dining rooms supply substantial and nourishing meals consisting of three courses (soup, meat or fish with vegetables and dessert) for a nominal price. The extent of public catering can be realized from the following figures:

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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1928</th>
<th>1932</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Annual turnover, rubles</td>
<td>102,000,000</td>
<td>4,385,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Output per day, dishes</td>
<td>2,200,000</td>
<td>29,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of employees</td>
<td>25,700</td>
<td>530,000</td>
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</table>

Health

In Tsarist Russia, the average span of life of man, in 1907-1910, was 31.9 years, of woman—33.9 years; in 1926-27 the average span of life of man in the Soviet Union rose to 41.9 and of woman to 46.8 years! Mortality in the Soviet Union declined 31.5 per cent in 1931 as compared with 1913. The population of the Soviet Union rose from 147 million in 1926 to over 165 million in 1932, an increase of 18 million in six years! There has been a material decline in the amount of sickness, due to improved living and hygienic conditions. It is estimated that during the first Five-Year Plan period the number of cases of sickness declined 16 per cent. Still more striking is the decline in the number of accidents
in industry and in occupational diseases, such as lead poisoning, etc. Thus in the chemical industry cases of poisoning dropped from 10.9 to 2.9; in the metal working industry, from 1.8 to 0.8, etc. The application of measures for the protection of labor, safety devices, sanitary provisions in factories and mines, rest periods at stated intervals, is strictly observed in the Soviet Union. Thus increased mechanization and rationalization of industry under the Soviet system brings about greater labor protection; whereas in capitalist industry the reverse is true; rationalization, under capitalism, means greater speed up, increased number of accidents, greater fatigue and loss of health by the workers. In capitalist countries labor accidents are on the increase; in one of the best equipped mines in Germany the number of accidents grew from 211.3 per thousand workers in 1928 to 289.1 in 1930; while in German industry in general, the number of accidents per thousand insured workers increased from 45.1 in 1920 to 85.05 in 1929. In the United States, in the mining industry, 4.5 workers out of every thousand lost their lives in 1929, in Japan 3.4, in France 1.15, while in the Donbas (Ukraine) the number of fatal accidents was 1.7 per thousand.

The care of the workers' health is one of the chief preoccupations of the Soviet government. The workday has been reduced to seven hours and in hazardous or especially fatiguing trades to six hours. Thus the strength of the worker is not sapped at the end of his workday. Medical care in factories, mines, and on collective farms is freely provided. The number of medical stations and hospital beds has increased in the past five years two and three times. There was 100 per cent increase in sanatorium and health resort service in the same period; over a million workers availed themselves of this service in 1932.
Conditions of American Children

We have already spoken of the particular care given to children in the Soviet Union. Compare this with the condition of children in the United States, the wealthiest country in the world. Miss Grace Abbott, chief of the Children’s Bureau of the Department of Labor, writes (N. Y. Times, Nov. 26, 1933):

“In 1930, at the White House conference on child health, we were told by President Hoover that there were at that time more than 6,000,000 undernourished children in the United States. Judging by the fragmentary data available, the indications are that by the Spring of 1933 somewhere in the neighborhood of one fifth of the pre-school and school children were showing the effects of poor nutrition, of inadequate housing and of the lack of medical care. Anxiety, fear, insecurity of home life, inadequate medical care are also part of the vicious circle in which destitution has involved millions of children.”

Decidedly, not only is the future of a child in the Soviet Union secure, full of promise, but the present, this very day, is richer, more healthful, more abundant, materially and culturally, than of an average workers’ or farmers’ child in any capitalist country.

We have shown that the Soviet worker has obtained increased wages, improved housing and better clothing; we have shown that he has gained in health, in education, in many creature comforts which he never knew before — travel, vacations, social services; that his cultural level has vastly risen. He has security against unemployment, sickness, old age, which the State guarantees to every Soviet worker through the Social Insurance Fund—these are concrete, tangible results of the
Soviet system. If this is not a vastly higher standard of living than that which the toiling masses in capitalist countries have had during the crisis, then one must be utterly blind, or a conscious enemy of the Soviet Union to assert the contrary.

**Social Insurance in Addition to Wages**

The wages which the Soviet worker receives for his day's labor is only part of his compensation; the government, or the community, or the industry, provide various social services not obtainable in capitalist countries; and in addition, a system of social insurance of great amplitude. The Social Insurance Fund for 1933 amounted to 4,431,000,000 rubles ($2,400,000,000), and was contributed wholly by the employing organizations; the worker is not called upon to contribute any part of his wages to the insurance fund.

"The social insurance system covers all employees throughout the country regardless of where they work, the nature of their employment or their remuneration. It guarantees employees sick benefits; benefits in case of temporary loss of working ability due to illness, injury, quarantine, pregnancy, confinement, or the necessity of taking care of a sick member of the family; supplementary benefits for the nursing of children, medical supplies, and funerals; unemployment benefits; pensions for permanent disability; old age pensions, and pensions for families whose breadwinner has died or disappeared." (Joseph Freeman, *The Soviet Worker*.)

Aid to unemployed, which in the first year of the Five-Year Plan (1928) amounted to 11 per cent of the social insurance budget, was stricken out of the budget in 1930 because of the complete elimination of unemployment in the Soviet Union.

In 1933 the Social Insurance Fund and its administration was turned over to the Central Council of the
Soviet Trade Unions. Thus, from this year on, it will be the workers themselves who will manage this immense fund. N. Shvernick, Secretary of the Central Council of the Trade Unions, in accepting this added responsibility on behalf of the Soviet Trade Unions, said:

"We must turn social insurance into a really powerful lever for the improvement of the material conditions of the workers and the increase of the productivity of labor. . . . We, the working class, the trade unions, must ourselves take up this work and accomplish it. . . . Care for the worker who actively fights for the fulfillment of the industrial and financial plan and the norms of production must occupy the centre of the social insurance work of the trade unions."

These Poor Russians

Bourgeois critics of the Soviet Union or outspoken enemies from Hitler down to the last White Guard together with their allies, certain renegades in the labor movement, are greatly wrought up about the "desperate" condition of the Russian masses. The leaders of the Second International issued a manifesto "against the shameful policy of the Soviets in the Ukraine." William Green takes pride that "for more than twelve years the American Federation of Labor has served as a line of national defense against the assaults of Communism." These reactionary forces are so concerned about the poor Soviet workers and peasants that they are ready to unite in a war to destroy the Soviet government, in order to return the Russian masses to the mercies of "enlightened, liberal, democratic" capitalist government.

How have the workers and farmers under the rule of "free institutions of democracy and freedom," in other words, under the rule of capitalist governments, fared in the past five years?
American Workers and Farmers in 1933

In the United States, according to the Alexander Hamilton Institute, there were about 17,000,000 unemployed in March, 1933.

What is the standard of living of a man without a job in the United States? Does the so-called high American standard of living apply to him? Does he enjoy comfortable housing, decent clothing, nourishing food? Are his children provided with at least minimum comforts, with medical care, education and a future that is secure? No government department issues statistics on how the unemployed live, but one does not have to consult books to learn about their condition: the bread lines and Hoovertowns in the cities, the packed hospital wards, the human wrecks on park benches and public highways tell their tale. True, a number of the unemployed obtain public relief. Mr. Harvey L. Hopkins, Federal Relief Administrator, stated on October 2, 1933:

"15,000,000 persons in the country are still dependent on public relief and face a desperate winter unless heroic action is taken. . . . The relief granted was a pittance—50 cents a day for a family, which was pauperizing an enormous part of the population."

Employed American workers earned in 1933, on the average, $640 (reduced from $1,157 in 1929), or $12 a week. Frequently this was the income of an entire family—below any minimum subsistence level that the most hard-boiled statistician would allow. No wonder "the food consumption of the people in the United States in 1932 was 6,000,000 tons less than in 1929, while the population increased 5,000,000 persons in the interim" (Report of the Welfare Council of New York City, March, 1933). No wonder diseases due to malnutrition and exposure are widespread; no wonder death from
starvation and suicides are on the increase. “At least 2,000 workers in New York City are known to have starved completely to death in 1931.” The number of suicides in the United States rose from 20,088 in 1931 to 23,000 in 1932. And this appalling figure is an understatement, says Dr. Louis I. Dublin, “since many suicides are never so reported.” (In the U.S.S.R., says John A. Kingsbury, suicide and insanity are rapidly being eliminated.)

Negro Discrimination

The condition of Negro workers, employed and unemployed, is considerably worse than that of the white workers. In many parts of the country jobless Negroes do not receive any relief at all; while Negroes who are employed are paid notoriously low wages. Because of this, infant mortality among Negroes is very high, in some American cities equal to that of the infant death rate in China. Among Negro workers the N.R.A. is known as Negro Removal Act, because of the discrimination against Negro workers under the codes.

The lowered standard of living of the American workers is affecting children particularly. “Out of every 1,000 children 260 were found to be ill in 1932, as compared with 91 in 1930.” The proportion of children suffering from undernourishment and underweight doubled in the four years of the crisis, and in some sections of the country, such as the coal mining areas, rose to 90 per cent in 1933!

How about the housing of American workers? Mr. Lawrence Veiller, secretary of the National Housing Association, reported in 1931:

“The United States has probably the worst slums in the world. In no city of Europe . . . are to be found such conditions as prevail in modern, enlightened, twentieth century, Christian New York.”
Miss Edith E. Wood, a recognized authority on housing, writes in *Current History*, November, 1933,

“Perhaps 10,000,000 homes in America, if judged by standards of decency, should be scrapped.”

Is the American farmer, hard hit by the crisis, able to maintain a decent standard of living?

A report of the Department of Agriculture of November 7 says:

“Even if there should be considerable improvement in farmers’ purchasing power, the income of a large proportion of farm families will probably remain at too low a level to permit expenditure beyond the bare essentials of living.”

