THE SOVIET UNION—

Your Questions Answered

By MARGARET COWL

The writer has spent a number of years in the Soviet Union and has studied conditions and the economic policies there. She has spent considerable time in different factories in a number of cities in the Soviet Union. She visited and stayed in the workers' rest homes in the Crimea and the Caucasus. She was present at various workers' meetings and conferences and demonstrations. She visited workers' homes, factory clubs, day nurseries, hospitals, workers' stores and dining rooms, palaces of labor, churches, courts, museums, libraries, theatres, movies, prisons, homes for the homeless children, villages, soviets in session, etc.

Upon her return to the United States, in 1932, the writer delivered twenty-five lectures on the Soviet Union in twenty American cities to working class gatherings. The workers at these meetings asked a total of 252 questions about the Soviet Union, twenty-eight of which are answered here.

1. Where Do the Workers in the Soviet Union Get the Capital with Which to Build the New Factories?

In all capitalist countries, when the worker is employed, only a very small part of what he produces by his labor is given back to him in wages. In the U.S.A. the worker gets next to nothing in social insurance. A great part of the worker's product of labor is pocketed by the capitalist-employer who owns the machines and factories. From such accumulated income, derived from the labor of the workers, the capitalist-employer installs new machinery, opens new factories, and increases the amount of profits.

In the Soviet Union, the tools, machinery, factories, etc., belong to the working class who use them. The workers ac-
quired all this through the October 1917 revolution. Under
the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, the Russian workers
smashed the bourgeois state; that is, the workers with the sup-
port of the peasants put an end to the rule of the capitalist-
landlord class; they did away with the capitalist government,
which was the political servant of the capitalist class under
which thrives the exploitation of man by man. On the ruins
of the bourgeois state, the workers set up their own class state
rule—the proletarian dictatorship. This rule of the working
class is expressed in the form of the Soviet Government, which
is made up of workers, soldiers and peasants. Thus the work-
ers dealt a death blow to the capitalist system of exploitation.
Thus they were able to take away from the capitalist and land-
lords, the land, banks, factories with all the machinery, the
railroads, etc., all of which had been created by the labor of
the workers.

Now that the profit-making system has been abolished and
the workers’ state owns the means of production, the distribu-
tion of the labor product is different from that under a cap-
italist system. That part which the worker receives in money
as wages is now greater than it was before the October Revolu-
tion. Another part the worker receives in the form of social
insurance (social wages), such as full wages during illness, old-
age pensi on, vacation with pay, a total of six or eight weeks
rest with full wages before and after childbirth, free sanatoria,
free rest homes, free medical care, new homes at low rentals,
day nurseries, etc. Still another part of the labor product is
used to improve the factories, install better machinery, better
ventilation systems, safeguards around the machinery, to build
new factories, all of which safeguards the health and improves
the working and living conditions of the working masses and
their families.

Thus the worker in the Soviet Union by working for the
whole working class, at the same time improves his own in-
dividual position.

Not through exploitation of any one section of the popula
tion,
not through suppression of weaker nations and peoples, but by the collective labor of all the workers was the necessary capital acquired to build up the colossal works and make the Soviet Union today the only country in the whole world where the standard of living of the working class and of the working peasants is steadily rising.¹

3. After New Machinery Is Produced in the Soviet Union Will There Be Unemployment?

Unemployment has been abolished forever in the land of the Soviets. The application of new modern machinery in the Soviet Union where the workers are building Socialism (under conditions as described in answer to Question 1) means decreasing the daily work-hours, means more and better food, clothing, homes and other necessities for the workers.

Income from Socialist industry is not used as profits for a special class. All income from Socialist industry is used for the welfare of the toiling masses. Therefore, new and increased needs of the workers—food, clothing, shelter, education, recreation, etc., are satisfied. To meet these needs, industry is expanded and more things are produced in a shorter space of time. Thus, while the greatest needs of the population are met, there will be a still further reduction in hours of work. The further application of modern machinery in the Soviet Union will result in the reduction of daily working hours to even below the present 7 and 6 hours. Under such conditions unemployment cannot take place.

It is only under capitalism—under the profit-making system, that the workers are thrown out of the factories when new machines are brought in.

In the last 2 years, 1,500 new factories have been opened in

¹. Note: The figures appearing throughout the text in this pamphlet refer to the list of pamphlets and books at the end of the reading matter under the heading "Recommended Reading." The titles thus listed further develop the questions taken up in the pamphlet at the points noted. All titles listed may be obtained from WORKERS LIBRARY PUBLISHERS, P. O. Box 148, Sta. D (50 East 13th Street), New York City, or from workers' book shops throughout the country.
the Soviet Union. Over 8,000,000 new workers have come into industry from the farms and there is work for all. In fact, there is a shortage of labor. Already over 80 per cent of the factories are working on the 7-hour day schedule. In industries injurious to health, the schedule is 6 hours. In 1933, there will be another increase in wages amounting to 6.7 per cent. In 1932 the Soviet Government spent 3,500,000,000 rubles for workers’ social insurance. The social insurance budget for 1933 is 4,431,000,000 rubles. In 1932 3,000,000 workers moved into new apartment houses. And all this happened during the time modern machinery was being installed and new modern factories were being built.³

Further installation of modern machinery will result in more improvements. According to the second Five-Year Plan, the workers will be receiving from two to three times more of everything by 1937.⁴ By that time there will be no illiterate people in the Soviet Union. Everyone will have the opportunity to acquire at least an elementary knowledge of political science, physics, chemistry, biology, of the technical processes of production, of music and literature. There will be more leisure time for recreation, more and better parks of culture, gymnasiums, clubs, theatres and movies. There will be more palaces of labor, lecture halls, stadiums, increased production of radio apparatus, musical instruments and books.

In the Soviet Union the workers are the masters over the machine. With the help of the machine the workers are building a Socialist society where all parasites are being completely eliminated and everything of the best is created for those who work.

Even in this alone, the abolishing of unemployment, Socialism has already demonstrated its superiority over capitalism as an economic system.⁵

The Soviet Union is the only country in the world where the workers’ life is secured—where the workers are not tortured by the thought of the hopeless tomorrow, as is the case in capitalist countries.⁶
3. What Are the Lowest Wages Paid in the Soviet Union?

The lowest average wage in the Soviet Union is 102 rubles per month. In basic industries the minimum wage varies according to the importance of the craft. This minimum wage is for a fixed amount of production. All workers making above the fixed amount receive additional wages. Additional wages are also received when the workers improve the quality of the product. The additional wages are gotten through the shock brigade system and through socialist competition between the workers for better and more production. The workers’ factory committees decide the minimum to be produced by each worker. All production above the fixed minimum is also controlled by these committees.

The difference in the minimum wage rates is an incentive for the workers in the lower paid categories to become skilled workers and receive the higher minimum wage, at the same time increasing the productivity of labor. The Soviet government encourages this and has opened special free technical schools in the factories for unskilled workers. The unskilled workers spend part of their regular working hours in these factory schools, without any deductions from their wages.

In the Soviet Union wages have increased 40 per cent since 1929. According to the United States Census Bureau, American workers lost $4,395,385,790 in wages from 1929 to 1931 because of unemployment. In the Soviet Union the wages of coal miners were increased 20-36 per cent in 1929; railroad workers’ wages increased by 13 per cent in 1932; wages of workers in basic industries were increased by 16-20 per cent; the salaries of government workers were increased by 21-30 per cent in 1932 alone. The monthly income per worker’s family in the Soviet Union rose by 64 per cent from 1929 to the end of 1931.

4. Do Prices Go Up When Wages Are Raised in the Soviet Union?

Temporary shortages of capital which is necessary for industry sometimes force the Soviet government to raise prices as was
the case in 1931. But this rise in prices was lower than the rise in wages for that year.

The prices in the closed stores patronized exclusively by the workers are much lower than in the open stores. In 1932 the price for a luncheon in the workers' dining halls was 30-45 kopeks. In the open restaurants, not patronized by the workers, the same luncheon cost 2 rubles and more. The workers pay about 8-9 per cent of their wages for rent. Prices for clothing are lower for workers. The trade unions supply the best theatre tickets to workers at 30-60 per cent of regular price.9

The market in the Soviet Union serves the interests of Socialist construction. In other words, it serves to raise the standard of living of workers and working peasants and not the interests of profiteers as is the case in capitalist countries.

5. Why Is the Piece-Work System Applied in the Soviet Union?

One of the chief difficulties in the Soviet Union is that the productivity of labor does not correspond to the newly developed and modernized industry. The low productivity of labor is an inheritance from capitalist Russia, which the working class has not yet overcome. Not only must the workers be re-trained to adapt themselves to the modern processes in industry, but millions of new workers from the villages who have never before had factory experience must be educated as trained workers.

