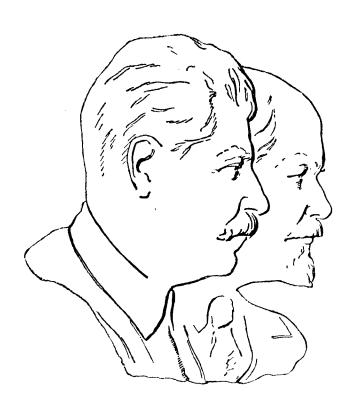


OUR COUNTRY





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CO-OPERATIVE PUBLISHING SOCIETY OF FOREIGN WORKERS IN THE U.S.S.R. MOSCOW 1937

Translated from the Russian by A. Fineberg

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1. WHERE SOCIALISM REIGNS VICTORIOUS

A DREAM COME TRUE

Spacious and mighty is the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Its territory is immense, its wealth immeasurable and the creative energy of its peoples unfailing. Great and inexhaustible is its economic power and military strength.

Like an indestructible rock, our glorious country, the land where socialism reigns victorious, towers above the surrounding capitalist world. We, the fortunate citizens of the Soviet Union, are filled with joy and pride in our native country, where there is no class yoke, no national oppression and no exploitation of man by man. Our country is the first in the world where the workers and peasants have overthrown the rule of the exploiting classes and have achieved a happy, secure and cultured life for the working people.

Our country radically differs from all other countries. In our country it is the working man who is most honoured and respected, whereas in capitalist countries it is the wealthy idlers and parasites, the people who do not work themselves but who appropriate the wealth created by the workers and peasants, who enjoy the greatest respect.

Why is this so? Why is it that in bourgeois countries it is not the workers and peasants who are the masters of life and the owners of the goods and wares they produce, but the capitalists and landlords? Why is this, when the manufacturers and big landowners not only do no work themselves, but often do not even know where their factories and farms are situated, or who produces their wealth and how?

It is because the exploiters are in power in the capitalist countries. The capitalists and landlords there possess not only the power, but also the factories, railways and estates. They therefore own the wealth created by the heavy toil of the millions of labourers employed in these enterprises. Capitalist society is so ordered that the millions have to toil so that a handful of parasites may live in luxury.

But the land of the Soviets differs from the capitalist world in that here the power belongs to the toilers themselves—to the workers and peasants. In our country there are no private owners of factories and banks, of land and manors. All the mills and factories, all the mines,

railways and banks, and all the land, forests and mineral wealth—iron ore, coal, oil—belong to the toilers themselves, organized in the Soviet socialist state. And therefore all that the mills, factories, state farms and collective farms produce goes to satisfy the needs and to improve the living conditions of the working people, as well as to increase the wealth and might of the socialist state, the state of the workers and peasants.

There are no capitalists in our country, no stockbrokers, no land-lords, no kulaks, nor any of the classes which in bourgeois countries oppress and rob the workers and peasants. The more iron, coal, oil, machines, footwear, clothing, grain and other foodstuffs the toilers in capitalist countries produce, the richer the capitalists and landlords become; while not only do the workers and peasants continue to starve in poverty, but grow poorer and poorer and suffer increasing want and misery from year to year. But the more metal, machines, goods, cotton, flax, grain and other foodstuffs the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union produce, the wealthier and mightier our country becomes, and the more happily and prosperously our working people live.

The wealth which in bourgeois countries is appropriated by the capitalists and landlords, in our country goes to the benefit of the workers and peasants. The working people themselves are the masters of life in our country, and the owners of all the riches they produce. There are no exploiting classes in the U.S.S.R., and hence there are no exploited classes. Having emancipated themselves from the yoke of capitalists and landlords, the workers and peasants of the U.S.S.R. have become the masters of their own destiny. This is the first time anything of the kind has happened in history. That is why our workers and peasants are able to make their lives bright, happy and joyous.

The working class of our country, acting in alliance with the toiling peasantry, has created the social system of which the best representatives of the toiling people have dreamed for centuries. For many generations the finest sons of humanity have dreamed of a society and have fought for a society in which there would be neither rich nor poor, neither oppressors nor oppressed, neither masters nor wage slaves. And for such a society the toiling masses of the whole world have striven. And only now, in our country, has this ancient dream of the toiling masses been realized, and socialism achieved.

The U.S.S.R. is the first country in the world where socialism reigns victorious.

SOCIALIST PROPERTY—THE FOUNDATION OF THE SOVIET ECONOMIC SYSTEM

In the U.S.S.R., private ownership of the means and implements of production has been abolished. The public, or socialist form of property now holds unchallenged sway: the factories, machines, locomotives, all the principal agricultural implements and all the principal means of production now belong to the socialist state or to collective farms and other co-operative organizations, and not to individual private owners.

Socialist property is the foundation of the new social system—the socialist system created by the working class and the peasantry of our country under the leadership of the Communist Party, the Bolsheviks.

The foundation of the capitalist economic system is private property. Private property is the source of the exploitation and oppression of the working people. In bourgeois countries the state system, with all the frightful power of the police regime, protects the private property of the capitalists and landlords and their interests and privileges as exploiters. The Soviet, or socialist system protects socialist property, because it is the sacred and inviolable foundation of the Soviet system, the source of all the wealth and might of our country, the source of the prosperity and culture of all working people. Public, or socialist property is the mighty foundation of our Soviet society, which is exempt from the miseries and horrors of capitalism.

The foundation of our society is socialist property; there are no capitalists in our country, and hence there is no struggle for markets between private owners, no competition, no anarchy and chaos of production, and no crises. The Soviet economic system is a planned and organized system: the Soviet government directs all the branches of the national economy and builds and develops them in accordance with a single plan.

Exempt from the struggle for markets, from competition and crises, the Soviet economic system possesses tremendous possibilities for rapid growth. The resources which the capitalist economic system is obliged to dissipate in the competitive struggle, or which the parasites—the capitalists and landlords—waste on their whims and pleasures, are under the Soviet system retained in the economic system and help to increase the social wealth of the socialist country. This increase of social wealth is also furthered by the fact that the factories and fields of the socialist country are worked by people who have been emancipated from exploitation. Their labour brings them joy, and it is therefore more productive. That is why the socialist economy is developing

at a speed of which capitalist economy is incapable. And that is why, too, the socialist economic system ensures a constant improvement in the standard of living and culture of the masses.

The new social system was created by the workers and peasants of our country under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, the Party of Lenin and Stalin. Severe and arduous was the struggle waged by the workers and peasants for the overthrow of the power of the tsar and the domination of the capitalists and landlords. The fight for the victory and consolidation of the Soviet power demanded great sacrifices of the workers and peasants. Great were the trials and hardships they underwent when fighting to transform our backward country into an advanced country, and when developing and reconstructing our economy so as to make it a mighty socialist economy.

In this struggle for socialism the workers and peasants were successful because they were led by the Bolshevik Party, at the head of which stood such wise and valorous leaders as Lenin and Stalin.

PHYSICAL FEATURES AND POPULATION OF THE SOVIET UNION

The victory of socialism in the U.S.S.R. was a victory for socialism over one-sixth of the surface of the globe. One hundred and seventy million people, comprising the great family of Soviet nations, are now living under socialist conditions and are strangers to class oppression and national oppression. From the icy wastes of the Arctic to the sultry sands of Turkmenistan, from the shores of the Baltic to the shores of the Pacific—everywhere in the Soviet country the great work of socialist construction is now proceeding.

What does our country represent?

Ours is the largest country in the world. It has an area of 21,000,000 square kilometres, or about one-sixth of the land surface of the globe. The Soviet Union is two and a half times the size of the United States and forty times the size of Germany. The sun rises on our eastern frontier nine hours earlier than on our western frontier. A train travelling at a speed of one thousand kilometres a day would take ten days to cross from our eastern border to our western border.

The Soviet Union occupies the northern part of the Eurasian Continent and comprises the eastern half of Europe and the northern third of Asia.

Our country extends to the Arctic Ocean in the north and the Pacific Ocean in the east. Our western and southern frontiers are almost entirely land frontiers. Our western frontier stretches from the Barents Sea in the north to the Black Sea in the south.

Our neighbours in the west are (north to south) Finland, Esthonia, Latvia, Poland and Rumania.

Our southern frontier between the Black Sea and the Caspian Sea borders on Turkey and Iran. East of the Caspian, it borders on Iran, then Afghanistan, beyond which lies England's largest colony, India, then China, and then the Mongolian and Tuva People's Republics.

In the Far East it borders on Manchuria and then—on the very shores of the Pacific—on the Japanese colony of Korea. We also have a common land frontier with Japan on Sakhalin Island, the southern part of which belongs to Japan, while the northern part belongs to the U.S.S.R.

The climate and physical features of our country are highly varied: from eternal ice in the north to luxuriant sub-tropical and evergreen vegetation in the south, from land depressions lying below sea-level to glacier-covered peaks 7,500 metres high.

The U.S.S.R. has mighty mountain ranges from which flow powerful rivers thousands of kilometres long intersecting some of the broadest plains in the world.

In the north, along the shores of the Arctic Ocean, stretches the tundra zone, severe in climate, treeless, covered with moss and lichens with scanty grass here and there. South of this stretches the broad forest zone, consisting almost exclusively of coniferous trees in its northern part (known as the taiga) and of mixed trees in its southern part. South of the forest zone stretches the steppe, first the fertile black-earth steppe and then the arid steppe, passing in the south of Kazakhstan and in Central Asia into desert. Along the southern frontier stretch high mountain ranges with snow-covered peaks. In the foothills of Central Asia, highland and desert are interspersed with flourishing, densely populated oases with rich vegetation.

The U.S.S.R. is unrivalled for the wealth of its natural resources and the size of its forest and black-earth steppe territories.