Take the case of an upper middle farmer: his income in 1932-33 was $1,549, his expenses $1,648. He worked a whole year and at the end had a net loss of $99. The lot of the poor farmer is much worse: what he raises on the farm is not enough to feed his family; or even his cattle. Forty farmers out of every thousand have lost their farms through foreclosure during the crisis. The farm laborer is lucky if he can get a job to provide him with food. The majority of farm laborers, white and Negro, have no steady jobs; how they live only God knows! Never was the American countryside in such straits. And this at a time when warehouses are bulging with “surplus” foodstuffs, and speculators make huge profits on the farmer’s misery.

The destitution of millions of workers and farmers in the United States, the desperate situation which is facing them, will not be materially relieved by N.R.A. or

Data on American situation from report of Labor Research Association.
A.A.A., by P.W.A. or C.W.A., or any of the numerous organizations set up to the accompaniment of demagogy and ballyhoo by the Roosevelt administration. Stuart Chase, an accepted bourgeois economist (Current History, November, 1933), estimated the number of unemployed for 1934, after granting all possible benefits to result from the government’s policies, at 12,200,000; even this estimate, says Chase, may be too low.

"No recovery programs, however sincere, can stand against it. . . . If technological unemployment is not to grow to monstrous proportions the men must be kept on at shorter and shorter hours, and must be given the wages, or purchasing power, to take the product off the market."

In other words, to provide jobs for all American workers, and to give them the ability to purchase what they produce, the capitalist system must be readjusted to a working week of 20 hours, in place of the 40 hours stipulated by the codes; and to a wage three, four or more times higher than the wage prevailing now. If this is not done, the inference is that we shall have in America, even under improved business conditions, a permanent army of unemployed upward of 12,000,000, with the resultant distress, poverty and misery.

The Laboring Masses Under Capitalism

To provide conditions where everybody will have a job and earn a decent livelihood, the capitalists would have to sacrifice their profits. Rather will the capitalist exploiters and imperialists send 12,000,000 men to slaughter in a new world war, than give up voluntarily their profits and privileges.

What has been said here about the situation, present and prospective, in the United States, applies with equal force to the situation in every capitalist country, except that in some of the capitalist countries, like Germany,
Italy, Japan and many others, the situation is more desperate and the suffering of the masses more acute.

In Germany, the workers and poor farmers are “approaching the hardest winter in 100 years,” admits Goebbels, one of the Nazi chiefs. Reports from Germany present an appalling picture of destitution among the masses. There is a continuous hammering down of the living standards. The consumption of essential foods: milk, margarine (German workers cannot afford butter), meat, sugar, etc., is steadily declining. The desolation in some parts of Germany is heartrending; the people in whole regions are slowly dying because of unemployment and malnutrition. Government relief has been cut down in many instances to 15 marks per month (nominally $3.50), and starvation is rampant. There are over 5,000,000 without jobs, and no prospects of employment. Since the Nazis came to power, conditions have grown steadily worse, except for privileged sections of the population. Politically, the Hitler regime brought Germany terror, wholesale jailings, murder and the threat of war; economically, it brought reduction of wages, compulsory labor armies, elimination of women wage earners, driving thousands to prostitution or suicide; higher taxes and oppression of the small farmer in favor of the large landowner. The Hitler regime in Germany is the final act in the drama of capitalist against worker, of exploiter against exploited; just as the Roosevelt regime is the forerunner of a similar situation in the United States. Before the curtain falls on the capitalist system, the toiling masses are driven by their masters to untold misery and destitution.

The economic situation in England may be a little less gloomy at the moment; but England can no more cope with unemployment than the United States or Germany. The figure of 3,000,000 jobless may vary slightly from
month to month, but in ten years it has not been materially reduced. Prof. F. C. S. Shiller (Current History, October, 1933), in speaking of "The Crumbling British Empire," says:

"... thousands of young people are everywhere growing up to have never done a stroke of honest work in their lives, have never had a chance of doing such work, and, humanly speaking, never will have."

Allen Hutt, in his book, The Condition of the Working Class in Britain, says:

"The whole line of the bourgeoisie is quite openly and brutally to drive the unemployed into pauperism, and to treat them as paupers. ... Impoverishment, bitter and cruel impoverishment, has the working class in a grip that is growing daily tighter."

Fascism is getting a foothold in England, as it has in Italy, Germany, Austria, Hungary, Poland and other European capitalist countries, as it threatens to get in America—and with it greater misery for the toiling masses, and finally—war.

True, the toiling masses in every capitalist country are becoming more and more aroused to the necessity of defending their class interests. The wave of strikes in the United States in 1933, among factory and mine workers and farmers, is a manifestation of the fighting spirit which alone can force the amelioration of intolerable conditions. German workers, despite the bloody terror of the Nazis, are carrying on an illegal but relentless struggle against their oppressors. In France miners, factory workers, farmers and white collar workers band together to resist wage reductions and higher taxes. Thus the improvement of the workers' condition is in their own hands.
Two Worlds

All through the sixteen years since the Revolution the capitalists and their governments in Europe, Asia and America have been watching with hatred and fear the steady growth and development of the Soviet Union; as a greedy old man watches with hidden fear the growing youth whom he knows will succeed him in the near future. This hatred was expressed in armed attack on the land of the workers in early years of the Revolution; when this failed, economic boycott was resorted to, which also had to be abandoned as the Soviet Union grew stronger and presented a profitable market for foreign goods. Nevertheless, capitalist attacks did not cease: lies, slanders, stories of starvation and wholesale death, about dumping and forced labor, about mutinies in the Red Army or religious persecution, were and still are widely circulated. The aim of such attacks is to hamper Socialist construction, to create difficulties in the Soviet Union's foreign relations, and at the same time to stifle the growing sympathy for the Soviet Union among the masses in capitalist countries. Frequently more direct action is resorted to, such as spying, wrecking of machinery and even murder, both inside and outside of the Soviet borders. The White Guard organizations throughout the capitalist world serve as the tools for these purposes. Attempts to provoke war on the Soviet Union by Chinese militarists in 1929, by French and British imperialists in 1928, by Polish and Rumanian incidents, by threats of Hitler and the Japanese imperialists at the present moment, are all part of the fight of capitalism against the Socialist State. Workers and farmers in America and elsewhere are being misinformed about the struggles and achievements of the Soviet workers, in order that they may be more easily misled in continuing their support of the capitalist system at home.
Decline of Capitalist System

But the capitalist system is growing old, it is showing unmistakable signs of decline and disintegration. Many among the capitalists themselves admit that the system has outlived its usefulness. All kinds of efforts are being made to patch up the system, to keep the capitalist structure from tumbling to pieces. Such salvage measures may vary with the time and the country, but they are being applied everywhere, often under the guise and phraseology of "Socialism." In Germany, the ruling capitalists entrusted the job to Hitler and his murderous Nazi gangs; in the United States, Roosevelt is attempting to engineer a "new deal," in the hope that "codified" repairs may prolong the life of capitalism. Italy has had fascism for ten years with the result that the Italian workers and farmers are bled white and Italy's economic situation is growing more desperate. In England and France fascism is being groomed to take over power as soon as the present methods of "democratic" rule fail in keeping the masses from revolting against intolerable conditions.

Capitalism can no longer absorb into useful industry or agriculture the millions of unemployed. Even the most optimistic prophets of NIRA, with all the blatant hypocrisy of high pressure salesmanship, do not promise to put to productive work the unemployed millions in the United States, nor to give the farmers a chance to regain their foreclosed farms. Realizing the danger of collapse, the capitalist ruling class, after having tried "sweet reasonableness" a la Roosevelt, or the mailed fist a la Hitler and Mussolini, is preparing to take the last step to save themselves and their system—to let loose upon the world the greatest scourge—war. The ruling class of Japan, pressed by the growing unrest of the poverty-stricken
Japanese workers and farmers, has already resorted to this weapon. After the rape of Manchuria, Jehol and Mongolia, Japan is maneuvering for an attack on the Soviet Union, under the same battle cry as that of the German Nazis—"Save the world from Bolshevism!" But the Soviet Union is a formidable adversary, and the Japanese imperialists do not dare to tackle the job alone. They are negotiating with imperialists in other countries, particularly Great Britain and Germany, for financial and military support for this venture.

**Danger of Imperialist War**

Of course, resort to war is a desperate step. Who can tell how it will end? It is dangerous to arm millions of workers and farmers. How can the imperialists be sure the workers may not turn against those who profit from the system which has ruined them and is starving them to death? And there is the example of the Soviet Union. It is steadily growing in strength; conditions of living of the workers and peasants are steadily improving. These successes, in the face of the decline in capitalist countries, were made possible through the abolition of capitalism.

Will the ruling capitalists permit the abolition of capitalism in their countries? Hardly; their business is to maintain the system which assures them profits. They will fight to maintain it. Fight one another, as they are doing now on the economic field; or all capitalist countries together fight the Soviet Union, whose very existence is a threat to capitalist rule. Increasingly the imperialists of the world are preparing for war.

In view of the war preparations of the imperialists, directed in the main against the workers' republic, the Soviet Union had to devote part of its energies during the first Five-Year Plan to the building up of its defensive
equipment, to the strengthening of the Red Army. The Soviet workers do not want war, they have unflinchingly stood for peace since the foundation of the Republic, their representatives have proposed total disarmament. "We do not want a foot of foreign soil, but shall not give up an inch of ours," Stalin said. But an attack may be expected at any time; the Soviet Union is aware of the preparations and must be on guard.

**Building Socialism in Capitalist Surroundings**

The threats and war preparations of the imperialists make the building of Socialism in the Soviet Union a doubly hard task. The difficulties of socialist construction would have been great in normal times. But in this period of universal crisis and war threats, the Soviet workers must endure greater hardships, must overcome greater obstacles, to achieve their goal. At the cost of great exertions, they completed the first Five-Year Plan and the first year of the second. In the next four years, if peace prevails, the Soviet workers will attain the aim set by the Revolution—a classless society.