Under the piece-work system the workers are raising the productivity of labor, without which they cannot improve production generally and thereby better their standard. Through the piece-work system the workers also increase their wages over the minimum wage.

In the Kolomensk factory, a worker in the molding shop who had been receiving 328 rubles and 29 kopeks for 175 hours of work, increased this to 802 rubles and 57 kopeks for the same number of hours under the progressive piece-work system. In the same factory in another department, a worker who received
91 rubles and 31 kopeks for 84 hours of work, increased this to 288 rubles and 50 kopeks for the same number of hours.

In capitalist countries, the employer reduces the price per piece as soon as the worker begins to increase his wages. The piece-work system in capitalist countries is used to intensify the exploitation of the workers and decrease their wages. It serves capitalist accumulation.

In the Soviet Union the workers are protected by the labor laws, the 6-7 hour work day and the broad social insurance legislation. In the Soviet Union the piece-work system not only helps to increase the money wages of the individual worker, but the necessary surplus that it helps to increase is used for the accumulation within the industry and is utilized for the further development of Socialist construction, for the welfare of the entire working population.

6. What Are the Shock Brigades?

Through the successful operation of the first Five-Year Plan, the Soviet workers acquired not only new machinery, but also a new type of man—the shock brigader.¹⁰

The marvelous work of the Shock Brigades refutes the charge made by the enemies of the working class that Socialism will lower the incentive of the people to work. The boss class sees incentive only in the getting of profits, and considers exploitation of the workers as the only form of productivity of labor. In the Soviet Union exploitation has been done away with and productivity of labor not only does not diminish, but is increasing. The work of the Shock Brigades has proved that Socialism has raised the stimulus to work; but this is based on the consciousness of the working class, on the knowledge that the workers are not working for capitalism, so that a few may idle in riches while the multitude languishes in dire want. This stimulus to work is based on the workers knowing that they are working for themselves, for their own government.¹¹
The Shock Brigade work is a form of the class struggle. The Shock Brigader is the foremost fighter on this front. He is a living example of Socialist labor discipline.

The survivals of the old capitalist order in the Soviet Union still linger in the minds of especially those who have come from other classes into the factories; among the newcomers in the factories from the villages are those who still have habits of separatism; who are not yet adapted to a collective working together; who do not yet see the interests of the workers as a whole, as a class; who tend in the direction of bettering only their own individualistic life. All of this is derived from the private property ownership ideology. Many of these workers do not yet know the rules of Socialist labor discipline. There are inclinations towards idleness, absences from work without serious reasons and drunkenness. In the fire of the Shock Brigade movement these capitalist survivals are destroyed.\textsuperscript{12} Class conscious builders of the Socialist society are molded from these former non-disciplined toilers. The Shock Brigade system proves that the revolution not only destroys the old, but also builds the new. It proves that the working class can run industry without the capitalists.\textsuperscript{13}

Shock Brigade work is a new form of mass participation in industry. It was started by the workers themselves in their fight for the realization of their own slogan—The Five-Year Plan in Four Years. There are different kinds of Shock Brigades. The highest type are the “Economic Accountancy Brigades.”\textsuperscript{14} Their chief task is to check up on the execution of separate production schedules of the industrial and financial plan, as regards quantity and quality of output and reduction of production costs. The “Shift Counter-Plan Brigades” are those which draw up the unofficial plans of the workers in the form of precise tasks to be achieved by each worker in a single day or shift. There are also the Shock Brigades which in the factories, mines and railroads have taken the lead in the over-fulfillment of the given plan in the respective enterprise.\textsuperscript{15}
Twenty-five thousand Shock Brigades from among the most advanced workers helped to carry on organizational work on the collective farms at the height of the collectivization of the farms. Additional thousands of brigades give systematic assistance to the farms in the repairing of farm machinery and in the whole of the economic and political life of the peasants.

In the beginning of 1932 there were over 4,000,000 Shock Brigades. It is a historical movement, which has revealed the great creative initiative and energy of the working class in the building of Socialism.

7. Is It Necessary for Workers in the Soviet Union to Go Through Court Proceedings to Get Their Social Insurance?

The payment of benefits is made in the factory. There are 3,500 social insurance offices in the factories. Pensions are remitted to the workers in their homes through the post office. Court proceedings are not necessary. The basic units of the social insurance institutions are in the factories. These units are under the direction of the Trade Union Factory Committee. They report on their work to workers’ meetings and to the trade union which controls all social insurance. There are 50,000 social insurance delegates under direct leadership of the trade unions. Previously social insurance was controlled by the Soviet government. Now the trade unions have full and sole control of all social insurance.

8. What Is the Basic Unit of the Trade Union in the Soviet Union?

Out of a total number of 21,000,000 workers, about 17,000,000 are in the trade unions. The remaining number are newcomers from the villages. Educational work is being carried on among these, so that they will be convinced of the importance of joining the trade union.

The basic organization of the trade union is in the factory. It is called the Trade Group. Next is the Departmental Com-
mittee and the Factory Committee. There are 123,600 Factory Committees and 513,000 Trade Groups. The Trade Groups hold special production conferences of all workers in the respective trade in the factory. Such conferences unite the workers of a given trade in the factory from the point of view of improving production and of serving their own social, cultural and economic needs. The work of the Trade Group makes it possible for the higher trade union organizations to keep close contact with the wide working masses and become acquainted with the positive and negative sides of the work of the trade union and to immediately discover and remedy the causes for discontent among the workers.\textsuperscript{11}

9. How Are the Factory Committees Elected in the Soviet Union?

This is best demonstrated by giving concrete illustrations from a campaign for the re-election of factory committees.

In the first phase of the re-election campaign, all the workers of a given factory elected a “Self-Control Brigade.” This brigade closely examined all the work of the Factory Committee since its coming into office. After the report of the Factory Committee was made to the factory meeting of all workers, the brigade made its independent report, bringing out the defects as well as the positive sides of the work of the Factory Committee. This check-up on the work of the Factory Committee assures the re-election of a Factory Committee with a composition which will give close attention to the welfare of the workers. In Leningrad alone, 120,600 persons were drawn into the “Self-Control Brigades.”

The attendance at the 1931 re-election meetings was an average of 90 per cent. The composition of the re-elected committees in 684 enterprises was: 68.7 per cent newly elected members; 21.1 per cent were women; 41.1 per cent were Communist Party and Young Communist League members. Recruiting of members for the trade unions and Communist Party is carried on during the re-elections.
During this re-election campaign, the workers in Moscow alone made 94,216 proposals for improving the working processes in industry. In Leningrad, 49 new day nurseries, 27 medical aid stations, 159 new workers’ dining rooms, 132 new booths for the sale of products, 45 new co-operative stores and 119 pig-breeding farms were opened up.

The instructions contained in the mandate by the workers to the newly elected committees included: helping the workers to learn the technical processes in industry\(^{18}\); liquidation of personal irresponsibility in production; promotion of workers’ inventions\(^{19}\); instructions regarding Shock Brigade work; questions regarding the social and economic conditions of the workers.

Between re-elections, the workers assist the Factory Committees in carrying out the workers’ proposals. To help the newly elected members, a network of the most elementary courses are organized on the functions of a member of the Factory Committee. These courses are given in the factory club. The members of the Factory Committees found wanting are re-called by the workers. This is the trade union democracy, which makes it possible to draw the wide masses of the workers into the cause for the building of Socialism.

10. Is There Forced Labor in the Soviet Union?

There is no forced labor in the Soviet Union. The right of the kulak (the rich peasant who used to live by the labor of others), to utilize the labor of other peasants and workers for his own selfish ends has been taken away. He must live by his own labor. The press in capitalist countries calls this “forced labor.” The principle of “He who does not work does not eat” is strictly enforced by the working masses in the Soviet Union. A fight is carried on against all parasites. No one is permitted to enslave or exploit another’s labor. Leaders of the Socialist Parties call this “forced labor.” In the Soviet Union there are no chain gangs as in the South of the U.S.A. where prisoners are tortured to death.\(^{20}\)

In the Soviet Union there still are workers (comparatively few in number) who have come under the influence of enemies
of the Soviet Union or who have been thieves before the October Revolution, because of the horrible conditions under which they then lived. These have repeatedly committed social offenses, and are kept in prison, where they work eight hours daily and have their reading rooms.