It is also unrivalled for its water power and oil and peat resources. As to coal deposits, the Soviet Union is second only to the United States; but American coal is poorer in quality than our own. The anthracites of the Donbas and the Kuzbas are considered the finest in the world.

The immense territory of our country contains adequate deposits of all the known useful minerals.

For the iron and steel industry there are iron deposits (in Krivoy Rog in the Ukraine, Kerch in the Crimea, in the Urals, the Kursk Region, in Siberia and in the Far East) and manganese deposits (in Nikopol in the Ukraine and Chiatura in Georgia). For the non-ferrous metal industry there is copper, zinc, lead and other non-ferrous metals (in Kazakhstan, Central Asia, the Urals, the Caucasus and the Far East).

For the chemical industry there are vast deposits of mirabilites (in the Kara-Bogaz-gol Bay of the Caspian Sea), sodium chloride (in the Ukraine, Urals, Lower Volga, Kazakhstan and Yakutia), potassium salts (in Solikamsk in the Urals), apatites (in Khibini on the Kola Peninsula), sulphur (in Turkmenistan) and other raw materials.

Our country has adequate supplies of the most variegated building materials, including high-grade marble, binding clays and fireproof clay.

Cotton, tea and southern fruits, such as tangerines and lemons, and other heat-loving plants are grown in the Caucasus and in Central Asia.

Our seas abound in fish (the Caspian Sea, the shores of the Kola Peninsula in the north and the shores of Kamchatka in the Far East).

In size of population the U.S.S.R. is only second to China and India. Of the other countries, only the United States has a population of over one hundred million.

But it is not only the size of the population of a country that is important, but also the rapidity of growth of the population. In tsarist Russia the birth rate was 44 per thousand and the death rate 27 per thousand; the annual growth of population was thus 17 per thousand. In the Soviet Union the annual growth of population is 24 per thousand. In recent years the growth of population in capitalist countries, which was always much lower than ours, has dropped by one-half or twothirds. The annual increase of population in the capitalist countries of Western Europe, which have a total population of 390,000,000 persons, is only five per thousand, or about one-fifth of the annual increase of population in our country. The increase of population in the capitals of the Soviet Republics is ten to twenty times as large as the increase of population in the capitals of bourgeois countries. Comrade Stalin has pointed out that the annual increase of population in the U.S.S.R. is equal to the whole population of some of the countries of Europe-Finland, for example.

Owing to the extremely rapid growth of industry in our country, the urban population is increasing much more rapidly than the rural population; the proportion of urban population to total population has increased from 17 per cent in pre-war days to 25 per cent today. The increase is particularly rapid in the big cities.

The population of our country constitutes one-twelfth of the population of the world. The average density of population is eight persons per square kilometre. Most populated of all is the south-western European part (west of the line Leningrad—Kazan—Saratov—Rostov-on-Don) and the Caucasus, where the density is five times the average. In Siberia the most densely populated areas follow the railway trunk line.

In Central Asia, side by side with oases with a density of 200 persons per square kilometre and over, there are vast desert and mountainous areas where the density of population is less than one person per square kilometre.

But everywhere, in the remote Siberian taiga, in the stern mountain ranges of Tien-Shan, in the arid deserts of Turkmenistan and in the snowy wastes of the Arctic islands, eager and intensive socialist construction is proceeding.

And in the process of this construction, the wealth of our country is growing and multiplying, as are the talents and creative forces of the Soviet people, of the wonderful Stalin generation of builders of communism.

2. A GREAT INDUSTRIAL POWER

INDUSTRY IN TSARIST RUSSIA

Old, pre-revolutionary Russia was an agrarian country. Agriculture was the basis of its economic life. The industry of Russia was poorly developed and lagged far behind that of the advanced European countries. Lenin said that old Russia was "an incredibly and unprecedentedly backward country, poverty-stricken and semi-savage, equipped with modern instruments of production to only one-fourth the extent of England, one-fifth the extent of Germany, and one-tenth the extent of America."

Russia was first among the larger capitalist countries of the world in size of territory and population. But she was last among them in industrial development and industrial output. In pre-revolutionary Russia the output of agriculture was almost double the output of industry.

Most backward of all was the heavy industry of old Russia, *i.e.*, the branches which extracted ore, coal and oil and which manufactured iron and other metals, machinery, chemicals and so on.

Russian manufacturers mostly sprang from the landlord and merchant classes. They built their industries for the purpose of working up agricultural produce. The landlords had large quantities of potatoes, grain, beet, flax and hemp to dispose of. They found it more profitable to sell such produce in the manufactured rather than in the raw state. They therefore built factories where these articles were turned into starch, vodka, sugar, textiles, sacking, rope, etc. The merchants also found it worth while, in addition to trading in goods acquired readymade, to set up their own factories in which raw material was turned into finished goods for sale. In this way the merchants derived a double profit, from the exploitation of their workers and from trade.

The Russian capitalists were fearful of investing their money in heavy industry. They did so unwillingly and only in conjunction with foreign capitalists, who had already learnt abroad the art of deriving profit from fuel, iron, steel, etc. In old Russia, 60 or 65 per cent of the iron and steel mills, coal and iron mines and engineering plants belonged to foreign capitalists. An even larger share was owned by French, British, German, Belgian and other foreign capitalists in private rail-

ways, steamships and tramways. Eighty per cent of the municipal enterprises of Russia (tramways, telephones, power stations) belonged to foreign owners, and over three-quarters of the capital of the Russian banks was held by foreign financiers. Thus the working population was exploited not only by their own native capitalists but also by foreign capitalists.

Russian capitalism became merged with foreign capitalism. European capital found its way into every important branch of Russian industry. At the same time, foreign capitalists deliberately refrained from investing in certain branches of industry which they thought it inexpedient to start or develop in Russia. They knew what goods, semi-manufactures and machinery Russia most needed. Were they to build factories in Russia for the manufacture of such goods and machinery they would be depriving themselves of the Russian market. They therefore tried to hold back the development of these branches of industry in Russia so as to continue to supply her at high prices from abroad with the goods, semi-manufactures and machinery she needed.

Russia was dependent upon foreign capital in every way. She might build textile mills or other factories, but the machinery for them could be obtained only from abroad. In 1913, 63 per cent of all the Russian industries were equipped with foreign machinery, while in the textile industry over 75 per cent of the looms and other machines were foreign made.

Certain kinds of textiles could be manufactured from home-grown raw materials, but the dyes and finishing stuffs for them had to be imported. Canned goods could be produced from native fish and vegetables, but the tin and tinplate for the cans had to be imported.

The machinery purchased abroad could be operated only as long as nothing broke or wore out. If a worn bolt, an old screw or a broken shaft had to be replaced, the spare parts had to be obtained from abroad. Russia did not produce automobiles, bicycles, aluminium or rubber, all of which she imported.

Russia possessed immense deposits of ore—iron, copper, tin, gold and various rare metals. Yet she was obliged to import metals from abroad. In 1913 Russia imported pig iron to a value of 3,000,000 gold rubles, coal, anthracite and coke to a value of over 87,000,000 rubles, agricultural machinery to a value of 39,000,000 rubles, automobiles to a value of over 17,000,000 rubles, fertilizers to a value of over 11,000,000 rubles, sewing and knitting machines to a value of 10,000,000 rubles, canned goods to a value of 4,000,000 rubles and electric lamps to a value of 5,000,000 rubles. Even confectionery and biscuits were imported—in 1913 to a value of 2,500,000 rubles.

All this goes to show that Russia was virtually a semi-colonial coun-

try, economically dependent on the more advanced capitalist countries.

Her backwardness was invariably taken advantage of by the stronger countries. Anybody who liked beat tsarist Russia for her backwardness.

"Such is the law of the exploiters—to beat the backward and the weak," Comrade Stalin said.

In order not to be beaten, our Soviet country had to put an end to the economic and technical backwardness it had inherited from tsarist Russia.

INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS IN THE FIRST FIVE-YEAR PLAN PERIOD

The Great October Socialist Revolution put an end to capitalism in our country. The Soviet government confiscated the mills, factories, mines, railways, steamships and municipal enterprises belonging to Russian and foreign capitalists and converted them into state property, that is, the property of the whole people.

The industry which the Soviet power took over from the capitalists was not only backward, but also thoroughly run down as a result of the long years of imperialist war. One of the first things the Soviet government did after the revolution was to start setting industry and transport on their feet again. But this work of economic restoration was prevented by the attacks of the White armies and the invasion of foreign imperialists.

During the Civil War industry declined still further. Whereas the value of the total output of the mills and factories of Russia in 1913 was 10,251 million rubles, in 1920, the year the Civil War ended, it was not more than 1,700 million rubles.

The chief thing after the Civil War was to restore the economic forces of the country, and its industry above all. And this task was accomplished by 1926: in that year the output of Soviet industry amounted to over 11,000 million rubles, which exceeded the output of 1913.

But to restore industry was not enough to make it an up-to-date industry. Bringing it back to the pre-war level only meant extricating it from the chaos into which it had been plunged by the imperialist war and the Civil War. Industry continued to be backward, and the country an agrarian, or agricultural country. If our country was to become strong and independent of the capitalist world, if the firm foundation of socialism was to be laid, a powerful and up-to-date industry had to be created, and created in the shortest possible time.

At the Fourteenth Congress of the Bolshevik Party, held in 1925, Comrade Stalin said that our country must be converted as rapidly as possible into an industrial country, a country with an advanced industry and an advanced and up-to-date technique. We could not rest content with restoring the shattered economy of the country; new mills and factories had to be built and the old factories reconstructed.

We had to build plants to produce and work up iron and other metals, so as to release us of the necessity of purchasing them abroad. We had to build factories to produce all the various kinds of machinery and goods we had hitherto been obliged to import.