Lenin, in his great wisdom, forecast the general lines of development which the Soviet Union was to follow. Under the firm leadership of Stalin, following Lenin's precepts, the Soviet workers succeeded in a shorter time than the most enthusiastic dared to expect, in transforming a backward agricultural country into a country with a powerful industry, a country of modern industrial giants. At the close of the restoration period in 1928, production rose to the pre-war level. But what sort of a level was that? Entirely inadequate for a country occupying one-sixth of the globe's surface, with a population increasing at the rate of 3,000,000 per year; and whose demands, material and cultural, grew at a much greater speed than the existing productive machinery could
satisfy. Also inadequate from the point of view of modern technical progress both in industry and in military science. It was wise and far-sighted statesmanship which dictated the building up of heavy industry as the chief task of the first Five-Year Plan. All the objections of Trotsky and his followers and of oppositionists on the right and on the left, did not swerve the Communist Party from the course adopted, and which proved to be the wisest course. The Soviet workers willingly accepted heavy sacrifices in order to carry out the Five-Year Plan in four years. The results at the end of 1932 placed the Soviet Union:
First in the world in the production of tractors;
First in the world in the production of agricultural machinery;
First in Europe in the production of engineering machinery;
First in Europe in the production of pig iron;
Third in the world in the production of electrical energy;
Fourth in the world in the production of coal;
Fourth in the world in the production of chemicals;
First in Europe and second in the world in the production of oil;
First in the world in large scale mechanized cooperative farming, in mass agricultural production on State and collective farms.

Alongside of the tremendous advance of material and defense resources achieved under the first Five-Year Plan, the achievements on the social and cultural fronts are no less remarkable.

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics successfully:
Eliminated unemployment;
Established the seven-hour work day and a six-hour day in hazardous occupations;
Established a system of social insurance which has no equal in any other part of the world;
Created new practices in methods of labor: socialist competition, shock brigades, counter-planning, workers' inventions;
Established universal compulsory elementary education;
Created a vast system of cultural institutions, technical schools, colleges, universities, workers' clubs, libraries, museums, theatres, movies, radio, athletic facilities, sports, literary, musical and dramatic circles, nurseries, kindergartens, workers' sanatoriums, parks and playgrounds;
Developed a system of health protection and care of children which is far in advance of similar systems anywhere;
Developed a vast system of public catering—kitchen factories, factory dining rooms;
Developed book, magazine and newspaper publishing to a greater extent than in any capitalist country.
And finally, not the least important of the achievements of the Five-Year Plan was that the country has learned how to work. The Soviet workers are mastering the technique of production. Nearly three million qualified engineers, chemists and other professionals were trained during the first Five-Year Plan.

**On the Threshold of the second Five-Year Plan**

With the first Five-Year Plan completed and the foundation of modern industry and mechanized collective farming securely laid, the Soviet Union entered, beginning January, 1933, upon the second Five-Year Plan. What are the main objectives of the second Piatiletka?

**In Industry:** To increase industrial production to the value of 103 billion rubles in 1937, which is nearly 2½ times the value of the industrial output of 1932 and nine times the value of production in 1913. The industrialization of the country is to proceed in every direction, and will make the Soviet Union in 1937 one of the lead-
ing industrial countries of the world. New giant enterprises to the number of 447 are to be erected in the course of the five years. Great stress will be laid on the assimilation of existing plants by the improvement of technical skill and management, the improvement of quality of product and productivity of labor. In this way a considerable reduction of costs will be obtained and a corresponding reduction of prices to the consumer.

A vast program of transport improvement is mapped out; 26.3 billion rubles will be invested in transportation development in the second Five-Year Plan, as compared with 8.9 billion rubles in the first—an increase of 300 per cent!

In Agriculture: To complete the collectivization of the country, bringing in the remaining 35 per cent of the individual peasant holdings into collectives on a voluntary basis; to improve the work and management of collective and state farms and to increase production by improved quality of work, and greater mechanization. To greatly extend and improve the raising of draft and food animals, of dairying, vegetable and fruit growing. To increase the production of cotton and technical plants. To extend irrigation and the application of science to farming. And last, but not least, to raise the material level of the farming population to that of well-to-do farmers. In the words of Stalin: "if we work honestly, if we work for ourselves, for our collective farms—then in a matter of two or three years we will raise all the collective farmers, the ex-poor peasants and ex-middle peasants, to the level of well-to-do peasants, to the level of those who enjoy an abundance of produce and who lead a fully cultural life." The total production of agriculture is set at 26 billion rubles—twice as much as it was in 1932.

In the Social Sphere: To raise workers' wages to more than double and the standard of living to three times of
the 1932 level; to provide compulsory universal education throughout the Soviet Union up to the age of 16, embracing 36,000,000 students; to extend social insurance so as to remove the last vestiges of insecurity and fear of unemployment. To extend scientific endeavor in every direction—exploration, research, invention; to reduce the working day to 6 hours and to foster wholesome utilization of leisure; in sports, music, drama, literature, art, travel. To encourage the collective spirit in living by freeing woman of household drudgery and extending the care of children by public institutions. To rebuild old cities and towns and erect new Socialist cities with carefully planned provision for air, sunshine, recreation. To extend the health and hygienic services and to make prevention of disease (prophylaxis) the most important function. In a word—to develop a healthy and sturdy people, physically fit, mentally alert and well informed. These conditions will carry out the thesis of the Communist Party:

"... to transform the whole working population of the country into conscious active builders of a classless, Socialist society."

**Toward a Classless Socialist Society**

The huge tasks projected in the second Five-Year Plan will be realized because of the boundless enthusiasm and devotion to socialist ideals of the masses of Soviet workers and collectives farmers, because of the clarity and universal appeal of these ideals, because of the correct line of the Communist Party program and the Party's firm leadership under the guidance of Stalin. Already the experience of the first year of the second Five-Year Plan gives ample assurance that the aims will be achieved. Barring a world war, which may turn into a combined attack of the capitalist powers on the Soviet Union, there
is no force, whether of man or nature, which can stop the advance of the Soviet workers toward a classless socialist society. The Soviet Union is not subject to periodic economic crises as are capitalist countries. The Soviet Union does not carry on economic warfare with other countries; nor does its military establishment consume so high a proportion of the national income as to become an intolerable burden on the population as in countries with imperialist appetites and designs. The internal struggle—against kulaks and other anti-Soviet elements, against wreckers and saboteurs, while requiring the utmost vigilance and determination on the part of the Soviet workers, is being narrowed down continually. These capitalist minorities no longer constitute a serious threat to the Soviet State. Temporary breakdowns, whether in industrial plants or on the agricultural front, may cause temporary and local distress, but cannot influence appreciably the general advance. Hence the road of the second Five-Year Plan, though fraught with difficulties and requiring heroic efforts, is cleared of many obstacles. The achievements of 1933, exceeding the plan for the year, are a gauge of the success of the second Five-Year Plan.

Molotov, in his report of January 12, 1933, said:

"With the beginning of the second Five-Year Plan, we have enormous and, in many respects, broadened possibilities for solving the biggest of the new tasks in building Socialism. We are undertaking the tasks of the first year of the second Five-Year Plan with much stronger forces, forces that have considerably grown and continue to grow with each day."

**First Year of Second Piatiletka**

The plan for 1933 set production quotas for industry at 16.5 per cent above 1932, which is an enormous increase,
considering the large volume of production in that year. In agriculture, the plan called for little increase in the area sown, but for more intensive cultivation, assuring greater production per acre. The plan provided for greater mechanization of farm work, and better organization in the collectives. 320 additional machine-tractor stations were provided for, bringing the total machine-tractor stations in 1933 to 2,768. The production of various crops—grain, cotton, sugar beet, flax, etc., was calculated in advance, based upon a definite return per acre. In the matter of livestock, the plan called for a very material increase in the number of cattle, hogs and sheep; to assure a correspondingly greater supply of meat and dairy products.

Educational facilities were provided for by the plan for over 50,000,000 persons—fully a third of the population of the Soviet Union! In this number are included pupils in elementary schools—25,500,000; students in higher schools, workers' faculties, technical schools and universities—2,000,000. In trade union and correspondence courses and classes for illiterates—over 15,000,000 and in pre-school institutions—7,345,000.

The total national income for 1933 was fixed at 51 billion rubles—an increase of 13.1 per cent over 1932. In the course of the first Five-Year Plan the enormous sum of 116 billion rubles was invested in the national economy of the Soviet Union. This was done, in the words of Commissar of Finance G. F. Grinko,

“... entirely on the basis of our country's own accumulations, without long-term foreign credits and under conditions when the world economic crisis interfered with our economic intercourse with the outside world. This rapid accumulation of capital is to be attributed first and foremost to the fundamental fact that all capitalist plunder of the national income has been abolished. In our country there are no parasitic classes, which consume
unproductively an enormous share of the national income in every capitalist country. We are not pursuing an imperialist policy and are not squandering our national income for militaristic aims."

The investment of these tremendous sums in the national economy of the Soviet Union, was made not at the expense of the workers, as is the case in capitalist countries. It was made possible because of the immeasurable superiority of the Soviet economic system, of the Socialist system of planned economy. During this period, the number of workers employed and their wages rose steadily; while in the capitalist countries, during this period, both wages and the number of employed fell by nearly 50 per cent, as the following table indicates:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wages &amp; salaries in</th>
<th>1928</th>
<th>1932</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Soviet Union (rubles)</td>
<td>8,000,000,000</td>
<td>30,000,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>$53,200,000,000</td>
<td>$28,200,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany (Marks)</td>
<td>43,000,000,000</td>
<td>26,000,000,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Wages and salaries in England dropped 381,000 pounds per week in 1931 and 234,000 per week more in 1932.