The Soviet government does not punish such workers as down-right criminals. Attempts are made to restore them as useful members of society. Special communes are organized, made up of such former workers. Here they manage the factories they work in and administer the work and life in the commune themselves. They are paid regular wages and work seven hours daily. They live in dormitories or, if married, with their families in separate cottages. Here there is no prison regime. The discipline which exists, they collectively impose upon themselves. At the end of four years, if the prisoner has conducted himself properly, (this is judged by the commune collectively, in a meeting), his wages which have accumulated in the four years are given to him minus the expense for his up-keep, his right to citizenship is restored, and he may leave the commune if he wishes to. This is irrespective of the length of his last prison sentence. He is accepted into the trade union, given a job in a factory. Anyone who would dare to cast up to him his past life is liable to be tried by a workers’ court.

Bourgeois papers in capitalist countries call these communes forced labor communes. To any worker it is clear that only in the Soviet Union are workers, who have succumbed under formerly existing capitalist conditions, restored as useful social beings to the ranks of the working class.


In 1928-29 there was an increase of 23.3 per each 1,000 population. 3,500,000 children are born each year. The percentage of infant mortality is continually on the downgrade. In 1912-13 infant mortality in Russia was over 25-27 per cent. By 1932 the Soviet government succeeded in decreasing this to
about 10 per cent. This is an amazing achievement when one considers that only in 1917 the vast majority of the workers lived in barrack-like dwellings with complete absence of hygienic and sanitary conditions. In 1917 only 162 cities had a water supply and only 18 cities had a sewer system. Quack doctors were numerous. During confinement the majority of the women were either unattended or had a quack doctor called in. In the eastern part of Russia witchcraft was resorted to during confinement.

The Soviet government by its labor legislation protects the maternity rights of women. There is a vast system of social insurance, cultural institutions, a network of institutions for the protection of motherhood and infants and a broad system of sanitary instruction. Day nurseries, consultation stations and children's playgrounds have been developed on a wide scale. Milk stations and free feeding of school children is very extensive. In 1932 alone, over 5,000,000 workers and their families and 3,800,000 other toilers were served by communal kitchens. The social insurance organs alone spent 250,700,000 rubles in 1932 for the work of the above mentioned institutions. The trade unions spent 14,000,000 rubles for nurseries in 1932. The Soviet government spent (in 1932) 532,000,000 rubles for workers' pensions; 35,000,000 rubles for dieting treatments; 203,000,000 rubles for workers' sanatoria.

In 1913 there were 1.5 doctors for every 10,000 population. In 1930 there were 4.23 doctors in the service of the Soviet government for every 10,000 population. These doctors serve the workers free of charge. The Soviet government spent 920,000,000 rubles for workers' and peasants' medical treatment in 1932.

In 1932 over 3,000,000 workers were sent to rest homes and additional numbers to the sanatoria. The supply of raw milk increased by 92 per cent in 1932 over 1931; of pasteurized milk by 136 per cent. Output of clothing increased by 53 per cent in 1931 compared with 1930.
12. How Is Labor Protected in the Soviet Union?

Labor protection in the Soviet Union is under the control of the trade unions. An institute of inspectors, who are elected in the factories by the workers, has been organized. In 1932 there were 49,000 such inspectors. They not only inspect labor conditions, but carry on mass cultural work, encouraging development of workers' inventions in the sphere of improvement of the working conditions. In addition, there are inspectors appointed by the trade unions. Their main task is to control the fulfillment of the labor legislation. Also there are the sanitary inspectors who supervise and control the sanitary condition of the factory and, under the guidance of a special network of scientific research institutions of labor protection, they introduce latest achievements for improving the sanitary conditions of labor in the factories.\textsuperscript{22}

The Soviet government spent 169,000,000 rubles in 1932 for the protection of labor. This included the installation of various safety devices in the coal mines.

The Workers' and Peasants' Inspection (in which hundreds of thousands of workers and peasants give voluntary service) checks up on the work of the labor inspectors.\textsuperscript{23}

13. Why Is There a Housing Shortage in the Soviet Union?

Before 1917, the workers lived herded up to 50 in a room. They paid three rubles a month for a space big enough only for a small cot—no privacy, no sanitary or hygienic conditions. Some lived with their families in one room, in old delapidated wooden houses held together with wooden pegs. Others slept on the bare floors of the factories.

After the October Revolution, it was necessary to do away with this shameful housing condition. But first it was necessary to re-build old factory buildings, to replace much of the machinery which the interventionists had smashed, to re-build the railroads, which the interventionists had wrecked. Without
this, new homes on a large scale could not be built. The necessity of accomplishing this task, together with the fact that the population in the bigger cities increased very rapidly, created great difficulties regarding the question of housing in the Soviet Union. In 1928 the population in Moscow was less than two million. In 1932 it was over three million.

In spite of all these difficulties, in 1931 and 1932 alone, six million workers moved into new homes. But the rapid building of new houses is yet insufficient to suit the needs of the masses. That is why there still is a shortage of new homes, and there are families who temporarily must live in one room. The workers know that these conditions are only temporary, that new houses are being built, and planned for them and that it is only a matter of a short time before they will move into their new modern homes.

The new workers' homes are built on new spacious boulevards with stretches of evergreens. Modern appliances are installed to make housekeeping easier. Also day nurseries, kindergartens, stores, clubs, laundries, first aid, etc., are established in these new houses.

In 1925 the Soviet government spent 63,000,000 rubles for new houses. In 1930, 300,000,000 rubles; 1931, 575,000,000 rubles; 1932, 1,325,000,000 rubles.24

Soviet workers know that all the clamor about “horrible housing conditions” in the Soviet Union by the bourgeois press in capitalist countries is only to create a smoke-screen to cover up the “Hoovervilles” and “Rooseveltburgs,” and the turning out into the streets of hundreds of thousands of workers' families who cannot afford to pay rent.

14. Do Many Workers’ Children Receive a Higher Education?

All children up to the age of 18 are obliged by law to attend school. At the age of 14 in addition to the regular schooling, the child begins to learn a trade. Several hours a week the child does practical work in a factory trade school, and later a
part of these hours are spent at work in the factory together with the workers. The child is paid wages for these few hours of work. This enables the child to grow up into a class-conscious worker and makes him feel independent in his material life.

In the higher institutions of learning, workers’ and working peasants’ children come first. Children of parents of other classes must have worked in a factory at least two years to enter these institutions.

In 1932 the total number of children in elementary schools was about 21,000,000. Before the October Revolution, only 7,000,000 children were in elementary schools. In the universities and technical high schools, there were over 1,250,000 students in the beginning of 1932. Of the university students, 30 per cent were women.

There are also the Workers’ Faculties in the factories. These are attended by factory workers only. Students of the Workers’ Faculties work part-time in the factory, but receive full wages. They are chosen by the workers in their factory to attend the Workers’ Faculty.

Not only is education free, but students in the higher educational institutions receive a monthly allowance and free dormitory.

While in capitalist countries, students are graduating from college into the breadlines, in the Soviet Union the Five-Year Plan provides work for all graduates.

While in the Soviet Union the amount expended for educational purposes increased by 130 per cent since 1929, in capitalist countries even education is not immune from attack by the present economic crisis.

In the findings of the national survey of school finance which was begun in 1931, upon authority of the U.S. Congress, it was pointed out that in the United States there are areas “where schools are distinctly inferior and other areas where schools are ceasing to exist.” Prof. Paul R. Mort, director of the school of education, Teachers’ College, Columbia University, said the
“present break-down of traditional methods of financing public schools is depriving approximately 9,500,000 American children of essential schooling and threatening the welfare of millions of others.” The National Child Labor Committee in the U.S. reported that more than 3,000,000 American children, 7 to 17 years of age, are out of school. Of these, 2,000,000 are in the factories. And this in spite of the fact that there are 16,000,000 adults out of work.

As in all other spheres of life in the Soviet Union, education is on the upgrade. It is the only country in the world whose educational system has not been affected by the world economic crisis. That is because its educational system is built on the basis of a Socialist economy.

15. Is There Freedom of the Press in the Soviet Union?

Before the October Revolution, there were 803 daily newspapers with a total circulation of 2,700,000 in Russia. Now there are 4,000 daily newspapers. Their total daily circulation is about 40,000,000.

Pravda (Truth) is the official organ of the All-Union Communist Party and has a daily circulation of over 1,500,000. Izvestia (The News), official organ of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet government, has a daily circulation of 1,100,000. Krestyanskaya Gazetta (Peasants’ Paper), is published three times a week, prints 15 regional editions and has a total circulation of 2,500,000 per issue. It has over 15,000 village news correspondents throughout the entire country. Trud (Labor) is the official organ of the trade unions, published daily and read by millions of workers. Krasnaya Zvezda (Red Star), is the Red Army daily and read not only by the red armyites, but also by the workers in the cities and villages. 500,000 worker news correspondents throughout the entire country write local news for these newspapers.