We had to produce electric furnaces, turbines, airplanes, automobiles, locomotives and ocean and river vessels. We had to build up a chemical industry from its very foundations. We had to begin to supply machinery for the food, textile, shoe, timber, paper and all other industries. We had to start the production of tractors, harvester combines and other complex agricultural machinery so as to provide a technical, machine basis for an improved, developed, large-scale agriculture.

At the same time we had to train our own engineers and other experts to direct this new technical equipment. Moreover, we had to train millions of workers to operate the new machinery.

All this had to be done in order that we might overtake and outstrip the advanced capitalist countries economically and technically. On this depended the very existence of the Soviet Union, for only by creating a powerful and advanced industry could we increase the military strength and defensive power of the U.S.S.R.

Stalin's plan for the building of socialism was greeted by the working people with enthusiasm. The First Five-Year Plan (1928/29-1932/33) outlined tremendous tasks in the reconstruction of our industry and of the national economy generally. Our engineers and workers enthusiastically built new mills and factories and reconstructed and developed the old plants.

The enemies of the Party, Trotsky, Zinoviev and Kamenev, opposed Stalin's plan for the industrialization of the country and the Bolshevik Party's policy of building up socialism in our country. The Trotskyites and Zinovievites asserted that it was impossible to build socialism in the U.S.S.R. and they endeavoured in every way to prevent it from being built.

The policy of industrialization was also opposed by the Right betrayers of Bolshevism, headed by Bukharin, Rykov and Tomsky. They came out against the conversion of the U.S.S.R. into an industrial country. Both they and the Trotskyites defended capitalism as against socialism, arguing that we could not get along without the capitalists and kulaks. They strove for the restoration of capitalism in our country.

The struggle of the Trotskyites and Bukharinites against the Party was taken advantage of by the international bourgeoisie. The latter set up wrecking and espionage organizations within the country. Supplied with funds by foreign intelligence services and military staffs, these counter-revolutionary organizations committed acts of sabotage and wrecking on building projects, in factories and in state and collective farms. They damaged machinery, caused explosions in mines, factories and power stations and infected livestock with contagious diseases.

The Soviet government exposed the wreckers and demolished them. The Party ejected the Trotskyites from its ranks. The people branded Trotsky as their enemy and expelled him from the Soviet Union. Trotsky became a faithful servitor of the international bourgeoisie, an agent of the fascists, the sworn enemies of the Soviet Union.

The Party also demolished the Right traitors, who, headed by Bukharin, Rykov and Tomsky, joined forces with the Trotskyites in carrying on their abominable wrecking work against the working people of the U.S.S.R. and the cause of socialism.

Guided by the Bolshevik Party, the working people of our country fulfilled the First Five-Year Plan in four and a quarter years. They displayed miracles of labour heroism. Comrade Stalin said that during the period of the First Five-Year Plan we "did more than we had ourselves expected, and more than the most impetuous minds in our Party could have expected."

During the period of the First Five-Year Plan we built the huge iron and steel mills of Kuznetsk and Magnitogorsk. We built a big tractor plant in Stalingrad. On the rapids of the Dnieper we erected one of the largest power plants in the world—the Lenin Hydro-electric Station. We built and started a number of machine-building works, with the result that it was no longer necessary to import many kinds of machinery and equipment which had never been produced in our country before.

During the period of the First Five-Year Plan we created many branches of industry which had been entirely unknown in our country before: airplane, tractor, automobile and machine-tool. In place of the small and backward agricultural machinery and chemical plants, we built an up-to-date agricultural machinery and chemical industry. Our formerly backward fuel industry (coal, oil and peat), from one of the last places in the world rose to one of the first. Before we had only one metallurgical and coal centre—the Donbas. But during the period of the First Five-Year Plan we created a second and powerful metallurgical and coal centre in the east—the Urals-Kuznetsk Complex.

The old factories have been reconstructed and considerably enlarged. In fact, the only old thing about them now is their names (incidentally, even these have been changed in many cases); the majority of them are actually entirely new plants, only their locations reminding us of what they once were. By the end of the First Five-Year Plan period,

the Dynamo, Svetlana, Kirov, Nadezhdinski, Zlatoust, Makeyevka, Taganrog, Kerch, Dniepropetrovsk, Lugansk and many other plants had become completely transformed and are now entirely unlike their old originals.

By the end of the First Five-Year Plan our industry began to produce three and a half times as much as in pre-war days and nearly two and a half times as much as it did at the beginning of the First Five-Year Plan.

The result of this huge construction work was to transform our country by the end of the First Five-Year Plan period from an agrarian into an industrial country.

The success of the First Five-Year Plan was a practical refutation of the nonsensical Trotskyite-Zinovievite assertion that socialism could not be built in our country. The enemies of the working people and the Communist Party—the Trotskyites, Zinovievites and Bukharinites—were completely routed. A mighty material foundation for a socialist society had been laid in the Soviet Union. This ensured the economic independence of the U.S.S.R. Our factories began to build the most difficult and complex machinery, such as blooming mills, airplane motors and turbine blowers. It now became possible to undertake the technical reconstruction of every branch of the national economy—transport, light industry and agriculture.

PROGRESS OF SOCIALIST INDUSTRY IN THE SECOND FIVE-YEAR PLAN PERIOD

On the new socialist economic foundation, the workers and peasants began in the period of the Second Five-Year Plan (1933-1937) to erect the edifice of socialism itself. And this edifice is now in the main completed.

The principal political task of the Second Five-Year Plan was to completely abolish the exploitation of man by man in our country, to eliminate the relics of the exploiting classes and to build a socialist society. The principal economic task was to complete the technical reconstruction of the whole national economy.

The principal political task of the Second Five-Year Plan has been brilliantly accomplished: a socialist society, a society in which exploitation and oppression are unknown, has now been built. The principal economic task of the Second Five-Year Plan has also been successfully accomplished.

Soviet industry has made giant strides during the period of the Second Five-Year Plan. Wretched and beggarly does the industry of pre-war Russia now appear to us compared with the mighty and up-to-date industry of the U.S.S.R. In 1937 the output of the industry of the Soviet Union (as planned) will amount to 103,000 million rubles, or ten times the pre-war output (1913) and fifteen times the pre-revolutionary output (1917). The old industries taken from the manufacturers and industrialists by the working class now play an insignificant part in the economic life of the U.S.S.R. Three-quarters of our total industrial output today is produced by mills and factories built by the Soviet government.

Take, for example, the machine-building industry. Only an insignificant part of the machines used in the old, pre-revolutionary plants may now be taken into account. These plants are in fact entirely new—they have been so reconstructed and re-equipped. Translated into our Soviet prices of 1926/27, the total output of the pre-revolutionary machine-building plants amounted in all to 748 million rubles, whereas in 1936 our machine-building plants produced machinery and equipment to a value of 20,764 million rubles. Even if it were assumed that all the equipment of the old plants has been preserved in its entirely (actually, of course, it has become almost completely worn out during these twenty years)—even so the old plants would account for an output of some 750 million rubles, while the new plants account for an output of over 20,000 million rubles (30,000 million according to the plan of 1937).

The same is true of the iron and steel industry: the three giants—the Magnitogorsk, Kuznetsk and Makeyevka Works—produced as much pig iron in 1936 as all the iron and steel plants of old Russia together.

We thus see to what extent the Soviet government has fulfilled the principal economic task of the Second Five-Year Plan, namely, to complete the technical reconstruction of the national economy.

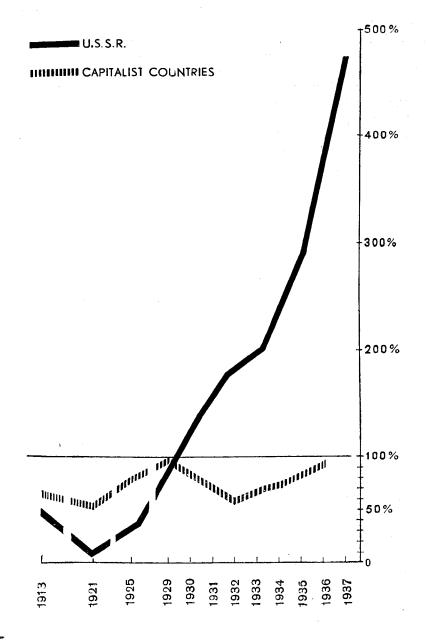
The ascertained coal deposits of Russia in tsarist times were estimated at 220,000 million tons. Only those deposits were known which were being operated in the Donetz, Moscow, and partly in the Urals and Kuznetsk fields. But the Soviet government has placed the geological survey both of the old regions and new regions on broad lines.

Coal deposits are now being worked in Karaganda, Siberia, the Tunguska field and a number of other regions. The ascertained deposits of coal in the U.S.S.R. are now estimated at 1,654,000 million tons.

Before the revolution (1913) the total annual coal output was 29,000-000 tons, but by the end of the First Five-Year Plan period it had risen to about 65,000,000 tons and in 1936 amounted to 126,000,000 tons.

The total ascertained deposits of iron ore in Russia in tsarist days were estimated at 1,600 million tons. But the deposits worked under the Soviet government enabled us to estimate our reserves of iron ore (and quartzites) at 260,000 million tons. The output of iron ore in 1913 was

GROWTH OF INDUSTRY IN THE U.S.S.R. AND IN CAPITALIST COUNTRIES



9,200,000 tons, but by the end of the First Five-Year Plan period (1932) it had risen to 12,100,000 tons, and in 1936 to 27,900,000 tons.