Realization of 1933 Plan

The 1933 plan was realized fully in nearly every branch of national economy, and in some branches considerably above the quotas set. Pravda in a leading article, on July 22, 1933, said:

"... the economic plan of the proletarian state for 1933 is being fully and entirely fulfilled. The facts from life show that our national economy, in contrast to capitalist countries, is on the upgrade. With Bolshevik work we shall succeed in rendering the year 1933 really the last year of difficulties."

Production in the first six months of 1933 showed an increase, in heavy industry, of 7.4 per cent over the same
period of 1932 and continued rising to the end of the year. Production of electric power in the first nine months equalled 122 per cent of last year. Of coal there was produced in the same period 51,718,000 tons, of oil 16,518,000 tons, of pig iron 5,136,000 tons; of textiles 97.8 per cent of plan. Automotive industries exceeded the plan by a large margin: the plan in tractor construction called for 60,500, produced in nine months—54,624; trucks and passenger cars—plan 40,000, produced in nine months 35,327. The Cheliabinsk Tractor Works, put in operation June 1, produced its thousandth caterpillar tractor on October 31. 694 locomotives were produced in the nine months. Transportation came close to the volume set by the plan: in November carloadings reached 57,000 per day, or 98 per cent of the plan.

In agriculture, not only did the bumper harvest of 1933 exceed the estimates (about 30 per cent larger than last year’s crop) but grain collections were completed two to three months earlier than in 1932, and winter sowing was practically completed in October.

There was a remarkable increase in labor productivity—16.7 per cent in heavy industry, and 21 per cent in machine building. This gain in labor productivity is the best indication that the Soviet workers, many of whom recently came from the villages, are learning to operate machinery, are becoming skilled workers. Over ten million unskilled peasants, men and women, entered industry since 1928!

**Leadership, Not Luck**

The vast gains of the Soviet Union in 1933 on practically every front is the result not of a lucky combination of circumstances, nor of a let up in the hostility and threats of the capitalist powers; they were due to firm and farsighted leadership, to the active and conscious efforts of
the Soviet workers and collective farmers, to socialist methods of work. Socialist methods of work enter into every phase of Soviet life. Stalin often refers to the fervor of construction, to useful labor as a badge of honor. The enthusiasm for the building of a Socialist society, the tremendous urge to advance, to master conditions, is the lever that opens waste lands to settlement, erects giant factories and power stations, opens new routes to navigation, transforms small farms into large collective and state farms, transforms the very bowels of the earth into treasure chests for the benefit of the masses.

"No Such Thing as the Old Russia Anymore"

Professor I. M. Gubkin, who was recently in the United States attending the International Geological Congress at Washington, stated that the Soviet Union had 2500 field parties working on the geological survey of the country; thanks to their efforts new resources are being brought to the surface—iron, coal, oil, precious minerals and metals. The Bolsheviks, Prof. Gubkin said, "have not only changed the surface of old Russia, but even the subsurface; there is no such thing as old Russia anymore." Thanks to the organized work of exploration, new oil fields were discovered in the Urals, new iron and coal deposits were found in many parts of Siberia, the Kursk Anomaly, long a geological secret, was found to contain endless millions of tons of good iron ore. Copper, nickel, gold, silver were discovered in near and far corners of the Union; before the Revolution the known resources of copper were calculated at 627,000 tons, today over 15,000,000 tons, or 20 times as much, are available. In the far North, above the Arctic circle, rich deposits of apatite were discovered, enough to provide chemical fertilizers and aluminum for hundreds of years. The Far East has been rediscovered: it is found to contain rich
deposits of oil, coal, zinc, lead—no wonder the Japanese imperialists are bent on tearing away these riches from the Soviet Union. The Central Asiatic wilds—impassable deserts and mountain ranges—are transformed into regions of intense human activity and culture. Where nomads formerly drove their flocks over roadless and waterless wastes, now huge cotton plantations, collective farms and modern industries—copper refining, iron, coal, nickel and silver mining are being developed; a vast network of irrigation canals, rail and automobile roads have been built; and the tireless efforts of research parties continue to bring new riches to the surface. The development of the country goes on apace, new routes are being established by airplane over the deserts, taigas and tundras, by ice-breakers over the frozen wastes of the Arctic Ocean.

The opening of new regions to civilization, research and discovery are carried on in an organized manner. Numerous institutes in the Soviet Union, beginning with the Academy of Sciences, the Geological Institute, Oil and Rare Metal Institutes, and research institutes in every branch of Soviet economy, participate in the search for natural resources and plan their activities scientifically. They are aided to a considerable extent by voluntary groups, tourists, youth organizations, who are encouraged to organize trips and excursions with a scientific aim in view—of observation, study, and discovery. Hundreds of such excursion groups cover the Soviet Union in the summer time, and bring back valuable data.

Workers' Participation in Socialist Advance

It is perfectly amazing how every Soviet worker—man, woman and child—is drawn into the country's development; how much such modest groups, study circles, factory clubs, inventors' associations, collective farm udarniks, the shock brigades in mine, factory and farm, con-
tribute to the sum total of victorious advance; the many streams and rivulets of individual and group activity join to form the mighty river of Soviet planning and Communist direction. The Gosplan, the highest planning institution of the land, under the direction of Valerian Kuibyshev, gathers its information from every source, compiles and digests it, prepares preliminary schedules and quotas, which are sent back to the mines, factories and farms for checking and control—until it is all formed into a unified, well-balanced Five-Year Plan, with yearly subdivisions, to guide and stimulate the Socialist construction of the country.

The Soviet worker through his trade union, the collective farmer through his farm conference, discuss and determine the rate of wages, working standards, safety devices, sanitary conditions, rewards for superior work, or penalties for laziness, drunkenness, willful neglect of duties, and the thousand and one details which arise in the course of the day’s work in factory, office or farm.

Soviet planned economy is a scientific socialist method of work, as is shock-brigading, socialist competition, towing (aiding a weak link in some factory or organization by a stronger one), the policy of self-criticism, the policy of helping the low grade artisans to gain knowledge, acquire skill and advance to higher positions. The enormous advance of Soviet invention—literally hundreds of thousands within the last few years—mostly coming from workers at the bench, is another expression of the conscious desire on the part of the workers to improve and to advance production.

Why does one find in the Soviet Union, more than anywhere else in the world, thousands of associations, clubs, circles, devoted to study, to literature and art, to drama and music, to scientific, political, historical investigations, to research and invention? Why are there
50,000,000 people—practically half of the active working population—in schools, night classes, factory technical faculties, kolkhoz schools, village reading and study rooms and institutions of learning of every kind? Because, as Lenin said:

"The workers have been called not only to stand at the bench, or to follow the plow, but also to manage the estates, the factories and plants. This striving for knowledge, which has now awakened among the workers, is therefore most natural. The workers are reaching out for science, for the school, and it is our task to give them this science and school."

**Farming Soviet Style**

The first Five-Year Plan contemplated the collectivization of six million peasant holdings, with a cultivated area of 54,000,000 acres. Actually, by the end of 1932, 14,700,000 peasant households, or 61.5 per cent of the total, entered the collective farms, and had sown 226,000,000 acres! They were organized into 210,000 large farms, equipped with tractors and modern agricultural machinery, and produced over three-quarters of the total grain crop of the country. In the socialization of agriculture the Plan was overfulfilled two and one-half times. It must be remembered that up to the launching of the Five-Year Plan, in 1928, the characteristic feature of agriculture in the Soviet Union was the overwhelming predominance of very small farms, averaging not over ten acres per peasant family (excepting those of the kulaks, or rich peasants), and using the most primitive tools—wooden plows, scythes, sickles and flails. Such backward land cultivation could not provide sufficient foodstuffs for the fast growing needs of the country, especially in view of its rapid industrialization. It was imperative to bring about a
radical change in the development of our agriculture from the small, backward, individual peasant farming to large scale advanced collective agriculture, to the common cultivation of the land, to machine and tractor stations, to collective farms based on a new technique, and to giant state farms equipped with hundreds of tractors and combines." (Stalin)

Thus, by the end of the first Five-Year Plan, large scale mechanized farming has become the dominant form of land cultivation in the Soviet Union; but not without great hardships and determined struggles. The kulak class showed stubborn opposition to collectivization and sought by means of arson, thieving, wrecking of machinery, destruction of cattle and murder of responsible workers to disrupt and disorganize the collective farms. The government had to deal severely with the kulaks as a class, to put a stop to their exploitation of the poorer peasants and to their destructive attacks against the collectives. 1933 proved a decisive year in the struggle for collectivization. Stalin gave the keynote for the advance on the agrarian front. In his speech to the First All-Union Congress of Collective Farm Shock Brigade Workers in 1933, the first step in the collectivization program was, Stalin said, that "not less than twenty millions of the peasant population; not less than twenty million poor peasants have been rescued from poverty and ruin, have been rescued from kulak bondage and thanks to the collective farms have been transformed into people with a secure living." In order, therefore, to take the second step, "to make all the collective farmers well-to-do," the Soviet government issued a number of decrees early in 1933, which marked a turning point in the work of the collective farms. One of these decrees replaced the system of grain collections by a fixed tax, and gave permission to collectives to offer the surplus above the fixed tax on the open market. Another decree defined the method
of payment for the labor of collective farmers, introducing a uniform system for the first time, and eliminating thereby the confusion and dissatisfaction which had existed heretofore. But the most important measure adopted was the establishment of political departments (Politodels) at the machine tractor stations. The establishment of the political departments facilitated the solution of problems affecting the Kolkhozi on the spot, thus cutting red tape and bureaucratic methods. The political departments coordinate the functions of planning, management and government of each collective farm and thus promote order and speed in its operations. For this purpose upward of 15,000 of the best Soviet workers were selected and despatched to the countryside, charged with the task of organizing and improving the work of the MTS and Kolkhozi.