In addition to the dailies, there are thousands of different magazines published. Many of these are devoted also to arts and sciences besides economic and political problems. In ad-
dition, there is a variety of wall newspapers published in the factories, offices, educational institutions, apartment houses, on the farms, in the villages, etc. The annual circulation of these amounts to millions of copies. There are 500 daily newspapers printed in 70 languages by the national minorities in the U.S.S.R. Besides, there are books and pamphlets of all kinds, reaching into millions of copies, printed by the various institutions which include hundreds of thousands of copies of fiction. Certain large factories have their own book printing plants. Many books written by revolutionary writers in capitalist countries, whose works have been barred, have been published in the Soviet Union.

Besides giving wide information as to what is happening in capitalist countries, these publications and periodicals report to the workers the achievements and the shortcomings of the different factories, institutions and the work of the Soviet government. In all of these publications one will find free criticism by the workers of the shortcomings in the different institutions, enterprises, government bodies, etc., and also their suggestions for overcoming these shortcomings and making improvements in all fields of life. The magazines on satire, such as the Crocodile, carry cartoons, satirical poems, attacks on bureaucracy in all institutions and enterprises. Many of the newspapers hold readers’ conferences periodically, in order to get the opinions of the workers as to the policy of the paper and to help it carry through the various campaigns. From such conferences many workers are picked and sent to special schools and promoted to the editorial staff of these papers.

Thus in the Soviet Union there exists a press that is not the instrument of a handful of wealthy people. Freedom of the press in a capitalist country means that the mightiest instrument for molding public opinion is dominated by capital. The press is owned and used by the capitalists to poison the minds of and confuse the workers as to their own interests. Working class news is suppressed and distorted. This is the “freedom of the press” which the workers in the Soviet Union have destroyed.
They have built up a real freedom of the press for the million-masses of the working population. The Soviet workers are proud that they have been the first to free the press from capitalist domination and devote it exclusively to the struggle against the enemies of the working class.

16. Have Foreign-Born Workers the Same Rights as Soviet Workers in the Soviet Union?

The disfranchised in the Soviet Union are former employers of labor, landlords, bankers, military officers in the czar’s army, the former police, and those sentenced to long prison terms and for counter-revolutionary activities.

Foreign-born workers enjoy the same rights as Soviet workers. They, together with all workers in their factory, participate in the elections to the soviets. Their wives, who do not work, vote in the neighborhood of residence. Foreign-born workers become citizens if they wish to, immediately after they secure employment.  

All national minorities in the Soviet Union receive very tangible assistance from the Soviet government in the development of their cultural, economic and social life. Their press, schools and all other institutions are conducted in their own language. There is no segregation in the Soviet Union. Color or creed is no obstacle for participation in any field of activity. There are no barriers to inter-racial marriages. The greatest struggle is conducted against any manifestation of white chauvinism or anti-Semitism.

17. Are There Churches in the Soviet Union?

There are churches in the Soviet Union, but the workers’ state does not subsidize them.

In the Russia of the czars, the church was closely connected with the police and acted as a spy agency against all progressive and revolutionary movements. The distribution of official posts and revenue was shared in by the higher clergy. The church was financed by the State. The schools were ideologically dominated
by the church. Religion was the great spiritual oppressor of the vast masses. Religious deception of the working population was practiced on a large scale. There was no freedom in religious matters. In official documents everyone was obliged to attach some religion to his name. Religion preached the most reactionary ideas, as, for instance, defense of feudalist exploitation by the landlords and by all other exploiters.

Under the Soviet government, economic slavery, the real source of spiritual oppression and religious deception, has been abolished. All ties of the church to the state have been severed. Complete freedom in regard to the individual’s religion has been established. There is no discrimination whatever in the rights of citizens on religious grounds.

The Soviet government carries on educational activities exposing the fallacies of religious teachings. The ikons which were used before the October Revolution to extract the earnings of the workers (these were operated from behind by a mechanical device which made the saint in the picture shed tears), were taken out of the churches and placed in museums, where the workers may examine them.

The church building is not converted into an educational institution unless 80 per cent of the citizens living in the neighborhood of the given church vote in favor of such a proposition. However, on the initiative of the workers, many church buildings have been converted into day nurseries, workers’ clubs, libraries, etc.

Economic necessity, fear of losing the support of the already small congregation, keeps many of the clergy from openly attacking the Soviet government in the churches. But secret organizations of the clergy in common with the kulaks were unearthed by the workers’ state and the leaders were tried by a workers’ court. These organizations had connections with the enemies of the Soviet government abroad. Their purpose was to try in every way to undermine the influence of the Soviet government among the working peasants and workers, by sabotage and wrecking of the agricultural and industrial life of the Soviet
Union. They even resorted to the murder of workers sent into the villages to assist the peasants. They set fire to the dwellings of those peasants who were active in support of the Soviet government.

Developments in the Soviet Union have proved that there is unity between the class interests and class organizations of the bourgeoisie and the religious bodies and institutions organized for religious purposes. The domination of the bourgeoisie has been done away with in the Soviet Union. The working population has been freed economically. The church is made to stand on its own feet with no revenue from the State or large contributions from wealthy classes. The result is that countless numbers of working people have left the churches. Many churches had to close down because there was no congregation. Church buildings were converted into social and educational institutions. This process was aided by the establishment of a wide network of scientific and educational institutions showing up the religious deception of the masses, that “religion is the opium of the people” (Marx).

The bourgeois press tries to fan religious antagonism in the capitalist countries against the Soviet Union, in order to divert the attention of the masses away from the great achievements of the working class in the Soviet Union. By these tactics they hope to divert the attention of the working population away from fundamental political and economic questions which the wonderful achievements of the Soviet Union have pushed forward into the limelight and which become all the more glaring under the conditions of the present world economic crisis.27

18. Is It True that Women in the Soviet Union Are Forced to Work in the Factories?

In capitalist countries, it is taken for granted that the labor of women has less value than men’s labor. For the same kind of work as that of the man, the woman receives lower wages.
Upon this economic slavery is built the slavery of woman in general—inequality in marriage, inequality in life in general.

In czarist Russia, this same principle of the slavery of women prevailed. The severe economic conditions under which woman was forced to exist made her grow old before her time. She was a mere slave, a means of enjoyment for men. In the east of capitalist Russia, the whole country was veiled in darkness and slavery. Here woman was compelled to cover her face with a veil. She was considered the property of the man. In the villages, the peasant woman was compelled to work from morn till night. She had to bring her babes into the fields with her, into the scorching sun, as there was no one to care for them while she worked. She was the slave of the man.

In the Soviet Union, it is the women who are among the most ardent supporters of the workers’ state. They are listed among the heroes of labor—the Shock Brigaders—whose statues adorn the new boulevard leading into the Workers’ Park of Culture and rest in Moscow. One meets them in the workers’ demonstrations, loudly proclaiming their new freedom in spirited songs about their emancipation. Millions of women have enrolled in the “Asoviakhim,” the Society for Aerial and Chemical Defense—where they are learning to defend the hinterland of the workers’ country in case of an attack by the imperialists. Masses of women are members of the Workers’ Red Cross where they learn the principles of first aid. They are to be found as directors of large factories; in the ranks of high Red Army commanders; they hold high government posts; they are engineers, professors, judges, etc. They are to be found in all occupations, the same as the men, excepting such occupations and trades which would injure their health or impair their functions of motherhood. Women hold high posts in all organizations—including the trade unions and the Communist Party.

Only a workers’ state was able to abolish the capitalist law of economic inequality of women. In the Soviet Union women receive the same wages as men for the same kind of work.
There is no competition between the sexes. The workers’ state has therefore abolished the very cause of the general enslavement of women. The relationship between the sexes has fundamentally changed.

In the Soviet Union marriage is not a penalty to woman. Her family life is not destroyed as is the case in capitalist countries, especially with the present wide-spread unemployment which causes the breaking up of many workers’ families. She has no fear of losing her job when she marries. Neither is the birth of a child a burden to the working mother. She is protected by the social insurance laws such as do not exist in any capitalist country. She gets eight weeks leave of absence with full pay in case of birth of a child! Free maternity services; free milk and clothes for the baby for nine months.

In the Soviet east, the new factories which employ thousands of women have brought them emancipation from the age-long suppression. Under Soviet government protection, masses of women hold demonstrations where they tear the veils from their faces and trample them under their feet as a sign of their newly gained freedom.\textsuperscript{28}

The tractor, the complicated agrarian machine, means also the emancipation of the peasant women. In the collective farms the woman works on equal terms with the man. Nurseries and kindergartens have been established for her child. The ignorant peasant woman, slave under the czarist regime, has become the free literate comrade of her equally emancipated peasant husband under workers’ rule. About 20 per cent of the chairmen of village soviets are women. It is no wonder, then, that one can see peasant women in spirited demonstrations, placing garlands of flowers on the new tractors sent to the collective farmers by the workers from the factories\textsuperscript{29}.