There were only a few electric power stations in pre-revolutionary Russia. Among the larger countries of the world ours occupied last place in respect to the output of electricity. Yet Russia's potentialities were greater than those of any other country. The surface of our country is intersected by broad rivers which may serve as abundant sources of electric power. If the potential resources of our rivers were to be employed to the full, the possible electricity output is estimated at 2,453,000 million kilowatt-hours per annum. Yet the aggregate output of the power stations of old Russia was less than 2,000 million kilowatt-hours per annum. During the period of the First Five-Year Plan the Soviet government built a number of large power stations to provide electricity for our industries and cities. In 1932, the aggregate output of electricity was 13,500 million kilowatt-hours.

Seventy-nine large district power stations have been under construction in the period of the Second Five-Year Plan. Most of them are already completed. The smallest of them has twice the capacity of the Volkhov station, which was started during Lenin's lifetime and was at that period considered the most powerful in our country.

In 1936, the Dnieper Hydro-electric Station alone produced more electricity than all the power stations of tsarist Russia together. In that year the output of electricity was 33,000 million kilowatt-hours, or sixteen times the output of pre-war Russia.

Electricity has become the chief motive power of Soviet industry, and it also drives trains, hoisting machinery and so on.

Heavy kinds of work, which formerly taxed the strength of hundreds and thousands of workers is now performed by machinery; and this machinery is being driven by electricity.

Before the revolution, the extraction, haulage and delivery of coal in the mines was done by hand. This was very arduous work, but it has now been almost completely mechanized. In respect to the mechanical extraction of coal, the U.S.S.R. holds first place in the world. Woodsawing used to absorb a great amount of human labour; but now it is done by electricity at mechanized sawmills. Almost half our lumbering work is now done by machinery. Oil extraction has been mechanized 98 per cent, fish-catching 67 per cent, the charging of blast furnaces and the pouring of pig iron—83 per cent.

Maxim Gorky, the great Russian writer, has described the hard toil and wretched life of a baker in the old tsarist days. But now bread is baked by electricity in splendid factories and wonderfully clean ovens. The baked loaves move on a belt by electricity and are also loaded by electricity.

There are 5,000 kilometres of electrified railway in the Soviet Union. Electricity is also making its way into agriculture. Several thousand electric threshing machines are already operating in the countryside.

Hundreds of large new plants have been constructed or completed during the Second Five-Year Plan period. The huge Urals and Novo-Kramatorsk works, which produce machinery for heavy industry, have been started. Thirty-one metal-cutting machines were produced in 1936 for every one produced in 1913, and 106 steam turbines for every steam turbine produced in 1913.

The iron and steel mills of Magnitogorsk, Kuznetsk, Nizhne-Tagil, Lipetsk, Krivoy Rog, Zaporozhye and Tula have been completed. New locomotive, motor, and other machine-building works are in course of construction.

One hundred and seventy-eight mines, 46 pipe-rolling mills, 93 cracking plants, 4,000 kilometres of pipeline, 15 large cotton mills, 12 large woollen mills, 12 flax mills, 18 knitting mills, 11 silk mills, 21 shoe factories, 40 meat-packing plants, 6 soap works and hundreds of canneries, vegetable oil, confectionery and other food factories and numerous sawmills and paper mills were being constructed, and have mostly already been completed, in the period of the Second Five-Year Plan.

One of the aims of the policy of industrializing the U.S.S.R. was to overtake and outstrip the foremost capitalist countries economically and technically. The rapid development of Soviet industry in the periods of the First and Second Five-Year Plans has, in respect to a number of branches of industry, advanced our country to first place in Europe, and even in the world. In respect to gross industrial output, the U.S.S.R. attained first place in Europe and second place in the world in 1935. The Soviet Union also holds first place in Europe and second place in the world in respect to machine building. It holds first place in Europe with respect to output of tractors, and first place in the world with respect to output of harvester combines. In 1913 our country held fifteenth place in respect to electricity output, but it now holds second place in Europe and third place in the world. The U.S.S.R. has moved up from fifth to first place in Europe in respect to output of pig iron, and from sixteenth to first place in Europe in respect to output of superphosphates. The U.S.S.R. produces one-fifth the machinery and over four-fifths the tractors produced by all the capitalist countries together. And it produces two and a half times as many harvester combines as the capitalist countries.

As we have seen, Russia's pre-war output consisted largely of agricultural produce. Industrial goods accounted for barely two-fifths of her total output. But in 1937 the industrial output of the U.S.S.R. (ac-

cording to the plan) will constitute 77.4 per cent of the total output of the country, and this despite the tremendous progress made by socialist agriculture, the rapid increase in harvests, in livestock, etc.

Thus, led by the Bolshevik Party, and in a bitter struggle against the Trotskyites, Bukharinites and other enemies of the socialist country, the workers and peasants have transformed our native land into a mighty industrial power.

3. TRIUMPH OF SOCIALISM IN THE COUNTRYSIDE

THE RUSSIAN COUNTRYSIDE UNDER THE TSARS

Russian writers in the old days referred to our country as "straw-thatch Russia," or "wooden Russia," and Russian artists would paint the slanting, tumbledown hut of the peasant to depict the poverty and unenlightenment that prevailed in old tsarist Russia.

In years of famine the thatched roofs would go to feed the cattle. Whole provinces and regions would be stricken by typhus, scurvy and other hunger diseases. In the hot summer months the closely-built wooden huts would easily catch fire—the "red cock" would strut through the village streets, and whole villages, even whole districts, would be reduced to ashes.

This is how the muzhiks in Nekrassov's poem describe the life of the peasants in old tsarist Russia:

... We have our woes,
Our heavy cares
That drive us from home,
Estrange us from work,
And part us from food.
We are worthy muzhiks,
Masterless men,
From Emptygut county,
In the province of Tightbelt,
From the village of Starveton,
Of Famish and Tatterham,
Of Patchstead and Roofless,
And neighbouring
Nocrop.

The muzhik was dogged at every step by the church, which saw to it that he obeyed the tsar, the landlord and the policeman, paid his taxes punctually, and enriched his oppressors and deceivers—the landlords and priests.

The tsars kept the rural population in ignorance and darkness. They set up drinkshops in the villages so that it might be easier to hold the peasants in complete subordination to the autocratic monarchy and to the feudal landlords.

The tsar regarded the peasant as a dumb and submissive clodhopper who would go on forever uncomplainingly tolerating the yoke of the autocracy and the exploitation of the large landowners—the nobility.

But the tsar and the landlords miscalculated. The toiling peasants resisted the tsars and the landlords, refused to pay taxes and extortionate rents, rose in revolt against the landlords, destroyed their manors, and supported the workers in their struggle against the autocracy and capitalists.

The struggle of the peasants against the landlords was chiefly a struggle for land. The peasant could not hope to improve his lot unless he had land to plough and sow. But the greater part of the fertile land was in the hands of the landlords. Twenty-eight thousand large and medium landlords owned almost as much land as 10,000,000 peasant households: the 28,000 landlords owned 62,000,000 desyatins and the 10,000,000 peasant households 73,000,000 desystins. The peasants had the poor land, the landlords the good land. Not only had the peasants little land to plough, but they had nothing to plough it with: more than half the peasant households had nothing but a wretched, half-starved nag, or no horse at all; their implements were of the most primitive kind —a wooden plough, and only rarely an iron plough. The poor peasant had to turn to the landlord or the kulak for the use of a horse or plough, or the rent of a little extra land. And the exploiters squeezed the peasants dry; they compelled them to work in their fields and to pay three times the normal price for the use of horse, plough or harrow or for the loan of seed. This reduced the peasants to a state of bondage and pauperization. Many were driven from their homes by the extortion of the landlords and kulaks and forced to live as wandering beggars.

Time and again did the peasants of Russia rise up in revolt against the landlords, but every time the revolt was brutally suppressed by tsarist troops. The Russian tsars protected the interests of the landlords and kept a stranglehold on the peasants, because they themselves were the biggest landlords of all. Nicholas II, the last of the Russian tsars, and his family owned eight million hectares of land in European Russia alone, in addition to vast territories in Siberia and the Far East. The tsarist autocracy was a government of the feudal landlords, and it waged a bloody war on the workers and peasants who strove to overthrow that government.

The peasants were unable to put an end to the rule of the tsar and the landlords by their own efforts. Only the working class, the organized, class-conscious and revolutionary vanguard of all the toiling people, could unite the peasants and lead them in a victorious struggle against the tsar, the landlords and capitalists. The working class rallied the toiling folk of town and country against tsarism, formed a firm alliance

with the peasantry, led the struggle of the toilers against the autocracy, the power of the capitalists and landlords, and achieved victory. Having overthrown the autocracy in February 1917, and the power of the capitalists and landlords in October 1917, the workers and peasants abolished private property in land, took away the land from the landlords and forever emancipated the peasantry from their exploitation.

COLLECTIVE FARMING—THE PATH TO SOCIALISM

Why did the workers and peasants take away the land, manors, farm implements and draught cattle from the landlords? Not just in order to divide up this property among the peasants and to leave the old order in the countryside intact; not so that the peasants might go on living in the old way, each household working by itself on a minute plot of land; not so that the stronger, the more cunning and grasping might rise up on the backs of the poor and the weak; not so that the kulaks might continue to strangle the poor peasants and reduce them to bondage; not so that the kulaks might grow rich and become semilandlords and then full-fledged landlords.

Obviously it was not for this that the workers and peasants overthrew the power of the capitalists and landlords and took away their factories, land and manors. The workers and peasants set up the Soviet power so as to put an end forever to all oppression and exploitation and, therefore, to the wolfish habits of exploitation of the kulaks, and to all poverty, and therefore to poverty in the countryside.

The Soviet government at once undermined the power of the rural exploiters by abolishing the private ownership of land. But the kulak usurers were still able to exploit the poor peasants in various ways. The latter were still obliged to borrow implements, seed, horses and money from the kulaks. And the kulaks compelled the poor peasants to work for them in return and to pay extortionate interest for loans of money, seed and implements. So that even after the private ownership of land was abolished the kulaks were still in a position to exploit the poor peasants and keep them in a state of dependence.