An Abundance of Food Assured by Collectives

The unprecedented harvest in the Soviet Union in 1933 was due both to favorable weather conditions and to the energetic work of the Politodels. "Our country never knew such a harvest as that of 1933," said Izvestia on January 8. The crop totaled 90,000,000 metric tons, an increase of 20,000,000 tons over the crop of 1932; the 1931 crop was only 69,480,000 tons. The Ukraine and Northern Caucasus, which suffered most in 1932, harvested 8,850,000 tons of grain more than the previous year. Significant was the increase in the yield per acre: from 8.7 bushels formerly to over 12 bushels per acre in 1933. The deliveries of grain to the Government as a fixed tax were not only fulfilled according to plan, but exceeded in many cases. Up to September 1 three times as much grain was delivered to government warehouses as had been at the same time the year before.
The results of the better work of the collectives in 1933, and of the splendid harvest obtained, are directly felt by every collective farmer. His well-being has immeasurably increased, and his future abundantly secured. The collective farmer's returns have risen from two to five times of what they were a year ago. On some of the farms each one of the members received as high as 24 lbs. of grain and 2 rubles in cash per working day! The average income of a family on some of the collective farms in the Ukraine was over six tons of grain, 1,000 rubles in cash, plus other farm products—potatoes, corn, fruit, honey. In addition almost every family has a cow, chickens, a vegetable patch, and it is planned to give these things to all kolhozniki during the coming year.

Whoever speaks of starvation in the Soviet village is telling a deliberate falsehood. Prof. Edgar S. Furniss, who cannot be accused of being too friendly, admits (Current History, November), that "it is already apparent that the supplies of food available to the Russian people this winter will be the largest in years." The article bears the significant title: Stalin's Policy Wins. In truth "Stalin's policy wins," not only in agriculture and collective farming, but in industry, in cultural development, in foreign affairs and last but not least in the upbuilding of the defensive power of the country.

From the above it is evident that collective farming has been established on a firm footing. At the end of 1932 it comprised 62 per cent of the total number of peasant homesteads. Of the remaining 38 per cent, or ten million homesteads, 750,000 joined the collectivization movement by September, 1933, forming 17,000 new kolkhozi; which brought up the total to 65 per cent. The government is not forcing individual peasants to join into collectives; on the contrary, it is helping them in many ways, through the neighboring collectives, by loans of tools, help at
planting and harvesting time, etc. The individual peasants are being taught by example: they couldn't fail to see the greater advantage in the collective method of farming, the better earnings and greater security for the collective farmers. There can be little doubt that by the end of the second Five-Year Plan very few peasants will remain outside of the collectives.

**Education of Farmers**

To this end the education of the farming population is fostered to the greatest degree. Not only has compulsory education for children been introduced in the villages, but high schools, technical schools, agricultural colleges have been established. Many state farms have their own agricultural colleges and collective farms, their technicians; while illiteracy among adults is being wiped out.

The splendid results achieved in agriculture apply not to grain raising alone, but also to the raising of cotton, sugar beets, technical crops, horticulture, as well as live stock raising and dairying.

In these branches of agriculture, the collective method of farming has also become firmly established. In the Central Asiatic Republics: Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Kirghizia and in Transcaucasia the area sown to cotton by collective farms was over three million acres in 1932. In these sections the Soviet government developed large irrigation projects at a cost of nearly a billion dollars—thereby transforming dry parched desert land into fruitful soil. Tractors and mechanical equipment in the planting, raising and picking of cotton, on a scale larger than in the United States, were introduced in these regions. By October 15, 1933, 643,000 tons of cotton was harvested.
A remarkable development, both in cotton and wheat raising, is the extension of these crops into regions which were formerly considered unsuitable for their cultivation; thus cotton is being raised now in Ukraine, Northern Caucasus, and the lower Volga; while a hardy type of wheat is grown in northern sections of the Soviet Union, where wheat raising was considered impossible a few years ago.

State Farms

The state farms (Sovkhozi) share with the collective farms (Kolkhozi) the general advance on the agricultural front. These are complete agricultural organizations, highly mechanized and operated like an industry; they are popularly known, in fact, as "grain factories." From an area of about 4,000,000 acres in 1928, the State farms have grown to 34,000,000 acres in 1932, about three-fourths in grain, the rest in cotton and other crops. There are also cattle, hog and sheep breeding State farms, including dairying. The importance of the State farms in the national economy in these branches had risen from 1928 to 1932 as follows:

Production of meat and bacon... from 1% to 13.1%
Production of milk and dairy products, 6.4% to 23.5%
Production of wool .................. 5.6% to 30%

Socialized agriculture, as represented by the State and collective farms, could not have made the tremendous progress without the tractors, combines and mechanical equipment which the Soviet government was able to place at its disposal. The number of tractors on Soviet farms was close on to 200,000 in 1933, most of Soviet manufacture. The State farms have their own tractor parks and repair stations. The collective farms are supplied with tractors and other heavy machinery by the Machine Tractor Stations (MTS), the number of which, in 1933,
has grown to nearly 3,000 scattered all over the vast country. The MTS are to agriculture what electric power stations are to industry. In fact much more: they supply to the farm not only power, in the shape of tractors and agricultural machinery, but they help in the work of the farms, in planning and assisting in all their needs. Especially so now, with the establishment of the Politodels at the stations.

“The tasks of the political departments are of exceptional importance and magnitude not only in the field of Party and political work, but also in the field of business management”, said Kaganovich in his report on January 10, 1933. “The decision about political departments, which we are adopting today, will be of tremendous historical importance in the work of transforming our entire countryside.”

1933 abundantly demonstrated this transformation of the countryside. Instead of a poverty-stricken peasantry and a small class of exploiting kulaks enriching themselves on the labor of others, two-thirds of the country population are now members of collective farms, enjoying the full fruit of their labors.

Collective Farmers Appraise Gains

“We can live now as our fathers and grandfathers have not imagined in their dreams,” said farmer Kossa of the Collective Postishev in Ukraine at a farm meeting at the end of the harvest. “And why?” added farmer Koolik, “because we realize that we are the bosses—the fields belong to us, not to some strangers!” (Pravda, September 11.)

Many letters from Kolkhoz workers, describing the results of the harvest, appeared in the Soviet press in the past four months. One of the most characteristic was a letter addressed to Stalin by the women workers on the
collective farms of the Georgensk region in Northern Caucasus:

"We advise you that the 11 collective farms belonging to our Machine Tractor Stations have successfully completed the work on the fields. We cut and threshed the grain on time, made our deliveries to the government fully and finished the winter sowing above the plan. We have already calculated the earnings per workday and are beginning the distribution of the grain to the farmers.

"On this occasion we had yesterday a great holiday. Happily and joyfully we celebrated the completion of our collective farm work, the results of which were very good. And we, women, decided to write you about our collective living, especially about our women's life, how it has changed for the better.

"Formerly most of the women were opposed to the kolkhoz. Now our eyes have opened and we, women, are taking our proper place on the collective farms. The peasant woman has become in every respect equal to the man.

"We have harvested this year 45,000 acres of various crops. Last year we delivered to the government 2,370 tons of grain, this year, 5,662 tons. For our labor last year we had from one to two kilograms of grain per work day. This year we are receiving from five to eleven kilograms.

"You said, Comrade Stalin, that in the next two or three years all collective farmers will rise to a new level and become well-to-do. We expect to reach this level in a year or two; we are planning to improve our villages so that it will be impossible to recognize them. Collectively everything can be done. We feel in us a great strength. We are not alone. With us are all the workers, the Communist Party and the government. The whole land is ours. Is there in the world anything which we, the toiling masses, could not accomplish?"

(Pravda, Oct. 31)

Transportation

One of the weak links of Soviet economy is transportation. The vast expanse of the country—Sherwood Eddy
remarked that New York is nearer to some places in the Soviet Union than Moscow—was served by 52,000 miles of railway in 1932 (in 1913 there were only 36,000 miles of railroad in Russia). The United States, with a territory only two-fifths as large, has a railway net of 250,000 miles. Yet the freight and passenger turnover on the Soviet railways was, in 1932, greater than in the United States. This shows the heavy demands made on the Soviet railways.

Nevertheless, this tremendous freight and passenger turnover, the thousands of miles of new road, the vast improvements that have been carried out on the railroads during the first Five-Year Plan—in double-tracking large sections of the system, in electrifying other sections, in the building of new bridges, tunnels, roundhouses, etc.—does not suffice to accommodate the demands of the rapidly growing industry and collectivized agriculture. The railroad situation was, therefore, at the center of attention of the Soviet workers in 1933 and will be throughout the second Five-Year Plan. Political departments were introduced on the railroads in the summer of 1933, and within a short time a marked improvement in the operation of the lines could be noticed. Socialist methods of work—shock-brigading, socialist competition—are everywhere in evidence. One line challenges the other, one railroad shop another railroad shop, one train crew another train crew—to be up and doing, to fulfill and overfulfill the quotas set; bureaucrats, wreckers, idlers, are weeded out of the railway service. Thus the railway system is strengthened and improved and will without doubt fulfill with honor the tasks assigned to it by the second Five-Year Plan.

Also, as success in collective farming depended in a large measure upon the ability of the Soviet Union to supply tractors and modern farm equipment, so it is with
the railways. Now the Soviet Union is in a position to supply the needed transport material. The Lugansk Locomotive Works, the largest works of its type in Europe, was put in operation early in 1933 with a capacity of 1,080 powerful locomotives. Rails are being produced at Magnitogorsk and Stalinsk in addition to older plants. The production of passenger and freight cars is being stimulated; large and heavier types of cars are being built, and the old cars of small capacity are being rapidly replaced. The Mojerez plant near Moscow for the production of railway equipment recently started operation.

The second Five-Year Plan contemplates the extension and modernization of the Soviet railway system to a large degree. In the first Five-Year Plan 8,900,000,000 rubles were spent on transportation; 26,300,000,000 rubles will be expended on the reconstruction of Soviet transport in the next four years, and of this about fourteen billions will be for railroad construction.