It is only in capitalist countries that women are forced by economic necessity into the factories where their cheap labor is used to cut the wages of the whole working class. In the Soviet Union woman is entering industry because through the factory she has the opportunity, besides improving her material
conditions, to engage in all fields of social and political life and raise herself to a social level on a par with man.

The Working Women's Delegate Meetings, organized in the factories by the All-Union Communist Party, help the women to liquidate their backwardness which was caused by historical conditions of exploitation prior to the October Revolution.

All the above shows that under a Socialist economy, the fable about women being by nature intellectually inferior to men has been blasted. In the Soviet Union women are assisted to hold even the highest position in all organizations, in the Soviet government, etc.

Equality in work, equality in the process of production, result in equality in life in general for the women under workers' rule.¹⁶

19. Is It True that Women Are Forced to Place Their Children in Soviet State Institutions?

This is a calumny of the bourgeois press against the Soviet Union. The working women take their children home each day from the day nurseries, which are generally in the vicinity of the factories they work in. The child is with the mother on rest days (every fifth day). In the evening, if she wishes to go to the movies, theatre or a meeting, she leaves her children under expert care in the children's room in the factory club. The workers' parks of culture and rest have a children's city where the parents may leave their children. In railroad stations there are special children's rooms, where the children are fed and put to rest in between train time. While the children are cared for by the nurses, the mothers are instructed as to proper feeding and care of children. Plans have been made to equip the new trains (every fourth compartment) with special milk heating facilities and a hammock for the baby.

In the villages alone, in 1932, 15 million children were cared for in pre-school institutions.

The mothers together with the doctors, nurses and other workers in these children's institutions, hold periodical meet-
ings to discuss further improvements. These institutions are financed by the Soviet government and the trade unions.

It is unnecessary to say much to convince any working woman that Soviet women are joyously taking advantage of these opportunities created for them by the Soviet government, which cannot be equaled by any other country.

20. Are There Divorces in the Soviet Union?
What Is the Cost?

In the Soviet Union the relation between the sexes is incomparably better and more wholesome than in capitalist countries. The Communist Youth movement is the school from which boys and girls emerge with genuine comradely relations to each other. It is necessary, however, to carry on an energetic struggle against the remnants of the capitalist morality inherited from czarist Russia, against the so-called "double standard," which considers woman to be a slave, a means of enjoyment for men. These ideas are not yet completely uprooted, particularly in the villages. But this is an exception in the Soviet Union, while in the capitalist countries it is the rule.

In the Soviet Union, woman has been freed economically. She does not depend on the husband for the pay envelope. She may earn her own living. She has a place in which to leave her children under expert care during working hours and in case she wishes to engage more widely in social life. The Soviet government decreed that not less than 30 per cent of the students in the factory trade schools must be women. This gives women a chance to improve their skill and increase their earnings. The Communist Party is her best friend, which assists her to liquidate her backwardness. Therefore the only condition upon which she enters into the marital relationship is genuine companionship and equal responsibility in family life. If this has disappeared, she may obtain a divorce without cost through the municipal government and without any red tape. The condition is equal responsibility for the care of the children up to 18 years of age.30
21. Is the Further Building of Socialism Assured in the Soviet Union?

Before the October Revolution, the capitalist-landlord government protected the exploiters who took the last morsel from the peasants, by way of enormous rentals, high interest, etc. The peasant and his family was compelled to work the lands of the landlords in payment for life-long debts. By means of this cheap labor of the vast mass of the peasants, (60 per cent were poor peasants), through this ferocious exploitation and plunder of the mass of the peasantry, the capitalist-landlord class made huge profits in Russia—the "granary of Europe."

The Soviet government abolished this plunder of the peasants. Debts were decreed out of existence. The poor peasants were exempted from taxation. For the first time the peasant was able to properly feed his family. The prerequisites for abolishing poverty in the village were created.31

The domination of the rich landlords was abolished, but the backward economic condition on the land permitted the kulak still to possess many economic privileges. Even up to 1928, the kulak was the one who furnished 40 per cent of the market grain in the entire country. It was still necessary to permit the kulak to hire workers for the working of the land.

The mass of the peasantry were not yet able to satisfy the increased demand of the market. The old capitalist way of working the land still remained. Divided up into 26,000,000 small peasant holdings, each peasant working his land individually, many with wooden plows, the mass of peasants were not yet able to supply, to the extent necessary, the raw materials required by industry and food for the workers in the factories.

The social insurance against unemployment for factory workers attracted many peasants to the cities to seek work in the factories. But up until 1929 the factories were not able to absorb all these peasants. Many peasants hired out to the kulaks as land workers.

In addition to profits, the kulaks began to demand political rights, otherwise they threatened to refuse to sell grain to the
Soviet government. They insisted that the law which took away the franchise of all who lived not by their own labor, be abolished. They tried to control the village Soviets. As profiteers, they wanted a free market, without control or restriction by the Soviet government. The kulaks buried great amounts of grain. They started a political campaign among the peasants in order to undermine the influence of the Soviet government. They were supported by the clergy, by some intellectuals and some engineers who came from non-working classes and who had found their way into important economic institutions of the Soviet government on the pretext that they were conscientious helpers. These latter carried on sabotage work in different industries. Such were the Shakty case in the Donetz Basin, where undermining activities were carried on in the coal industry, and the Professor Ramsin case, where sabotage work was done in the economic planning organs of the Soviet government. The latter aimed at wrecking many basic industries (especially preparing for such work in case of a war against the Soviet Union), and even penetrated into educational institutions where new cadres of engineers from the ranks of the workers were being prepared.

These wreckers received money from abroad to carry on their counter-revolutionary work. Not only to provoke military intervention against the Soviet Union, but to disrupt the coal, oil, etc., industries, to arouse the peasants against the Soviet government, to support the last bulwark of capitalism inside the Soviet Union, the kulak, to boycott the supplying of grain—all this served the interests of one purpose—to overthrow the Soviet government and to re-establish the capitalist system. The money for counter-revolutionary work was mainly collected by former czarist generals, Russian high clergy, former Russian aristocracy, bankers, etc., who live in capitalist countries. The native capitalists in these countries contributed towards this counter-revolutionary work. In the trials of the wreckers in the Soviet Union, much evidence was brought out (by the wreckers themselves), indicating the network of counter-revolutionary organizations existing in capitalist countries, led by former Rus-
sian nobility and capitalists and supported by militarists of those countries.

Thanks to the alertness of the Communist Party in the Soviet Union, all this work of counter-revolution was brought to the open before effective damage had been done.

From the above it is seen that it does not follow that all the evils resulting from a capitalist profit-making system are swept away on the morrow after the proletarian revolution, after the workers have taken power. In the Soviet Union, the heritage of the capitalist system was a crippled industry. There were no enterprises that produced basic machinery or essential parts of machinery. No tractors were produced. Before the October Revolution, all this most essential machinery for production was imported from other capitalist countries on credit at high interest. Thus the Russian workers and peasants were doubly exploited—by the Russian capitalists and landlords and by foreign capitalists.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union pointed out to the workers that the way out of this situation is not the capitalist way, the way of exploitation of the peasants, but, with the co-operation of the peasant masses, the building of Socialism. The Communist Party proposed to the workers that to defeat the enemy, it was essential to build up the basic industries, to extend the electrification of the country, to supply the peasants with tractors, and thus to increase the productivity of the mass of peasants through collective working of the land. This would make the mass of peasants and the Soviet State farms the source of supply of grain to the market. In this way they would take away the economic basis of the kulak and liquidate the kulaks as a class and thereby do away with the last support, inside the Soviet Union, of counter-revolution. In that way not only the present standard of the workers and working peasants would be improved, but the remnants of capitalism would be uprooted and the necessary foundation for the building of Socialism would be laid.

The response of the masses was tremendous. The Soviet government submitted the project of the first Five-Year Plan for
discussion and approval by the workers in the factories. The bourgeois press and the leaders of the Socialist parties in capitalist countries sneered at the Five-Year Plan. They said that workers cannot manage industry, no less a national economy. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union met this by telling the workers that success depends on the energy, the will and determination of the working masses to put the Plan through. In their discussion meetings, the workers spoke about what Lenin had told them, namely, that the leaders of the Socialist parties have no faith in the working class. The workers believe with Karl Marx who wrote that there is no limit to the creative powers of the working class, once it is released from capitalist bondage. The answer of the workers to the jeering was: "The Five-Year Plan in Four Years".33

The discussion of the Five-Year Plan included also a discussion of the ways and means of commencing its application. The workers in their meetings agreed that certain products should be exported in order to meet the expense of the necessary imported machinery. They knew that this meant a temporary sacrifice on their part. It meant that there would be less of certain foods, etc., for the working masses. In this they secured the cooperation of the peasants who forced the kulaks to sell the hidden grain to the Soviet government. The Communist Party and the trade unions sent able forces of workers into the villages to help the peasants.34

In 1929, the "Year of the Great Change," which marked the mass entrance of the peasants into collective farming, the class struggle increased in the villages. The kulaks carried on an increased activity, trying to keep the peasants from joining the collectives because this meant losing the opportunity to profiteer from the labor of others; it meant their doom as a class.35 The lands and implements were taken from them and turned over to the collectives.