Numerically, the kulaks were the largest of the exploiting classes.

If exploitation was to be ended completely, the whole system in the countryside had to be changed. The Communists set about explaining to the peasants that only large-scale, collective farming could put an end to their poverty and their enslavement to the kulaks. The U.S.S.R. had built up a powerful, up-to-date industry. Agriculture could not be allowed to lag behind industry. It was impermissible that, with a large-

scale, highly developed socialist industry, agriculture should consist of a sea of small and dwarf farms.

The Communists explained to the peasants that the only way they could escape from their poverty was to abandon the ancient habit of each household working its separate farm. The Soviet government aided the peasants in every way—by loans, seed, and agricultural implements, and by curbing the kulaks and placing restrictions on their exploiting proclivities. But at the same time, the Communist Party and the Soviet government made it clear to the peasants that the only sure way they could escape from poverty and exploitation altogether was to form collective farms.

Collective farming was the way to socialism in the countryside. It was the way Lenin and Stalin had pointed out to the toiling peasants. Socialism could be built only on the basis of large-scale production. Small, individual peasant farms either decline and become impoverished, or develop and grow and give rise to capitalism, to a bourgeoisie, to wage-labour and exploitation. Only large-scale farming could serve as a foundation for socialism. But not large-scale private farming, of course. Kulak farming was also large-scale farming, but it was capitalist farming, based on exploitation. Only large-scale collective production, production not based on exploitation, robbery and the private ownership of the means and implements of production, could serve as the foundation for socialism. That is why the Bolsheviks, in leading the struggle of the workers and peasants for the victory of socialism, insistently directed the peasants towards collectivization, towards large-scale collective, co-operative farming.

The success of Lenin's and Stalin's policy of industrialization helped to expedite the socialist reconstruction of agriculture. Agriculture until then had consisted of a multiplicity of small farms. And each of these farms was undergoing a process of further division into still smaller farms. Adult sons and daughters would separate from the household to rear their own families, and this entailed dividing up the house, the land and the farm implements. Farms were growing smaller and smaller. Each owner scratched his plot of land as best he could—with wooden plough, spade or mattock. Agricultural technique was dreadfully primitive: many peasants could not even afford an iron plough, let alone a tractor. The chief implements of labour of the peasants before the revolution were the wooden plough and harrow.

In 1913 the first tractor was imported into Russia by an American firm. It was the only one in the country. It was displayed at an agricultural exhibition in Kiev, but was never set to work in the fields.

In pursuance of its policy of industrialization, the Soviet govern-

ment, in the period of the First Five-Year Plan, built a large tractor plant in Stalingrad, which was followed by two other large tractor plants in Kharkov and Chelyabinsk. Harvester combine works were built in Saratov and Zaporozhye, and a harvester combine department was added to the agricultural machinery works in Rostov. At the same time the Soviet government reconstructed and re-equipped other agricultural machinery plants. In pursuance of its aim of improving agriculture and placing it on up-to-date scientific and technical lines, the Soviet government poured tens of thousands of tractors, harvester combines, threshing machines and other complex machinery into the countryside. Machine and tractor stations were set up everywhere to assist the development of the collective farm movement. The Soviet government also started several thousand large state farms.

All this helped to demonstrate to the peasants the advantages of large-scale production. The peasants began to realize that collective farming was more profitable than small individual farming. They saw that only large farms could make the fullest use of powerful machinery. And they found that even if they only pooled their ordinary implements and used them in common, better results could be obtained than by each individual peasant working separately.

Collective farms and state farms, like all large-scale production generally, could make more efficient use of implements, employ fertilizers on their land and take advantage of the perfections and improvements of agricultural science. The collective farms immediately began to yield their members a greater income than the individual peasant could earn on his separate farm. The result was that in 1929 the peasants began to flock into the collective farms.

The collective farm movement had many difficulties to overcome. It met with the desperate resistance of the kulaks. These rural exploiters clearly saw that the success of the collective farms meant their own end. The Bolshevik Party and the Soviet government strove to achieve universal collectivization and on this basis eliminated the kulak class altogether. The kulaks made desperate efforts to undermine the collective farms and prevent them from developing: they damaged their machinery, poisoned their livestock, burnt down their barns and other structures, set fire to their standing crops, and murdered collective farm enthusiasts.

The kulaks were seconded by the Trotskyite spawn and by agents of foreign intelligence services. Their method was to collectivize not only the means and implements of production, but all the property of the collective farmers—their houses, cows, chickens and vegetable gardens; they deprived them of their household land; they infected the peasants' cattle with plague and other diseases.

The Right traitors in the Party, headed by Bukharin, Rykov and Tomsky, worked hand in hand with the kulaks, Trotskyites and spies in trying to prevent the development of the collective farms.

The Bolshevik Party and the Soviet government demolished these traitors and enemies of the people. The resistance of the kulaks to the development of the collective farms was smashed. The kulaks were destroyed as a class. The collective farm system definitely triumphed and the Soviet countryside moved confidently forward to the happy and prosperous life the collective farms had inaugurated.

THE TRIUMPH OF THE COLLECTIVE FARM SYSTEM

The success of the collective farm system helped to solve the grain problem, the problem of the country's food supply. Until then the kulaks had tried in every way to prevent supplies of grain, meat, milk and other produce being secured for the towns and the Red Army. Not only before the revolution, but even in the early years of the Soviet system the kulaks controlled a vast amount of grain.

Before the revolution the landlords and kulaks together constituted a little more than 13 per cent of the population, yet they owned 72 per cent of all the marketable grain. There were no longer any landlords in 1926/27, of course, but 4.5 per cent of all the farms in the country were still kulak farms, and these controlled 20 per cent of the marketable grain.

There are no longer any kulaks today. Ninety-seven per cent of the marketable grain is supplied by the state and collective farms. The bins of the socialist farms are bursting with wheat, rye and other produce. And not only have the collective and state farms all the grain they need themselves, but they are supplying it in abundance to the cities and the Red Army.

Practically all the land under crops in the country is now being cultivated by collective farms and state farms. In 1928 only 2.3 per cent of the area under crops in the U.S.S.R. was cultivated by collective and state farms; in 1937 this figure had risen to 99 per cent. Soviet agriculture was formerly an ocean of small and dwarf farms; today it is a socialist agriculture, run on the largest scale in the world.

In the U.S.S.R. the average area of a state farm is 2,703 hectares, and the average area of a collective farm 473 hectares. In America the average area of a farm is about 21 hectares, and in Germany even less—6.5 hectares.

Hundreds of thousands of powerful machines are now helping to cultivate the fields of the state farms and collective farms. In 1932,

the end of the First Five-Year Plan period, our machine and tractor stations had about 70,000 tractors. This was a great advance in the mechanization of agriculture. But by the middle of 1937 they already had over 356,000 tractors. In 1936 twice as much work was done by tractors in the U.S.S.R. as in the United States.

Tractors and combines can be put to much more effective use in our socialist country than in bourgeois countries. For in the latter, where private property prevails, tractors and combines are hampered by the narrow boundaries of privately owned farms, and cannot be used to their full capacity, whereas in the U.S.S.R., where private ownership of land does not exist and where the tractors and combines belong to the socialist state, the machines have space to move in. The collective farms are only too anxious to have the services of the machine and tractor stations. In 1937 nearly all the collective farms in the country were being served by machine and tractor stations.

There are less tractors in the U.S.S.R. than in the United States. But, because of the advantages of the socialist system over the capitalist system, our tractors together perform more work than the tractors in the United States.

Everywhere the best people in the collective farms and the state farms are striving to secure record yields of grain, cotton, sugar beet and flax. There were scientists who affirmed that the sugar beet crop in our country could not possibly exceed 20 or 25 tons per hectare. But collective farm women in the Ukraine have shown that it is possible to secure harvests of over 100 tons of sugar beet per hectare. There were scientists who affirmed that the cotton crop in our country could not exceed 1.3 or 1.5 tons per hectare. But collective farmers in Uzbekistan have secured four times and five times this yield.

Our country is striving to extract from the land the vast and immeasurable wealth it contains. The possibilities for large crops are enormous. The Soviet Union obtained an abundant harvest in 1937. But our collective farmers will secure even larger harvests of grain, sugar beet, hemp, sunflower seed, cotton, flax and vegetables from their fertile fields, ploughed by Soviet machines and enriched by Soviet fertilizers.

The average grain harvest in Russia before the revolution was 5,000 million poods. The peasants lived in penury and perished from starvation. The collective farmers and state farm workers are now striving to fulfil Stalin's behest and raise the grain harvest to 7,000 or 8,000 million poods. And actually this has already been achieved in 1937 when, according to all calculations, the harvest will approach 7,000 million poods.

Notable people in our collective farms have achieved remarkable

results in the fight for large harvests. The potentialities of our country in this respect are enormous. There is land in abundance.

The Soviet government is anxious to have only the finest seed sown, and regularly supplies the collective farms with good, sorted seed material. Each year more and more fertilizer is being used in the fields of the collective farms and state farms, more and more machines are helping to cultivate them, and the farms are more and more able to avail themselves of the services of agricultural experts.

The Soviet government is energetically building irrigation systems in the steppe lands of Uzbekistan, Tadjikistan and Turkmenistan with the object of extending the cultivation of cotton in these parts. And it is taking many other measures to enable the country to produce increasing quantities of grain, industrial crops, fruit and vegetables.

And with the increase of the harvests and of the amount of grain gathered, the collective farmers are growing stronger. They are no longer defenceless against drought, against the *sukhovei*, or dry, scorching wind. They are no longer haunted by the spectre of famine. There was a short harvest in 1936. Large and important agricultural areas were affected by drought. But the Soviet government advanced over four million tons of grain to the peasants in the form of loans, supplied them with other foodstuffs and with seed, and the result was that in 1937 they were able to secure a fine harvest.