It is planned to double-track 5,900 miles of railroad. The number of locomotives will be increased from 19,500 to 24,600 and freight cars from 552,000 to 803,000; 3,100 miles of railroad will be electrified. The total length of Soviet railroads will be increased to 59,000 miles.

Already new lines are projected, and some actually under construction, as the Moscow-Donbas Trunk Line (750 miles); the North Siberian Railroad, crossing the continent from Archangel to the Sea of Okhotsk, will be started soon, opening up new territory. Other lines to be built include those in the Southeastern Ural and Northern Kazakstan regions to help develop the great mineral wealth there recently discovered.

In addition to railroad materials and equipment manufactured in the Soviet Union, the Soviet government is prepared to buy a considerable amount of such material and equipment abroad, particularly in the United States.
The Soviet railroads will be reorganized on a plan which more closely resembles the American system than the European.

Water Transport

Water transport plays an important part in Soviet economy. In 1932 the freight carried on Soviet rivers amounted to 67 million tons and in 1933 it was scheduled to reach 77.5 million tons, an increase of 15 per cent. Transport by sea has been steadily increasing and about 30 per cent of the freight was carried in Soviet bottoms. The ports of the Soviet Union handled in 1932 nearly twice as much freight as in 1928.

Great progress was made during the first Five-Year Plan in opening up new river and sea routes and notably in Arctic navigation. Soviet ships sailed successfully from Archangel to Vladivostok in one season, a feat which was never accomplished before. The Dnieper was opened to navigation along its entire length; the construction of the Volga-Moscow canal was begun. But the greatest achievement of this period in hydrotechnical construction was the completion of the White Sea-Baltic Canal, a project truly of world importance. The Canal connects Leningrad with the White Sea and opens up to industrial and agricultural exploitation an enormous territory, rich in timber and minerals.

The work was accomplished in twenty months under the management and supervision of the OGPU (Soviet State Political Department) by convicts, political and criminal, of the Northern correctional institutions. Not convicts in chain gangs, under the eye of a guard with a gun, as would have been the case under Tsarist or any capitalist government. The prisoners built their own camps, received full wages and enjoyed trade union conditions of work. As a result of their excellent work,
12,484 persons were freed and restored to citizenship, and 59,516 persons had their terms of imprisonment reduced. Many hardened criminals became real "Udarniks" of socialist construction, renounced their past life, became enthusiastic workers and returned to useful citizenship on completion of the job. Many became skilled mechanics and engineers.

Another project of economic importance was started in 1933—the reconstruction of the Marinsk system of waterways. This will be completed in the second Five-Year Plan. An internal waterway system will be created connecting many rivers and the four seas of the Soviet Union: the Baltic, the Caspian, the Black and the White Seas.

**Automobile Transport Rapidly Increasing**

There has been a large increase in the production of trucks and passenger cars and road building, which is being carried on on a vast scale. In September a remarkable test run took place—Moscow-Kara Kum-Moscow—a distance of 5,800 miles, which demonstrated three things: the quality of Soviet built automobiles, the value of the recently completed roads and the mastery of technique by Soviet drivers. Kara Kum is south of Tashkent in Central Asia, in desert country where camels were the only means of transport. The road-building program of the second Five-Year plan provides for the construction of some 200,000 miles of roads—country roads and highways—connecting with the furthermost parts of the Union. Anyone who remembers the impassability of the Russian countryside in the old days, and the backwardness as a result of it, will readily concede the decisive importance of the road program in the general material and cultural advance of the Soviet Union.
Good roads and good auto-transport go hand in hand. In 1928 the entire Union possessed only 18,700 automobiles, practically all of foreign make. By the end of 1932 the number had risen to 73,000, and in 1933 Soviet plants produced close to 50,000 trucks, busses and passenger cars. The automobile plants of the Soviet Union—the great Stalin Auto plant in Moscow, the Gorki plant, the Yaroslav and Putilov plants will stand comparison with the best plants in the world. Stalin’s remark about providing the Soviet worker with an automobile and the mujik with a tractor is becoming a reality!

Soviet Wings

The remarkable progress in aerial transport made in the last few years in the Soviet Union, demonstrates how the Soviet workers can “overtake and surpass capitalist countries.” We all remember the enthusiasm with which American masses greeted the Soviet fliers on the completion of their perilous Moscow-New York trip in 1929. In 1933, the world was thrilled by the Soviet fliers’ rescue of Jimmie Mattern, in far Kamchatka. The recently completed flight of Denichenko and Ehrenpeis from Odessa to Petropavlovsk, in Kamchatka, over a total distance of 12,000 miles, was a brilliant achievement. It opened a new route through the Soviet Far East, making possible aerial communication over inaccessible territory. A regular airplane line will be established over this route in 1934—the longest air-line in the world.

Another remarkable conquest of the air by Soviet scientists was the record flight into the stratosphere on September 30. The Red Army stratostat “U.S.S.R.”, all of Soviet construction, rose to a height of 60,000 feet above the earth and succeeded in making important scientific observations. This flight was hailed by scientists all over the world as an epoch-making achievement!
Soviet aviation is developing another service of great value: fighting forest pests and fires, sowing from the air (150,000 acres were thus sown in 1932), making air surveys and aiding navigation in the Arctic. A great deal of research and development work in aviation is being carried on in the Soviet Union. Colonel Lindbergh, on his visit to the Soviet Union in September, highly praised Soviet aviation. Some of the outstanding types of airships now being constructed in the Soviet Union are the Ant-14, an all metal giant plane, the all-steel electrically welded Stal-Z; also non-rigid airships of the Zeppelin type for training purposes.

Trade Unions in the U.S.S.R.

On June 23, 1933, the Soviet government passed a decree merging the People's Commissariat (Department) of Labor with the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions. In other words the Labor Department of the government was transferred to the Soviet Trade Unions. N. Shvernik, secretary of the Central Council of Trade Unions, characterized this act as,

"... a measure of colossal significance for the entire working class. The chief importance of this decision lies in the fact that in aiming to raise the material well-being of the workers, our Party and the government transfer the business of social insurance, of labor protection and labor legislation in their entirety directly to the trade unions, these greatest of workers' mass organizations in our country."

The Soviet Trade Unions had in 1932 a membership of 17,900,000 or 74 per cent of the entire number of workers. (Compare this with 10 per cent of organized workers in the United States or 28 per cent in England.) The trade union is the organization that is closest to the worker; it is there to serve him. Hence the placing of social in-
surance, labor protection and labor legislation in the hands of the trade unions, gives the workers a powerful weapon to regulate conditions of labor in every factory and mine, in every state farm, in accordance with their own intimate knowledge of the industry and their own desires. In addition, the direct management of the huge social insurance funds—4,500,000 rubles in 1933, permits the workers to apply these funds to the greatest interest of socialist construction—promotion of labor discipline, encouragement of socialist competition and shock bridging, the increase of labor productivity. As Kaganovich said at the Ninth Congress of Trade Unions:

"... the trade unions must attain such a standing that the workers will come directly to them with their needs. This cannot be accomplished by issuing decrees... but by doing practical work, so that the workers may see that the unions are really attentive to their needs and able to satisfy their just demands and requests."

Under the new arrangement, the Trade Unions will enter much more deeply into the every day needs of the toiling masses, look after their health and recreation, spend 600,000,000 rubles on construction of workers' homes, establish new rest homes and sanitoriums. In 1932 over a million workers were so accommodated; 50 additional rest homes and 29 sanitoriums are being built this year. The Trade Unions dispose of 920,000,000 rubles for medical assistance and upkeep of children's institutions—nurseries, kindergartens, etc. This part of the work is particularly stressed, for, as Shvernik said:

"... care of the children has an enormous importance at present, because women are being drawn into industry more and more. The trade unions must create such conditions that a woman worker, although the mother of a child, need not worry about her child while at work; that she be able to devote her energies to her work, to the problems which directly confront her as a worker on the job."

In this manner the trade unions become the indisputed
masters in their own field, and every trade unionist assumes an increasingly important role in the building of the socialist society.

The Red Army, Defender and Builder of Socialism

The Red Army of the Soviet Union was 15 years old in 1933. At the tenth anniversary celebration, Stalin greeted the Red Army, the Red Navy, and "the future Red Army men—the armed workers of the U.S.S.R." as follows:

"The Party is proud that it was successful in creating, with the aid of the workers and peasants, the first Red Army in the world, which defended and maintained the liberties of the workers and peasants."

Stalin then pointed out three characteristics of the Red Army which distinguish it from all other armies, from the armies of capitalist countries: first—the Red Army is an army of workers and peasants, a revolutionary army, an army for the emancipation of the toilers; whereas a capitalist army is an instrument for the domination by the capitalist class, used as a weapon to keep the workers in subjection. In the Soviet Union the Army is a part of the people, inseparable from it, enjoying the love and support of the entire toiling population; whereas in capitalist countries, the army is designed to inspire fear, to serve as a barrier between the people and the ruling class.

Second—the Red Army is trained in the spirit of brotherhood between peoples, between the many nationalities that compose the Soviet Union, trained for the defense of the liberties and independence of the Socialist Republics of the Soviet Union. The capitalist armies are trained in the spirit of narrow nationalism, in the idea of subjugation of other nations.

Third—the Red Army is penetrated by the spirit of internationalism, by the spirit of respect for other peoples,
by love for the workers of all countries, by the determination to maintain peace among nations, by the knowledge that it has the support of the toiling masses the world over. In capitalist countries, the army is the symbol of hatred between nations, the instrument to fight workers and farmers of other countries to further the interests of the ruling class. The capitalist army is a blind tool to serve the masters' ends.

"Our Red Army," concluded Stalin, "owes these three characteristics to the fact that it knows where it is going, that it consists not of tin soldiers but of conscious men who understand where to go and what to fight for. An Army which knows what it is fighting for is unconquerable. This is why our Red Army has every ground for being the best army in the world."