The tractor was introduced on the Soviet State farm. The individual farms of near-by peasants were also worked with the
tractor to show the peasant the difference in the result. The peasants saw how the tractor replaced hand labor and resulted in an enormous increase of the product; the busy seasons in farming were shortened; peasants were freed from extra work; electricity penetrated into the villages. Artificial irrigation, which was possible only under the collective system of farming, was introduced. It abolished the age-long worries of the peasants concerning rain. All of this aroused the interest of the peasants for collective farming. They were convinced that it means a better material life and there was mass entry into the collectives.\textsuperscript{35}

The year 1932, the fourth and final year of the Five-Year Plan, found over 200,000 collective farms and 5,000 state and co-operative farms in existence. In four years, the sowing area was extended by 21,000,000 hectares. The collective and Soviet state farms produced 80 per cent of the total marketable grain in 1932. Production of various cultures for manufacturing purposes has also been greatly extended. The base for raw material for industry and grain for bread—the staple food in the Soviet Union—has been established. The Soviet Union now occupies second place in the world in the production of machinery, which includes agricultural machinery.\textsuperscript{37}

The main political task of the proletarian revolution in the village has been solved—collective farming has triumphed. The internal enemy has been defeated. The basis for further building of Socialism has been laid. The further success of Socialism has been assured. This splendid victory of the working class was secured not only in the fight against the class enemy, but also in a sharp struggle, under the leadership of the Communist Party, against Trotskyism, which would not accept the policy of the Communist Party that the mass of the working peasants were the allies of the working class, as pointed out by Lenin. Such a policy would have led to a defeat of the workers’ rule and not to the successful building of Socialism as is the case in the Soviet Union today.
22. Which Is the Greater Danger to the Soviet Union, the Inner or the Outside Enemy?

Stalin, the general secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, once said that "a dying class does not die peacefully." This is true of the kulak. The power of the kulak has been broken. As a class, the kulak does not exist in the Soviet Union and has therefore ceased to be a danger. But as individuals, with their anti-Socialist ideology, they still are there. The resistance of the kulak has not been completely overcome. The kulak is encouraged and supported by the external capitalist environment.

In all capitalist countries the economic crisis is gnawing at the very vitals of the capitalist profit-making system. The ruling classes seek a capitalist way out of the crisis. The heaviest burdens are placed upon those who work. Millions have not even the freedom to work. The torture of idleness is forced upon them. The capitalists are not able to open the factories. The buying power of the working masses has been almost destroyed and with it the market. The granaries are filled with products, yet millions are steeped in dire want and impoverishment. A blacker tomorrow stares them in the face. The capitalists are preparing to fly at each others' throats, by means of war. Some must be destroyed to make room for the rest on the market, just as was done with Germany in the 1914-18 World War.

Two social worlds face each other. One—the capitalist, a hopeless decaying world, clutching at the body of the working class and trying to drag it along to the grave. The other—the Socialist world, the U.S.S.R., the only country where new colossal factories are opened, where there is no unemployment, where the present as well as the future of those who work is secured.

The daily worsening of the conditions of the millions in capitalist countries makes the contrast between these two social worlds all the more glaring. The hope of the millions is awakened. They are egged on to fight the capitalist enforced impoverishment rather than starve. The U.S.S.R. stands out as the beacon light in these struggles of the working masses.
But capitalism has come to such a pass, where it must return a part of what it grabbed from those who work if it is to permit improvement of the standard of the working masses. This is against its principles. Its basic rule is to grab, not to give. This will only increase the determination of the working class to fight more persistently against the attack of the bosses upon its very existence.40

The staunch policy of peace of the Soviet Union is a screaming indictment of the imperialist aims—wars of conquest—of the capitalist countries. The Soviet Union, through its representatives at Geneva, proposed complete disarmament. When this was rejected, it proposed partial disarmament, which also was rejected. By its firm peace policy, the Soviet Union hinders the capitalists from blind-foldedly leading the working masses into another world war.41

Because of all the above, the capitalists in their war plans have included a war of intervention against the U.S.S.R.

The danger of war against the Soviet Union encourages the internal enemy. By itself, the internal enemy is powerless. It has been disarmed. But in connection with the external enemy the internal one becomes a more serious factor.

23. Is the Kulak Still a Danger in the Soviet Union?

The kulak is no longer strong enough to conduct an open struggle. Now they try to get into the collective farm organizations as bookkeepers, store-clerks, etc., and creep in, in various ways, in order to carry on destructive work. They organize robbery of collective property. They induce vacillating peasants to misappropriate property of the collective farms; to indulge in idleness; to look upon Socialist property as “government” property in the old sense, implying that one should grab all one can, resort to graft and thievery. The kulaks try to induce the collective peasants to sabotage the collection of grain by the Soviet government, to damage the tractors, etc.42

The majority of the peasants came into the collectives because they were convinced that collective farming has greater material advantages over individual farming. The collective
peasant of today cannot be compared with the workers in the Socialist industry where the means of production, machinery, etc., belong to the workers' state. The socialized means of production on the collective farm (50 per cent of the collective farms are worked by tractors—others by less modern means) belong to the collective and not to the government. Only the tractors and other modern agricultural machinery belong to the government, which the collective peasants use through the Machine and Tractor Stations. The collectivized peasant receives his share of farm produce on the basis of the number of days he has worked. This remains his own personal property, as do cows, sheep, chickens, etc. This he realizes through the market. Thus he may also offer on the market products which are gotten from the non-socialized sector of the farm. It means that much of the old ideology of private property ownership still lingers with collective peasants, which is not the case with the worker in the Socialist industry.43

Government ownership of all means of production in agriculture will be achieved via the Machine and Tractor Stations, and will be hastened by the formation of new proletarian masses in agriculture—tractor drivers, mechanics, etc. This is included in the second Five-Year Plan, 1933-1937. The remnants of the old capitalist ideology referred to above,—"the formidable force of habit of millions"—in the village, are fertile ground for successful damaging work of the kulaks in certain places, where the local Communist Party organization does not expose the kulak element in time. In the beginning of 1932, the kulaks were able to do some damage in the Ukraine and the North Caucasus. The Ryutin group (leader of the 24 expelled from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union) tried to hamper this work of the Communist Party by advocating the restoration of the kulak. The policy of the "Rights" in the Communist Party was to legally accept the kulak into the collectives. Such a policy would mean no success of Socialism in agriculture. It would mean strengthening the kulaks and the counter-revolutionists abroad and creating the possibility of the Soviet Union becoming an appendage of the imperialists just as China now is.
The Communist Party defeated all these non-proletarian policies. It initiated the struggle for a Socialist attitude toward labor. The Soviet government issued a decree (1932) against misappropriation and robbery and for protection of Socialist property. The collective peasants, seeing that the Soviet government is really improving their conditions, support this decree because it is directed against the kulaks and their agents, the enemies of the mass of peasants. Under the guidance of the Soviet government, the peasants have launched a campaign for better organization and better management of the collective farms. They are vigilant about the carrying out of the new decree. This work they carry on through the village soviets.

These are the new forms under which the class struggle in the village is now taking place, with millions of peasants on the side of Socialism, fighting the kulaks and counter-revolutionists which the capitalist world and the leaders of the Socialist parties in capitalist countries take under their wing.

24. Is the Red Army Strong Enough to Fight Back An Attack Upon the Soviet Union?

In the last several years, a number of official Soviet representatives in capitalist countries were murdered in cold blood and Soviet consulates were raided and bombed. These were attempts to provoke the Soviet government into a war and thereby give the interventionists a good opportunity to send their military forces against the Soviet Union, in the attempt to crush the workers’ state. One of the most outstanding of these events was the murder of Soviet workers on the Far Eastern Railway in Manchuria in 1929. But the Soviet government refused to be provoked. In this 1929 affair, the Soviet government once more demonstrated in practice its policy of peace which it started from the very first day of its existence. In 1918 it was the first to take steps (Brest peace treaty) in putting an end to the world war which slaughtered millions and maimed additional millions in the interests of the profiteers.
But at the same time, in this 1929 affair, the Red Army demonstrated how prepared it is to repulse and defeat attacks on the workers' fatherland.