Our collective farmers are now living well and happily. They are confident in the morrow, knowing that it will bring them even greater benefits. Their prosperity is growing; and at the same time their cultural level is steadily rising and approaching that of the city dwellers. Socialism is destroying that gloomy heritage of the past—the gulf between town and country—which is inevitable under capitalism.

4. NEW TECHNIQUE AND NEW PEOPLE

TECHNICAL RECONSTRUCTION OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMY

Socialist construction during the period of the Stalin Five-Year Plans has embraced every phase of the economic and cultural life of our country. A new life, a new socialist order has developed all over the great Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, in town and country, in factory settlement, mountain village and among the nomad peoples of the steppe.

By creating an advanced heavy industry, the Soviet government was able to set about reconstructing not only agriculture but all the other branches of national economy and placing them on a new technical and scientific basis.

The light industries and the food industry were supplied with new machines and perfected equipment made by Soviet factories.

The railways were supplied with new locomotives, cars, rails and up-to-date automatic signalling and communication equipment. The total length of railway line increased from 76,900 kilometres in 1929 to 85,000 kilometres at the beginning of 1937. Under the guidance of L. M. Kaganovich, the railways were very quickly converted from a backward into an advanced branch of the national economy.

Water transport was supplied with a large number of new passenger ships, cargo boats, launches, ice breakers and dredges. Two magnificent canals were constructed: the White Sea and Baltic Canal, inter-connecting the northern Soviet seas, and the Moscow-Volga Canal, providing a navigable waterway from Moscow to the principal rivers of the Soviet Union. The total length of navigable waterways has increased from 71,600 kilometres in 1928 to 92,700 kilometres in 1936.

New forms of transport have appeared in the Soviet Union—automobile and air transport.

The only communication between village and village in the old days was by peasant cart or wagon over uneven and unsurfaced tracks. It would take a whole day to travel a distance of 30 or 40 kilometres between village and village. But today this same distance is covered by automobile or motor bus in an hour or less.

Many new roads have been built by the Soviet government in the past few years. In 1928 there were only 32,000 kilometres of asphalted or tarred road; at the beginning of 1935 there were over 60,000 kilometres of such road.

OUR COUNTRY

Air transport is a complete innovation in our country. It was unknown in tsarist Russia. In 1928 the air routes in the U.S.S.R. totalled 8,990 kilometres; in 1936 they already totalled about 110,000 kilometres.

The growth of industry implies a growth of culture. As industry develops, the whole economic and cultural aspect of the country changes. Large factories require good spur lines and roads. Good roads require good bridges.

To work well and uninterruptedly, factorics require good engineers and other experts and large numbers of skilled workers. Proper institutions are required to train these engineers and experts. Around the factories, for the needs of their workers, must be built houses, restaurants, tailoring shops, stores, laundries, bakeries, cinemas, schools and clubs. For the restaurants and bakeries to function, they must be ensured a constant supply of flour, meat, vegetables and other produce from collective farms and state farms.

The development of industry thus serves as a stimulus to all other branches of activity—transport, communications, housing, education,-agriculture and trade.

Take communications as an example. Before the imperialist war there was a total length of 502,000 kilometres of telegraph and telephone line in the country. In 1928, before the First Five-Year Plan, the length of telegraph and telephone line had increased to 890,000 kilometres, and in 1936 to 2,150,000 kilometres. The number of telephones in the towns increased during the periods of the First and Second Five-Year Plans (up to 1935) from 290,000 to 742,000. During this period telephones have also been widely installed in the countryside, in the collective farms.

The socialist development of industry involved the reconstruction of city life. Since the revolution 230 new cities have been built. Some of them are entirely new, others were formerly small settlements that have been enlarged and reconstructed. In old Russia, as in capitalist countries generally, it usually required decades and centuries for a new city to arise; but in the U.S.S.R. such huge cities and industrial centres as Komsomolsk, Magnitogorsk, Stalinogorsk, Stalinsk, Kramatorsk, Stalinabad and Dzerzhinsk sprang up in the period of the First and Second Five-Year Plans. In old Russia there were fourteen cities with a population of over 100,000; there are 74 such cities now. The majority of the towns of old Russia were lighted by kerosene lamps; practically none of the district and country towns had electricity. Today every

town in the U.S.S.R. is lighted by electricity. And this is true not only of the towns but of many rural localities as well.

What were formerly small and wretched towns and villages now have large buildings, tramways and water supply. Chelyabinsk, which not so long ago was a country town in the remote, dusty steppe, is now the centre of an important industrial region, and has lost its unkempt, neglected rural town aspect. Block after block of wooden houses is being torn down and replaced by tall modern buildings. Chelyabinsk now has its street car service. Before the revolution only 34 Russian towns had street car services; 71 towns have them today.

Chelyabinsk, Baku, Gorlovka, Novosibirsk and many other of the old provincial towns have been completely transformed.

Machines are now playing an important part in town maintenance, as they are everywhere else: street watering, snow clearing and asphalt laying are all done by machines.

There is no branch of the national economy of the U.S.S.R. in which the development of socialist industry has not brought about important changes.

Now that we have developed our own heavy industry we are no longer obliged to buy abroad the machines and goods we formerly used to import in large quantities. In the old days Russia purchased even scythes abroad—in Austria.

The landlords, manufacturers and merchants of tsarist Russia used to spend huge sums of money on luxury articles—gems, silks, wines, jewelry and expensive bric-à-brac. In 1913 Russian imports were valued at 1,375 million rubles, of which 270 million rubles were spent upon trinkets and other luxury articles.

Where did the tsar, the landlords and the capitalists get the money for these foreign purchases? The tsarist government compelled the workers and peasants to starve so that it might export huge quantities of grain and purchase these useless trifles with the proceeds. But no money could be found to buy goods the country so urgently needed, such as machines, cotton and rubber, or for the building of new factories. That is why the industry, agriculture and transport system of the country were so backward.

In its early years the Soviet government was obliged to purchase machinery, automobiles, cotton, aluminium, rubber and locomotives abroad.

But today we import only the latest types of machines, and these only in small quantities. We no longer import tractors and automobiles. In 1936 only three-tenths of one per cent of the aluminium used by our industry was purchased abroad—we now have our own, Soviet aluminium. Before the war Russia did not produce rubber, but imported

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it from abroad. But now we ourselves produce over two-thirds of the rubber we consume, and the time is not far off when all the rubber we require will be produced at home. Half the raw cotton used by the textile mills of tsarist Russia was imported from Egypt and America. Today we import practically no cotton at all. The consumption of cotton in the country has almost doubled, yet in 1936 we imported only 1.3 per cent of the cotton we consumed. This is cotton we receive under our treaties with Eastern countries. We carry on trade with these countries and they pay for our goods in cotton. Forty per cent of the paper used by Russia before the war was purchased abroad. But now our Soviet mills produce every kind of paper the country requires; and it should be borne in mind that the U.S.S.R. now consumes almost two and a half times as much paper as tsarist Russia.

In order to import machines, cotton, and other goods, we were obliged to export grain, butter, wool, leather and other produce and goods which the working people of our country urgently needed themselves. The Soviet government consented to do this because it knew that there was no other way whereby we could create our own industry and put an end to our dependence on capitalist countries. The working people voluntarily agreed to certain deprivations so as to secure independence, to build their own industry, in order then to be able to lead a happy life.

Nevertheless, the Soviet government never for one moment relaxed its concern for the working people. As the output of Soviet industry steadily increased, the Party and government first curtailed and then almost completely discontinued the export of grain and other foodstuff's. Thus, while the total grain harvest of the U.S.S.R. during the years 1933-35 increased to 5,480 million poods, during these years we exported only one-tenth of the grain that was exported before the revolution.

There is now no need for the Soviet Union to export agricultural produce and foodstuffs. Our country has grown so rich and her industry has so developed that we are now in very little need of foreign machines and metals. On the contrary, we ourselves export iron, machinery, automobiles and unnecessary luxury articles. This enables us to purchase abroad samples of certain new machines which we can then begin to produce in our own country, and certain materials which we require for our further economic development, for the defence of the country and for scientific purposes.

Thus the creation of a powerful Soviet industry has not only fundamentally altered many branches of industry, transport and other aspects of our economic life, but has also altered the character of our foreign trade.

SOCIALIST PRODUCTIVITY OF LABOUR

With the introduction of new technique, a new brand of people have come to work in our industries, agriculture and transport system. They were trained by the Bolshevik Party, which led our country into the broad path of socialism. These people grew up and received their industrial training under the Soviet government.

NEW TECHNIQUE AND NEW PEOPLE

They have never known exploitation. They work in socialist mills and factories, and in the fields of the state and collective farms. They do not work for private masters, but for themselves, and they therefore work with zeal and enthusiasm. The workers in our Soviet factories, mines, depots and state farms, our collective farmers and all our working people generally, know that the more wealth they produce the more will the Soviet state be able to improve the lives of the working people, to increase their prosperity and comfort.

Socialist competition has widely developed in our factories and collective farms during the period of the Stalin Five-Year Plans, and productivity of labour has risen. By working enthusiastically and increasing their output, the working people have achieved a considerable improvement in their living conditions. Life and work have become joyous, and so work goes with a swing. Our foremost workers and collective farmers are devoting all their abilities to achieving a higher output. They have come to know the joy of working for themselves as free men. Moreover, the greater the output of the workers and collective farmers, the more products they themselves receive. Such is the law of socialism, the lower phase of communism: from each according to his ability, to each according to his work.