The Red Army is flesh and bone of the toiling masses of the Soviet Union. While it is being trained in the art of war—for the defense of the workers' fatherland, and against all aggression, it is at the same time a school of socialist construction. The Red Army man is not only a soldier—he is also a builder of Socialism. From the moment he enters the army, he joins a study group—to perfect himself in technical skill, or literature, or agricultural science. Every army barrack has its "Lenin Corner"—a reading and recreation center. There are thousands of circles in the army for the study of politics, languages, the arts and the sciences. There is no distinction between Red Army man and officer when off duty; officers and men after drill, which takes up five hours a day, work together, play together, go together to meetings and theatres. Neither color nor race is a barrier to comradeship, to promotion to higher positions.

Red Army men often take part in actual work in factories or on collective farms. They help gather the harvest or with some difficult job in a factory, when extra help is needed. When they leave the army they are fit to
take up responsible positions in industry or agriculture. The Red Army publishes its own literature, has its own daily newspapers and periodicals.

The composition of the Red Army is changing; the number of workers has grown from 28 per cent in 1928 to 40 per cent in 1932. There was a large increase during this period in the number of Communists and Comsomols—59.4 per cent in 1932 as against 31.6 per cent in 1928. The general cultural level of the Red Army men has risen greatly.

"Our Red Army," said Voroshilov in January, 1933, "the class army of the workers and peasants, has always been strong in its paramount moral and political condition, in its spirit, in its high degree of revolutionary consciousness... Our army exists for the defense of the Socialist fatherland. Our government, surrounded by a hostile ring of imperialists, could not continue to exist for a single day without its army, well armed and powerful in every respect."

**Soviets in World Affairs**

Planned economy is the basis of internal development of the Soviet Union; peaceful relations with other countries, political and economic peace, is the basis of the Soviet Union's foreign relations. This policy of peace is dictated by the very nature of the workers' republic: its chief concern is the defense of the interests of the workers. The Soviet workers and collective farmers are successfully building a socialist society. They have no need for foreign territory or colonies to exploit for their profit, they do not seek their own aggrandizement through imperialist aggression or economic warfare. The Soviet workers and farmers want to maintain peaceful relations with the rest of the world, want to be left in peace to continue the building up of their industries and collective farms, to continue the steady rise of their standard of living.
Based on these premises, Soviet diplomacy has endeavored, from the first day of the establishment of the Soviet government, to promote political and economic agreements with the neighboring countries as well as with non-neighbor countries; and to widen these agreements from time to time to include new features, such as the substance of the Kellogg-Briand Pact, outlawing war "as an instrument of national policy", or the principle of non-aggression, or a precise definition of what constitutes aggression. The latter agreements and conventions were entered into by the Soviet government and a number of other powers within the recent past—all with the aim to eliminate sources of conflict between the Soviet Union and the capitalist governments of the rest of the world. A non-aggression pact was proposed by the Soviet government to Japan in 1931, but the Japanese government, preparing an attack on the Soviet Union, has refused to consider it. The Soviet government signed conventions defining aggression in July, 1933,—with Afghanistan, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Turkey.

**Definition of Aggressor**

This important step in international relations is a direct result of the Soviet Union’s determined efforts to prevent war; universal agreement on a definition as to what constitutes military aggression would immediately identify an aggressor nation and proclaim it an outlaw against world peace. Foreign Commissar Litvinov proposed a draft of the definition of an aggressor nation to the Disarmament Conference at Geneva on February 6, 1933, and it was accepted by the Security Committee of the Conference, against the protest of Sir John Simon of the British Delegation, who insisted that the definition of an aggressor is against "Anglo-Saxon ideas." Meaning there-
by that Anglo-Saxon imperialists may make war whenever it may suit their purpose without being called to account by other nations as an aggressor.

Thus Soviet diplomacy was able to win a series of triumphs in 1933. And the most important of these was the agreement signed at Washington on November 16, by Commissar Litvinov and President Roosevelt, establishing diplomatic relations between the U.S.S.R. and U.S.A. This act terminated the hostile policy pursued by the United States for 16 years.

The notable successes of Soviet diplomacy have been achieved because of the consistent peace policy of the Soviet government and as a result of the growing economic, political and military strength of the Soviet Union. This policy of peace dates back to the very day when the Soviet government was established, when the Second Congress of Soviets, on November 8, 1917, invited "all belligerent nations and their governments to begin immediate negotiations for a just and democratic peace." How much shedding of workers' blood and waste of national wealth would have been avoided if that invitation had been accepted by the capitalist governments! Since that day the Soviet Government has never missed an opportunity to present its plea for universal peace, for total disarmament, for non-aggression treaties, for peaceful political and economic relations with all nations. At the London Economic Conference Litvinov proposed "a world pact of non-aggression looking toward the abolition of all weapons of economic warfare." Eleven years earlier, at the International Conference in Genoa, in 1922, the Soviet delegation proposed universal and complete disarmament, as the only way to create security against war among nations; this was followed by similar proposals to the Disarmament Commission at Geneva at its several meetings since then. But since capitalist governments have no intention of disarming, discussions at the
Disarmament Conferences served only to hide actual war preparations and the maneuvering for commercial and military advantages on the part of the capitalist nations.

**Capitalist Nations Will Not Disarm**

That capitalist governments have no intention of disarming, no more than they wish to abolish war "as an instrument of national policy," the Soviet government knows full well; it does not underestimate the danger. Molotov, Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, recently said:

"... the international situation forces upon us the need of special vigilance; nevertheless, the government of the U.S.S.R. is determined to pursue the policy of peace in its relations with other states consistently and steadfastly."

To remove, or even to postpone for as long as possible, the danger of armed conflict, the Soviet government, following its consistent peace policy, overlooked provocations which capitalist governments might have considered sufficient cause for war. Thus the provocations of the Japanese militarists against the Soviet Union in 1933, from depredations on the Chinese Eastern Railway, the arrests and murders of Soviet citizens employed on the railway, to the sending of airplanes over the Soviet border, were answered by the Soviet government through diplomatic channels, but never through threat of military reprisal. Similarly, when Hitler's lieutenants, Hugenberg and Rosenberg, sought British, French and Polish aid for their scheme of partitioning the Soviet Union by armed conquest of Soviet Ukraine; and when the Nazis committed numerous hostile acts against Soviet citizens and institutions in Germany—the Soviet government forced the Hitler government to apologize, again not through threat of war, but through the established channels of diplomacy. In the conversations between Litvinov and Roosevelt and, later, in the expressions of Soviet
leaders welcoming the resumption of normal relations between the U.S.S.R. and U.S.A., the maintenance of world peace was the uppermost topic. Ambassador Troyanovsky, in presenting his credentials to President Roosevelt, made the significant statement that:

"... in a world so much in need of real peace and good will among nations, in a world that has substantial reasons for disappointment with the seemingly endless and so far fruitless talks about peace and disarmament, the very fact of the cooperation and friendliness between two such great and powerful nations as the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. must inevitably be of great historical significance and of direct, far-reaching moment in the cause of world peace."

The recently signed Franco-Soviet commercial treaty is another victory for the peace policy of the Soviet Union. It is a warning at the same time to the grasping imperialists of Japan and other capitalist nations that Soviet diplomacy is forceful, in the words of Karl Radek, “because it is supported by the sympathy of all that is best in humanity.”

**Soviet Diplomacy Works for Peace**

Soviet diplomacy, like Soviet planned economy, derided and ridiculed by slanderers and enemies of the Soviet Union, has succeeded in building a new world for 165 million people, Gentiles and Jews, white and colored, a world without bosses, without unemployment, without the misery of capitalist crises. The Soviet government has built up the Red Army and an adequate system of defense to resist all aggression; Soviet diplomacy has built up treaty relations as an insurance system against war, as far as this is possible in a capitalist world. Diplomatic and commercial treaties, non-aggression pacts, etc., do not guarantee peace, but may help to postpone war. In providing this “peace insurance” for the Soviet Union, Soviet diplomacy is helping at the same time to protect
the working masses of the capitalist countries against war. But “diplomatic documents possess the significance lent them by practical application,” says Izvestia. Fire insurance does not prevent fires. Treaties have been torn up by nations when they were ready for war; Japan broke the Nine-Power Pact and the Kellogg Peace Pact by invading Manchuria; and is preparing war on the Soviet Union despite existing treaties. The workers and farmers of the Soviet Union, bound by ties of solidarity with the workers and farmers of the rest of the world, by their opposition to war have prevented a conflagration so far, and continue persistently and sincerely their efforts to maintain peace in the world.

Foreign Trade

The position of the Soviet Union in international trade has very substantially improved in the course of 1933. On April 22 the Soviet Union celebrated the Fifteenth Anniversary of the establishment of the State Foreign Trade Monopoly. During the fifteen years the Soviet Union imported goods from abroad in the amount of $4,275,000,000, and exported raw materials and industrial goods to the value of $3,700,000,000. In exports the list of articles sold abroad increased from 50 to 800 in the last eight years. Imports consisted mainly of mechanical equipment—62 per cent of the total in 1932, semifinished products and general commodities. This latter item represented 35 per cent of Russian imports before the Revolution, and now it is reduced to 7 per cent. The vast sum of foreign purchases was financed by the Soviet Union out of its own resources, without foreign loan flotations and with the strictest punctuality in the terms of payment.

A. P. Rosenholtz, People’s Commissar for Foreign Trade, in his report on the occasion of the Fifteenth Anniversary, stated:
"The first Five-Year Plan freed the Soviet Union from dependence on foreign countries in the decisive branches of our economy. Now that our hands are freed, we can either expand or contract our imports, depending on the terms of foreign suppliers and depending on the trade and political relations with the countries where orders may be placed. With the existence of normal trade and political relations we could expand our purchases to such a considerable degree that they would become a very substantial factor in the economy of the countries trading with us."