The morale of the Red Army is a mighty force which no other army in any capitalist country has. Only working class and working peasant men upon reaching the age of 22 are accepted into the Red Army. There is no persecution or imprisonment for failure to enlist in the Red Army as is the case in many European countries. But there is a strongly rooted moral code among the working masses, according to which, failure to enlist without serious reason and serve two years in the Red Army is equivalent to social ostracism. One who fails in such a class duty is not elected by the workers of his factory to any official position in the trade union, government, etc.

Within the Red Army there exists a network of clubs and libraries. There are lectures, study circles and discussion groups, etc. The Red Armyite receives not only a military training, but is also educated in mathematics, geography, economics, foreign languages, literature, etc. While serving in the Red Army, the private may prepare himself for entrance into the university or technical high school. Special theoretical and practical courses are given by expert instructors, for learning a trade in engineering or scientific agriculture. In every unit of the Red Army one hour each day is given to special political study. Sports are indulged in not only by selected groups, but by all Red Armyites.

In the Red Army there is no segregation along racial lines as is the case in the U.S.A. where the Negroes are jim-crowed. The Red Army is, as Stalin pointed out, "an army of brotherhood of all nationalities in the Soviet Union." Neither is there separation from the civil population. During the famine in 1921 the Red Army sent 900,000 poods (a pood is about 36 lbs.) of food supplies to the civil population, in the famine districts. There is mutual exchange of fraternal representatives between units of the Red Army and factories and villages. The Red Army participates in workers' and collective peasants' meetings and demonstrations. The Red Armyites vote in all elections. They
elect their representatives to the Soviets. Together with the Red commanders, they participate on an equal basis in meetings in the barracks, where they discuss the various phases of army life and various political questions. The relationship between the commanders and the privates, is not one of soldier to officer, as in capitalist countries, but one of comradeship. The Commander-in-Chief of the Red Army is Voroshilov—a former metal worker from the Donbas. The commanding staff is made up of: workers 37 per cent; those of peasant origin and agricultural workers 49 per cent; Intellectuals 14 per cent. 57 per cent of the Red Commanders are members of the Communist Party.47

The aims of the capitalist armies are diametrically opposed to the interests of the mass of those who make up these armies. The capitalist armies are used in wars of oppression and conquest, in attacks upon the workers' state—the U.S.S.R., upon the Chinese soviets who have chased out all oppressors from their soviet districts.

The workers of the world cannot forget the war of intervention against the U.S.S.R. in 1918-1920 in which the American government took part officially—the statement of President Wilson on August 3, 1918, officially initiating American intervention and the sending of 7,000 American troops under General William S. Graves to Vladivostok in August 1918 and another contingent to Archangel in September 1918. These American troops were not withdrawn until April 1920—one and one-half years after the armistice of the world war had been signed and only after the working masses in the Soviet Union defeated the military intervention.48

The Red Armyite is convinced that the Red Army is the clenched fist of the working class in the Soviet Union for the protection of the achievements of the working masses in that country. The aims of the Red Army coincide with the interests of those who make up that Army. This is manifested by one of the most outstanding slogans of the Red Army, namely: "We do not want a foot of foreign territory, but we will not yield an inch of our own proletarian fatherland."
This morale of the Red Army, which is based on the interests of the working class, (which no other army in the world has) together with the fact that successful fulfillment of the Five-Year Plan has created the necessary requirements for the defense of the country, makes the Red Army an invincible force.

One of the big factors holding back the attack upon the Soviet Union, until now, is this mighty position of the Red Army. But it does not at all follow that the Red Army can be completely successful against the combined forces of the imperialists, (with their most modern means of slaughter and their poison gases, etc.) without the active assistance of the workers in the capitalist countries. Any kind of a military attack upon the Soviet Union will be completely crushed by the united efforts of the toilers of the Soviet Union and the workers in capitalist countries, as the bulwark of support of the Red Army.\footnote{49}

25. Will There Be a War Against the Soviet Union?

The capitalists look with jealous eyes upon each other’s colonies. There are no new countries not in the grip of one or another set of capitalists. The capitalists of various countries are preparing to fly at each other in a world war, in order to grab as much as they can of another country’s colonies, and bring these under their own domination.

The wars going on in the Far East and in South America are only the beginning of a world-wide conflict among the imperialists.\footnote{50}

The capitalists ferociously attack each other in the attempt to destroy competitors. But increased rivalry and wars do not do away with the preparations for a united imperialist attack upon the Soviet Union. Common class interests unite the capitalists of different countries against the Soviet Union—the country of Socialism—as pointed out in the answer to Question No. 22. This class differentiation was indicated by Secretary of State Hughes, in March 1921, in a letter to Samuel Gompers stating that relations between the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union are not possible, \textit{until the Soviet system had been abandoned or modified}. 

38
At present economic necessity is forcing a section of American capitalists to agitate for recognition of the Soviet Union by the American government, so that resumption of trade between the two countries may be brought about. American capitalists view with alarm the fact that British and German capitalists have taken away nearly $114,000,000 worth of Soviet trade from the U.S. capitalists. They look upon the Soviet Union as an ideal market because it is the only country whose life is on the upgrade and especially because the Soviet government has never defaulted in making its payments on time.

Forced by the necessity of seeking a market, the United States capitalist government may be induced to recognize the Soviet government. But at the same time, it will intensify its suppression of strikes against slashing of wages; its suppression of workers' activities to force some relief for the unemployed. It will especially persecute the American Communist Party, which is the only real working class party in the United States. It will try to stem the growing sympathy of American workers for the Soviet Union. A successful attempt to clamp down the growing activities of American working masses against the attack upon their living conditions by the American boss class means to lessen the resistance at home against an imperialist war. It is a form of preparation for attack upon the Soviet Union in the hope of making a successful military attack upon the U.S.S.R. jointly with other imperialist countries.

It cannot be denied that the wide-spread sympathy for the Soviet Union of the working masses in capitalist countries aroused by the historically unprecedented successes of the Five-Year Plan, and the steadily declining standard of living of the masses exerted great pressure upon certain capitalist countries to sign non-aggression pacts with the Soviet Union.

From the answers given to the question above, it is clear that the greatest antagonism in the world today is the one between Socialism (U.S.S.R.) and capitalism (all capitalist countries). The capitalists will try to solve the contradictions among themselves at the expense of the Soviet Union. They will try to
make a unified attack upon the Soviet Union, not only to destroy
the successful building of Socialism, but also to get the U.S.S.R.,
one-sixth of the world, as a market—in other words, to subjugate
the Soviet Union as a colony. This is evidenced by the fact that
the big imperialist countries have been continuously supplying
the smaller capitalist countries on the western borders of the
Soviet Union, (Rumania, Poland, etc.) with war supplies. These
countries have become real arsenals. The countries bordering
the eastern part of the U.S.S.R. are also being prepared for an
attack upon the Soviet Union. Japan has refused to sign a
non-aggression pact with the Soviet Union. The Russian White
Guards in the Far East are being armed and trained by officers
from imperialist countries. The attack upon the Soviet Union
will be repulsed not only by the defense that the working
masses in the Soviet Union are prepared to make, but also
by the militant activities of the working masses in the capi-

talist countries.

26. In What Way Can the Workers in Capitalist
Countries Fight the Attack Upon the
Soviet Union?

The best examples of this were given by: The British long-
shoremen in 1920 when they declared a strike and refused to load
ships with munitions that were destined for the armies fighting
the Soviet Union; the French sailors, who, under the leadership of
Andre Marty, refused to fire upon the Soviet workers; the
Seattle, Washington, workers who in 1919 refused to load military
supplies for use against the Soviet Union.

Workers' anti-imperialist-war committees may be organized
as part of the international anti-war work. Workers in the
factories, on the waterfront, on the ships, should watch and
stop the shipment of war munitions to be used against the
Soviet Union. Talk to workers in the factories and elsewhere, to
the unemployed and tell them that in case they are sent to fight
the Red Army, they should fraternize with that army. It is neces-
sary to unmask the deceitful pacifist clamor of the leaders who
under a veil of pacifism try to prevent the workers from fighting the preparations for imperialist war right now. The official leaders of the American Socialist Party refused to participate in the U. S. Congress Against War, which has just been held. These leaders are really helping the imperialists "slip into" an imperialist war. When the war against the Soviet Union is already started it will be much more difficult to fight it, if we do not organize for that fight now and commence right now to fight the preparation for it.