The fact that our people are working for themselves, for the Soviet society, has created an entirely new attitude to labour, and an entirely new devotion to labour. Labour for our workers, collective farmers, engineers, agronomists and scientists is a matter of honour, a matter of glory, a matter of valour and heroism. Work is a joy to the people of our Soviet country, where capitalists and exploiters are unknown. They are happy to strive for a high, socialist productivity of labour, to conquer the peaks of the new technique, and to create a new culture in production. Our country and the Bolshevik Party have reared and trained a splendid new type of people.

Alexei Stakhanov, Donbas coal hewer, who in 1935 achieved 141/2 times the standard output of coal, started a mass movement among the workers and collective farmers for new records of output. Busygin, forgeman at the Molotov Automobile Works in Gorky; Marusya and Dusya Vinogradova, Vichuga weavers; Krivonoss, locomotive driver; Smetanin, laster in the Skorokhod Shoe Factory; Musinsky, frame-saw

operator in the Archangel sawmills; Maria Demchenko, collective farm sugar-beet grower, and Pasha Angelina, tractor driver—these people have all shown what records of output can be achieved by Soviet people in the factories and fields of our socialist country once they have mastered technique.

The Stakhanov movement is closely bound up with the application of the latest scientific and technical developments to production. Only our socialist enterprises, with their new technique, could give rise to this splendid generation of people who are determined to squeeze out of machinery all that it can give.

These are people who have mastered technique, have made it their instrument, and with it are achieving records of production efficiency.

The Stakhanovites—our foremost people in production—have upset all the technical standards established by the old scientists and specialists. It is from the ranks of the Stakhanovites that the genuine revolutionaries of technique are arising. They are correcting and spurring on the old science. The Stakhanov movement is creating the conditions for the transition from the lower phase of communism to the higher phase, when the law of society will be: from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs.

When science is mastered by the masses it becomes a tremendous force. In the higher phase of communism the difference between mental and physical labour will disappear. The Stakhanov movement already contains the beginnings of that rise in the cultural and technical level of the workers which will result in the elimination of the difference between physical labour and mental labour.

The movement to elevate their cultural and technical level to that of engineers and technicians has spread to broad masses of workers. At the end of 1936, two-thirds of the workers employed in large-scale industry were attending, or had already taken technical courses.

During the eight years of the Stalin Five-Year Plans, 393,000 persons have received a higher education, and about 9,000,000 persons an intermediate education.

The ranks of the Stakhanovites, the champions of socialist production, are growing. The level of technical culture is rapidly rising. A generation of young and valorous standard-bearers of new, communist habits of labour has grown up and is steadily gaining in strength.

5. THE BRIGHT AND HAPPY LIFE OF THE SOVIET PEOPLE

PRODUCTION FOR THE PEOPLE

Our country is leading a new life. The alliance between the working class and the peasantry is firm and unshakable. The economic ties between Soviet industry and socialist agriculture are strong and unbreakable. Agricultural produce moves in a steady stream to the mills and factories, and returns to the countryside in the form of cloth, calico, sugar, soap, shoes and sausage. Machinery, trucks, bicycles, nails, furniture flow in a counter-stream from the factories to the collective farms and state farms. And in return the countryside consigns to the towns grain, milk and meat.

Great is the solicitude of the Communist Party and the Soviet government for the welfare of the individual. Why did the Party and the Soviet government build huge mills and factories, new railways and state farms? Why did the Bolshevik Party lead the peasantry into the path of collective farming? So that the Soviet citizen—the worker, collective farmer and office employee—might live well and comfortably; so that our country might be rich in produce and goods; so that the Soviet Union might be economically independent of the capitalist world; so that our country might be strong and invincible and our frontiers securely protected from our enemies; so that the Soviet people might be confident and happy and work joyously for the benefit of their free country.

It is no easy thing to keep our population of one hundred and seventy million people, spread over our immense country, supplied with clothing, footwear, bread and all other foodstuffs and goods. The Bukharinite traitors, while they fought industrialization, pretended to be the friends of the people. They insisted that it was a mistake to build big iron and steel mills—better give the country textiles and shoes, they said. But the whole point was that in order to give the country textiles, shoes and foodstuffs in abundance, we had first to build a heavy industry. Without iron, it would have been impossible to produce the machines our textile and shoe factories require. Without coal and oil, our cotton mills and sugar refineries could not function; nor could our

locomotives run, so that our textile, shoe, and food factories might be supplied with cotton, leather, sugar beet and oilseed. Without reconstructing agriculture on socialist lines, without creating collective farms and state farms, it would have been impossible to supply our light industries and food industry with abundant raw materials.

It is thanks to the policy of industrialization that our people are now able to eat well, dress well and live intelligently. Otherwise we would have had to turn to the predatory imperialists for machines and goods, and to sell ourselves in bondage to them. By creating a powerful heavy industry, and a machine-building industry in the first place, by reconstructing and developing the light industries and the food industry, it became possible for the Soviet government to supply the country with articles of good quality and with appetizing and nourishing foods. At the same time the Soviet government made our country economically independent of the capitalist countries.

In its constant care to improve the supply of goods and produce to the workers and peasants, the Soviet government is steadily developing Soviet trade. The profiteer, private merchant and middleman have been driven out of our trading system. There is no room for the merchant and the kulak in the Soviet trading system. The number of shops is rapidly growing. Goods flow in a steady stream along our roads and railways to city store and village shop. In 1936 goods were sold by our state and co-operative shops to a value of over 106,000 million rubles, or 100,000 million rubles more than in 1924 and 95,000 million rubles more than on the eve of the First Five-Year Plan (1928).

It is not so long ago that our country suffered from an acute shortage of produce and goods, so that they had to be rationed. But rationing was finally abolished in January 1935. The Soviet government is now in a position to keep the population supplied without a rationing system. The amount of goods in the country is growing from year to year and month to month. Since 1924, the large state and co-operative mills and factories have increased the output of consumers' goods more than tenfold. And from year to year and month to month the supply of goods to the working population is growing.

LIFE HAS IMPROVED

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Now that the exploiting classes have been abolished, the whole national income goes to benefit the working masses themselves, and the workers' and peasants' state. The national income is growing rapidly: it was only about 17,000 million rubles in 1925; in 1937 it already exceeds 100,000 million rubles.

In old Russia the revenues of the state went to strengthen the power

of the landlords and capitalists, to keep the workers and peasants in subjection, to maintain prisons, police and gendarmes, to support the church, and to keep the mass of the people in a state of oppression and ignorance. It is a satisfaction to know that in the U.S.S.R. the whole national income goes to improve the condition of the working people, to build factories, bright and comfortable homes, schools, sanatoriums, hospitals, health resorts, theatres and clubs, and to maintain the Red Army and strengthen our power of defence—and that all this is being done for the workers and collective farmers, for the working population of our glorious and beloved country.

The Soviet government spends a part of these funds on the defence of the country, and this meets with the universal approval of our citizens, for our country must be strong and able to defeat every attempt to violate our Soviet frontiers. The people of our country derive great satisfaction from the fact that our frontiers are inviolable and that we can confidently engage in our free work of creation.

And this satisfaction is all the greater from the knowledge that the working people of the U.S.S.R. are sure of the morrow and have no anxiety about earning their livelihood. Unemployment—that frightful scourge of the capitalist system—has been unknown in the Soviet Union since 1931. Two years before that there were still about two million unemployed in the Soviet Union. But their number decreased from day to day, and now unemployment has disappeared forever in our country. Yet the number of unemployed in the United States increased from 1,900,000 in 1929 to 10,000,000 in 1936, in Great Britain from 1,300,000 to 2,000,000, and in Germany from 2,000,000 to 3,500,000.

Every worker in our country is guaranteed employment. The number of employed persons is rapidly growing. Before the war (1913) there were 11,000,000 employed persons in Russia; in 1936 there were already about 26,000,000. The number of employed persons per family is increasing, which means an increase in the aggregate income of the family and of its standard of living. But in bourgeois countries no worker can be certain that the morrow will not find him without the means of livelihood.

Not only are the working people of our country confident of the morrow, not only are they guaranteed employment, but the remuneration they receive for their work is increasing from year to year. Workers in bourgeois countries cannot even dream of an increase of wages; as a rule they have had in recent years to fight to at least prevent their wages being reduced. But in the U.S.S.R. wages are increasing from year to year. In 1928 the total payroll of the country amounted to 8,200 million rubles; in 1937 it will amount to 78,300 million rubles, an increase of 70,000 million rubles. Average wages in the U.S.S.R. in

1936 as compared with 1929 had increased nearly threefold, whereas in the same period they had decreased in Great Britain by 4 per cent, in America by 14 per cent, in Italy by 18 per cent, in Japan by 12 per cent and in Germany by 21 per cent.

The revenues of the collective farms are also rapidly rising. In 1935 they increased by 83 per cent, or almost double, compared with 1934; in 1936 they rose still further, while in 1937 an abundant harvest of grain, cotton, sugar beet, sunflower seed, tobacco and other crops will mean another big increase in the revenues of the collective farms and the incomes of the collective farmers.

Before the revolution the peasants of Russia fed almost entirely on bread, potatoes and vegetables. The poorer peasants lived on the brink of starvation, and often did not have even potatoes to eat. But our collective farmers today consume large quantities of meat, butter, eggs, milk, fish, sugar and canned goods. They spend a large part of their incomes on industrial goods—clothes, shoes, furniture and musical instruments. There are no poor peasants in our country today. All the peasants—both the former poor peasants and the former middle peasants—have been enabled by the collective farms to lead prosperous and cultured lives.

With the increased prosperity of the whole working population, the standard of living of Soviet intellectual workers has also risen. The salaries of engineers and technicians in 1932 averaged 3,636 rubles; in 1936 the average had risen to 5,318 rubles, and in 1937 will amount to 6,502 rubles.