During 1933 the Soviet Union extended its trade and diplomatic relations with a number of countries, notably France, Poland, Italy, Turkey and the countries of the Little Entente. Diplomatic and trade relations were established with Spain; a new commercial treaty is being negotiated with England. And last, but not least, the United States Government extended diplomatic recognition to the Soviet Government on November 16.

**U.S.A. and U.S.S.R.**

The resumption of normal relations between the Soviet Union and the United States will bring about increased trade between the two countries. Under the policy of non-recognition, accompanied by various trade restrictions, Soviet purchases in the United States dropped from $114,500,000 in 1930 to $12,466,000 in 1932, and American imports from the Soviet Union—from $24,000,000 to $9,097,000 in the same years.

The enormous rise of the purchasing power of the Soviet masses, their ever-increasing demands, make the Soviet Union the greatest market in the world. American industry is particularly adapted to fill Soviet requirements for machinery, railroad equipment, road building, municipal equipment, etc. With proper credit facilities, the Soviet market could absorb hundreds of million dollars' worth of American products and give employment to hundreds of thousands of jobless American workers.
Likewise, much material needed by American industry—lumber, manganese, etc., can be supplied by the Soviet Union.

England broke off the existing trade relations with the U.S.S.R. last April, as a result of the conviction of five British engineers for spying and wrecking activities in the Soviet Union. The British Government took the high-handed position of “either free the accused engineers, or we stop doing business with you.” But the British government found this position untenable; in July, 1933, the embargo was revoked, and steps were taken to negotiate a new Anglo-Soviet trade treaty.

**Germany Losing Soviet Trade**

The economic relations between the Soviet Union and Germany were governed by agreements of long standing, dating from the Treaty of Rapallo of 1922. On May 5, 1933, documents ratifying various existing treaties were exchanged in Moscow between representatives of the two governments. This action was maliciously misinterpreted by enemies of the Soviet Union as intending to give aid and comfort to Hitler and his murderous Nazi regime. If these enemies of the Soviet workers had any regard for truth, they would have been compelled to admit the wisdom of the Soviet government’s action. The Soviet government, true to its consistent peace policy, does everything in its power to avert international conflicts; this has been proven time and again in its relations with Japan over a period of years, and now in its relations with Nazi Germany. So long as it is possible the Soviet Government will maintain normal relations with every capitalist government, whether Fascist or “democratic.”

The Soviet Union needs peace, and the facility to buy foreign machinery and materials and to sell its own products abroad. But it is in the fortunate position of not being obliged to buy from countries, relations with which
become intolerable. Thus the Soviet Union is curtailing its purchases in Germany; so much so that German exports to the Soviet Union, which reached $211,776,859 in 1931, dropped to $67,000,000 for the first nine months of 1933.

16 Years of Soviet Order vs. Capitalist Anarchy

On November 7 the Soviet Union celebrated the Sixteenth Anniversary of the October Revolution. Molotov, in a speech before the Moscow Soviet on this occasion, said:

"In spite of all difficulties, the general course of our development represents a course of uninterrupted growth, a course of powerful cultural growth, a course of tremendous strengthening of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. . . . Our fight for the triumph of Socialism was indissolubly bound up with the policy of peace pursued by the Soviet government, with the development of fraternal cooperation among the numerous nationalities of the Soviet Union—in the work of furthering socialist culture in its manifold national forms and, at the same time it was bound up with the strengthening of the international ties of the U.S.S.R. with all the peoples of the world. . . . We are celebrating the 16th Anniversary of the October Revolution as an anniversary of the great success of the toiling masses of the U.S.S.R. We consider the successes achieved up to this time not only as successes of the workers of the U.S.S.R., but also as the successes of the workers of the whole world. The proletarians of all countries and the oppressed peoples of all the world have the right to be proud of these successes."

The capitalist world now admits these successes. The most powerful country among them, the United States, after sixteen years of denials and refusal to deal with the Soviet government, was forced to alter its position and to extend recognition. And because of these successes, both in internal economy and external relations, the Soviet Union is now, more than ever, in grave danger of imperialist aggression. For the capitalists realize that
the successful construction of a socialist society in the Soviet Union is a permanent threat to their power, and a challenge to the continuance of the system of exploitation. Some workers and farmers in the United States, especially the conservative, old-fashioned trade unionists and capitalistically-minded middle class farmers and others, are not fully convinced that the socialist system in the Soviet Union is superior to the system that they have been accustomed to. Nor is this to be wondered at: the capitalist class uses all the powers of government, of the press, the church, the schools, not to speak of its armed forces, police and private thugs, to keep the workers and farmers bound to the capitalist system. The labor leaders of the old school, certain Socialist Party leaders and other enemies of the Soviet Union help the capitalist class in spreading misinformation and slanderous attacks on the Soviet Union, blinding the workers in this manner to the fact that nowhere in the world have the laboring masses benefited as much in the past sixteen years as in the Soviet Union.

**American Worker and Farmer vs. Soviet Worker and Farmer**

Supposing we compare the condition of John Smith, unskilled worker, or Sam Brown, tenant farmer, in the United States, with the condition of Ivan Ivanov, worker, or Stepan Bondarev, collective farmer, in the Soviet Union, in the year 1933. John Smith if employed earned $15.00 a week; if unemployed he lived on relief or charity. Sam Brown had his farm taken from him, or at best, eked out a miserable living, just enough to keep himself and family above the starvation level. Neither John nor Sam have any assurance that conditions will be better next year or in the years to come. The children of John Smith and Sam Brown are undernourished, with little schooling, facing a future of misery and destitution. Who will guarantee them a future better than that of
their parents? Not the capitalists, who only want willing slaves to work for them, when they can make profit out of the work; and to fight for them in times of crisis and international conflict. The last sixteen years have brought John Smith and Sam Brown not only no advancement but greater misery and a darker outlook than they knew before.

Not so with Ivan Ivanov and Stepan Bondarev. When they look back sixteen years they can truthfully say that their condition has vastly improved. Neither has everything they might like to have. For example, they haven't the modern apartments they should like; their food could be more abundant and varied; their clothes of better quality. But Ivanov's workday is seven hours; he has his vacation every year, with pay. He is not worried about the job—it is his by right. He is not worried about old age—social insurance will provide him a pension when he is too old to work. And if Ivanov had not enough to eat in 1917 or 1921, he has had enough since, while next year or the following year there will be an abundance of food and clothes and other necessities. Bondarev, the peasant, had more hardships than Ivanov in the course of the sixteen years. But that was due mainly to his own stubbornness and lack of knowledge. He was illiterate, worked his small farm as his fathers before him—in the most primitive way. But in the collectivization campaign he was finally persuaded that the collective way is the better way and he decided to try it. Since he joined a collective farm, Bondarev is a different man. He has learned to read and write, he can operate farm machinery, he's given up living with the pigs, he wants a better education for his children than he was able to get. His labor is not at the mercy of the kulak as before, or of weather or other adverse conditions; the collective employs science and machinery and is bound to have a good harvest; Bondarev shares fully in the returns. In addi-
tion the collective has electricity, a school, a hospital, a clubhouse with radio, books and newspapers; Bondarev did not know such things were possible a few years ago.

Like Ivanov, he feels secure in his future, in his old age; and he knows that his children will live a better life in the new socialist society.

**Contrasting Systems**

Thus the lot of Ivanov and Bondarev was a happier lot in the year 1933 than Smith's or Brown's. While there are hardships still, and will be for some time to come, yet the contrast between their conditions, their material and cultural standards, with that of American workers and farmers, will become greater and greater as the years go by: unless, of course, the American workers and farmers should establish a Soviet system in the United States. Under the Soviet system, Lenin said, man can rise to heights that we cannot dream of today.

The contrast in conditions between the two systems, even today, is particularly apparent in the children, in the youth of the Soviet Union. The children are growing up with sturdy bodies and alert minds. And the youth of the Soviet Union are the leaders in the socialist advance. On the farms, in factories and offices, in schools and colleges, young men and women form the shock brigades, lead in socialist competition, perform the hardest and most daring tasks. They furnish initiative, excel in inventions, raise production plans. And they enjoy living—they go in whole-heartedly for sports, music, dramatics. They write and paint. Tens of thousands are worker correspondents, a novel form of journalism developed in the Soviet Union. They expose abuses, criticize shortcomings, bureaucratic methods, wrongdoings of officials. They are at the head of the defense of the socialist fatherland, as well as the rearguard. They are alive, always ready to do battle for a cause, eager to
learn and to share their knowledge, they are a new kind of human being. For in the U.S.S.R., human nature is changing.

The advance of the young is favored by every agency of the State, by all the institutions of the country, by the new mode of life. The young ones will succeed their elders, and the elders consciously prepare the ground for them, train them, give them all encouragement to become self-reliant, to become the master builders of the new society.

**Dreams Turned to Reality**

Before November 7, 1917, the idea of a Socialist Commonwealth, a world free from exploitation of man by man, was a dream of the exploited masses. Millions of workers all over the world accepted the teachings of Marx and Engels and organized themselves into Socialist Parties in the hope that they might achieve their emancipation at some distant future. The November Revolution transformed this dream and hope into reality. The Russian workers and peasants, under the leadership of the Bolsheviks with Lenin at their head, overthrew the capitalist regime with its system of exploitation and mass murder. They established in its place a Union of Soviet Socialist Republics under proletarian rule, and proceeded to build a socialist society. The classless socialist society in its complete form is not yet achieved. But already the Soviet masses are enjoying advantages unknown to the laboring masses of the rest of the world! Complete equality of race and sex, freedom from boss rule, security against unemployment and want. The Soviet workers are paving the way to a higher civilization throughout the world. The toiling masses of the world, the exploited and oppressed everywhere, see in the Soviet Union a beacon light showing the way to final victory over their oppressors. Defend the Soviet Union!