It is necessary to make it difficult for the home bourgeoisie to prepare for war. One of the best means to fight against such a war is to broaden out the workers' struggles in the U.S.A. for better living conditions. By this means, not only workers' demands can be won, but it will be possible to mobilize many more workers in the struggle against the imperialist war. The Soviet masses will offer such resistance to any intervention that it will become an incentive to increased militant action of the working class in capitalist countries.

27. What Is the Difference Between Socialism in the Soviet Union and the Socialists in Capitalist Countries?

The "Socialist" leaders in all countries try to discredit the proletarian dictatorship and tell the workers that the path of proletarian revolution chosen by the Russian working class under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party of Lenin (the present All-Union Communist Party) is harmful to the workers because revolution and civil war destroy productive forces. But the world war destroyed 200,000,000,000 dollars worth of productive forces of countries engaged in that war and the present capitalist world crisis has destroyed and is still destroying productive forces (not only basic machinery but the proletariat itself) to a far greater extent than revolution could have done. About this, the "Socialist" leaders are silent.

Revolution demands sacrifices on the part of the workers, say the same "Socialist" leaders who in 1914-18 led the workers into the world slaughter in the interests of the bosses, where
10,000,000 were killed, 19,000,000 wounded and crippled, and 30,000,000 died from epidemics and famine.\textsuperscript{53} During the present capitalist world crisis, there is wide-spread slashing of wages; more than 40,000,000 unemployed, (minus the colonies) many of whom are slowly starving to death; increased suicides, even of whole families; mounting infant mortality; indescribable starvation of millions in countries plundered by the imperialists—in China, India, Latin-America, etc.; the heaviest taxation ever known; the actual robbing of poor farmers’ lands; the loss of the life-savings of worker bank depositors; the general undermining of the material basis of existence of millions of human beings; forced idleness with its resultant idiotic life; the hopelessness of the morrow which is breaking down the nervous system of countless numbers; the unofficial war going on against the Chinese peoples which has already claimed many thousands of lives.\textsuperscript{54}

These are some of the sacrifices which the workers and working farmers are making today, for the sake of capitalism which the “Socialist” leaders justify and call upon the workers to continue.

During the existence of the Labor government in England, unemployment increased; the attack upon the wages of the workers increased; strikes were crushed, not only in England, but also in India; gallows and air bombardments in India for the peasants who dared to fight against their miserable conditions took place during the time of the Labor government. The Labor Government enacted laws which drastically cut the meagre unemployment dole, notwithstanding the fact that the workers contributed generously to the unemployment fund while they worked. These laws forced the workers to give up their meagre belongings before they were given even the small pittance of relief. Workers’ families were separated by sending wives, husbands and children as inmates to different institutions for the poor.

The largest party in the “Socialist” International—the German Social Democratic Party—has for years been promising the workers to bring about Socialism by “democratic” methods. For the sake of this “democratic” method, they demanded great sac-
risicles from the masses. With their help the German bourgeoisie passed the New Economic Laws, which transferred the burdens of the capitalist crisis to the shoulders of the working masses; which drastically cut unemployment relief. The leaders of the Social Democracy in Germany were heads of high police organs which suppressed the working class movement against the attacks upon their conditions. The leaders of the Social Democracy are directly responsible for the bloody murder of a large number of the best working class fighters in Germany. For years they have been paving the way for fascism in Germany. In the 1932 presidential elections, they called upon the workers to support the “lesser evil”—Hindenburg. Since Hitler’s coming to power, they have completely surrendered to fascism. In the German Reichstag, on May 17th, 1933, the leaders of German Social Democracy openly recognized the fascist dictatorship.

The French social-democratic leaders tried to convince the workers of the impossibility of a crisis in France in order to keep them from struggling against the worsening conditions.

The leaders of the Socialist parties in all countries have helped to bring about an extended attack upon the working class, by trying to keep the workers from militant action against the attacks of the boss class. Leaders of the American Socialist Party openly support the N.R.A. and have even invited Roosevelt to become a Socialist.

The achievements in the land of the proletarian dictatorship, contrasted to the above background, stand out with especial clearness. Under the leadership of the Communist Party, Socialism is being built in the Soviet Union. The new tasks to be carried out by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union are to guide and lead the Soviet workers in the raising three-fold of the standard of all those who work and the setting up of a classless, Socialist society; forever eliminating the causes which permitted the exploitation of man by man. This is the true Socialism.

The “Socialism” of the social democrats is not Socialism at all. The salvation of the capitalist system at the expense of the working masses, that is the “Socialism” of the leaders of the
social democrats. In the Soviet Union, for the first time in the history of mankind, material conditions have been created for genuine equality, the criterion of which is Labor—the participation of man in useful labor in production.

28. How Can American Workers Achieve the Conditions Enjoyed by the Soviet Workers?

The Russian workers have had the leadership of the Bolshevik Party of Lenin, (the present All-Union Communist Party) which from the very beginning based itself on the workers in the factories, mines, etc. The Bolshevik Party started its existence in the factories, around small circles made up of workers. Its influence expanded because, in the face of black reaction and extreme terror, it always gave guidance and leadership to the daily struggles of the workers. The trade unions, whose immediate purpose was the protection of the daily economic needs of the workers, never lost sight of the broader aims of the working class. This was because of the weighty influence by the Party in the trade unions. That is why solidarity strikes were of frequent occurrence in Russia. The Baku oil workers won a strike against a wage slash because the workers in the Putilof works in St. Petersburg came out in solidarity strike.

The Bolshevik Party was able to give such staunch leadership because it had a program that was based on the immediate needs of all the working masses as well as on the ultimate aim of the working class—the taking of power. A strict working class discipline was maintained in the Party. An untiring struggle was carried on against all who attempted to taint in any way the working class program with bourgeois ideas. In these struggles against deviations, the Party was steeled and was able more staunchly to carry through its program and lead the working class to power.

From the history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the working class of all capitalist countries learns that even in periods of the biggest economic crisis it is possible for the workers to secure unemployment relief at the expense of the bosses, and
repulse wage cuts, provided the workers fight. In the beginning these struggles for daily needs seem small and isolated. But if they are conducted properly they awaken to action larger numbers of workers in other localities; they broaden out and strengthen the united action of the working masses for their daily needs; they help to build up the united fighting front of the working class; they teach the workers class solidarity; the workers begin to see their leading role as class fighters in the movement of all downtrodden and oppressed and finally that these struggles for daily needs are steps bringing the workers ever nearer to the fight for power and the establishment of a soviet government.

The fact that the present capitalist world crisis has not excluded the United States from its grip, and that the consequences of it in the U.S. are even more drastic in so far as the drop in industrial production and increase in unemployment are concerned, only proves that American capitalism is no exception.

American workers must choose the way of the Russian workers. There is no other way out. The lessons learned from the history of the Communist Party in the Soviet Union must be made popular among wide sections of American workers.

The American bourgeoisie is trying to push the workers down to a starvation level unprecedented in the U.S. It is on this basis that strike struggles can be broadened and the struggles of the employed joined with those of the unemployed. The offensive of American capital against the workers is not diminishing, but growing. This will widen the front of the strike struggles. The struggles of the organized workers must be united with those of the unorganized. It is necessary to become members of the militant trade unions and if already in a reformist trade union to become active in the militant opposition groups in these trade unions.

At the same time it is necessary to acquaint wider masses of American workers with the day-to-day work of the Soviet government. We must smash the barrage of lies and misrepresentation of the Soviet Union by the boss press in the U.S.A. 57 We must expose the hypocritical maneuvers of the leaders of the So-
cialists who pose as “friends of the Soviet Union” while they make provocative speeches against the Soviet Union, as for instance Norman Thomas, who made a talk “for” the recognition of the Soviet Union on the news reel screen in the movies in the following manner: If I were in a room with a bear, and was unarmed, I would not kick it in the ribs, I would try to make friends with it. (Italics mine—M.C.), meaning that since the American government is armed, it need not make friends with the U.S.S.R. We must inform the American workers how the leaders of the Second International, Abramovitch and Dan, acted as touts for the transferring of money from French imperialism to the wreckers and plotters against the Soviet government, in the Soviet Union.

In speaking about the difficulties in the Soviet Union, we must never forget to remind the American workers about those difficulties which arise just because of the counter-revolutionary work of the leaders of the Socialists.

In this way we will win the sympathy for the Soviet Union of additional numbers of workers who are still influenced by the leaders of the Socialists and it will be easier for us to draw more of them into the daily struggles for our everyday needs and in this way strengthen the working class movement in the U.S.A. and blaze the way towards an American Soviet Government which is the only way to do away with the poverty and degradation forced upon the millions of the American working masses.58

Published by WORKERS LIBRARY PUBLISHERS
P. O. Box 148, Sta. D, (50 E. 13th St.) New York City,
Second Printing, January, 1934
Third Printing, July, 1934