At the same time, it must be borne in mind that the purchasing power of Soviet money is rising from year to year. In its care for the welfare of the working people, the Soviet government steadily reduces the prices of goods and thereby increases the real incomes of working families. For example, as compared with commercial prices in 1933, the price of meat has dropped 36 per cent, the price of sausage 45 per cent, the price of bread 63 per cent, the price of butter 64 per cent, the price of sugar 71 per cent, the price of footwear 13 per cent, the price of knitted goods 20 per cent, the price of textiles 26 per cent and the price of soap 50 per cent.

In the collective farm market, for the price of one kilogram of bread in 1933 one can now purchase 9 kilograms; for the price of one kilogram of meat 2.2 kilograms; for the price of one kilogram of butter 2.3 kilograms, and for the price of a dozen eggs two and a half dozen.

That is how the Communist Party and the Soviet government are steadily raising the standard of living of the working people of our country.

GENERAL CULTURAL PROGRESS

The cultural level of our country is rising with the rise in the standard of living of the people. Ever since the dictatorship of the proletariat was set up, the Party and the Soviet government have been steadily working to completely abolish illiteracy, that accursed heritage of the tsarist regime. In 1920 two-thirds of the population were still illiterate, but by 1936 the proportion of illiterates had dropped to 10 per cent.

Free and compulsory education for children has been established by law. In Russia before the revolution (1915) there were 106,000 schools with less than 8,000,000 pupils. In the U.S.S.R., in 1936, there were 170,000 schools with about 30,000,000 pupils. New schools are springing up everywhere—in town and country. Every year fine new elementary and intermediate school buildings are being built in the capitals and in the large industrial centres. In old Russia it was the children of the nobles, capitalists, government officials and merchants—in a word, of the rich—who received education. But in the Soviet Union it is the children of the workers and peasants, of the working people generally, who enjoy the opportunity of education.

Education in our country is open to everybody—juvenile or adult. The workers under the Soviet system, where exploitation is unknown, have the shortest working day in the world. They possess great opportunities for cultural development and rational recreation. Russian workers before the revolution on an average worked 10 or 11 hours a day. Under the Soviet system the working day has been fixed at 7 hours, and for some branches at 6 hours.

The Soviet system provides great opportunities for cultural development to the collective farmers as well. The use of tractors, harvester combines and other machines enables the collective farmers to perform far more work and in a much shorter time. The working day of the collective farmer is much shorter than that of the peasant before the revolution or of the individual peasant today. The agricultural labourer worked from 17 to 20 hours a day for the landlord and kulak, while the peasant on his farm worked 15 or 16 hours a day. But in the U.S.S.R.,

even at the height of the harvest season, the working day of a collective farmer rarely exceeds 10 hours.

That is why all citizens of the U.S.S.R.—workers, collective farmers and office employees—have the opportunity to study and improve their education. Moreover, the Soviet government shows a constant concern to assist the cultural development of the working people. A large number of schools, institutes, courses, clubs, libraries and other cultural institutions are being built everywhere, in all the republics of the Soviet Union. In Russia before the revolution there were only 91 higher educational establishments; in the Soviet Union in 1936 there were 700 universities and institutes. Before the revolution there were only 233 professional schools; in 1936 there were 2,572. The number of students of such schools has risen from 48,000 before the revolution to 711,000 today.

There were practically no clubs for the people in old Russia. In 1914 there were 222 so-called folk houses, through which the tsarist government, with the help of its preachers and myrmidons, endeavoured to befog the minds of the masses and divert them from revolution. The Soviet government has developed a wide system of clubs, folk houses, socialist cultural institutions, peasants' clubs and village libraries. In 1936 there were over 39,000 clubs and 33,000 village libraries. In all there were 81,000 clubs of various kinds.

Educational and cultural institutions are rapidly developing in our country. In the U.S.S.R., unlike the bourgeois countries, the number of students is increasing from year to year. There are less students in France, Great Britain and Germany than before the war: the number has dropped in France by 5 per cent, in Great Britain by 7 per cent and in Germany by 14 per cent. In the U.S.S.R. the number of students has increased by 202 per cent as compared with pre-war days. The Soviet government annually spends one hundred times more on public education than was spent by the tsarist government in 1913.

DEVELOPMENT OF SOVIET SCIENCE

The development of culture in the U.S.S.R. has been accompanied by the development of science. Scientific institutions and research laboratories have sprung up all over the country. There is no branch of knowledge in which Soviet scientists are not active and to which they have not made important contributions.

The number of Soviet scientists is rapidly increasing. Side by side with the old experts and scientists, work young scientists trained by the Communist Party, the Soviet government and the Young Communist League. Very rapid was the increase in recent years in the number of engineers and technicians in large-scale industry. The number of

engineers and technicians increased from 92,000 in 1928 to 578,000 in 1937. Many of these young experts are doing work in research institutions and scientific expeditions.

Socialism creates unparalleled opportunities for the development of science. The discoveries and achievements of Soviet scientists have placed them in the world's foremost ranks. They are to be found at every international scientific congress, many of which are held in the U.S.S.R. The names of Soviet scientists like Pavlov, Tsiolkovsky, Karpinsky and Michurin enjoy world renown. Many new scientists are springing from the ranks of the workers and peasants of our Soviet country.

Soviet science is working hand in hand with our industry and is serving the cause of socialist development and the emancipation of humanity from the blind forces of nature. Soviet science strives to master nature, to make it the servant of man and to place upon its shoulders the burdensome forms of physical labour which are detrimental to the health and strength of man.

Soviet science, combined with the courage and heroism of Soviet people, is performing miracles. Soviet airplanes and motors are reckoned among the finest in the world. Our Soviet airplanes have flown farther and higher than all others. Soviet scientists on Soviet airplanes and vessels have mastered the icy wastes of the Arctic. They have landed from the air at the North Pole—the first in history to do so—set up a winter camp, installed a radio station and are performing scientific work, all the time maintaining contact with their native country. Brave Soviet airmen have laid a path to America across the North Pole. The world has resounded to the names of our heroic scientists and airmen—Schmidt, Chkalov, Baidukov, Belyakov, Gromov, Yumashev, Danilin, Shevelev, Vodopyanov, Molokov, Mazuruk, Alexeyev, Levanevsky and many others.

And not only in the icy Arctic, but also in the sultry Kara-Kum desert, on the stern heights of the Pamirs, in the stormy depths of the ocean, and deep down in the bowels of the earth, Soviet scientists, in conjunction with dauntless mountaineers, divers and geologists are conducting their researches and exploring the natural wealth of the Soviet Union.

The victory of socialism in the U.S.S.R. has opened up broad and dazzling prospects for science and technology. It has awakened the creative forces that lay dormant in the people. Thousands of talented and gifted individuals in the spheres of science, literature, art and technology have emerged from the ranks of the people under the Soviet system.

The mighty forces of the people are growing and unfolding. Tsar-

ism crushed them, mangled them, trampled them underfoot; but under the Soviet system, in the country of socialism, they are burgeoning and blossoming.

Numerous workers and collective farmers are mounting the rungs of culture to the very peaks of science and technology.

A NEW LIFE

The development of industry and of the national economy in general and the rise in the level of culture have modified the conditions of life of the working people. Town and countryside have become transformed. The homes of the workers in the big cities have taken on a new aspect: they are now equipped with electricity, water supply, steam heat and gas. The home life of the collective farmer has also changed: books, radio, gramophones, bicycles have become daily requisites. The working class family has the services of public dining rooms and mechanical laundries. Factories and offices have their crèches and kindergartens for the workers' children.

Child care institutions, public dining rooms and similar amenities are now to be found in the collective farms as well.

All this has opened up broad opportunities for women in industry, public life and in economic and cultural development. The Soviet government at once put an end to the old injustice from which women suffered under the power of the landlords and capitalists. Inequality of women was abolished in the very first days of the Soviet government.

The industrialization of the U.S.S.R., which has caused profound changes in every sphere of life of the country, has released millions of working women from the slavery of the kitchen and the home. They have gone to work in factories; they are to be found on the management boards of collective farms, in Soviet posts, in public organizations and in scientific institutes and research laboratories. Soviet woman has taken her place with man as an equal and valued fellow-builder in every branch of socialist construction. During the period of the Stalin Five-Year Plans the number of women employed in factories and offices has increased by over five million. There are four times as many women engaged in large-scale industry today as there were in tsarist Russia.

Before the revolution more than half the women working for hire were domestic servants in the houses of the rich, while one-fourth were farm labourers working for landlords, kulaks and priests. Today most of the women working for hire are skilled industrial workers engaged in large-scale industry, on the railways, in machine and tractor stations and on state farms. Only two per cent of employed women are domestic

workers. In the agricultural machinery industry, 24 per cent of the metal turners, 74 per cent of the boring-machine operators and 38 per cent of the millwrights are women.

Women are also prominent as engineers, technicians, agronomists, geologists, doctors and pedagogues. Fifteen per cent of the engineers and technicians are women; in the food industry the proportion is 24 per cent and in the chemical industry 27 per cent. Thirty per cent of our scientific workers are women.

There are women in charge of factories, state farms, collective farms, trusts, schools, institutes, scientific institutions and People's Commissariats. Nowhere can women enjoy such freedom as in the U.S.S.R. Nowhere have women such scope for their energies, knowledge and abilities as in the Soviet country.

And nowhere in the world are women treated with such solicitude as in our country. The Soviet mother enjoys the earnest care of the state. The Soviet government has built and is building a large number of maternity homes and nurseries. Free medical service is given to mother and child. Maternity centres, where mothers and children can come for advice and medical supervision, were unknown in pre-revolutionary Russia; there are thousands of such centres in the Soviet Union today—there were 2,475 in 1931 and 4,175 in 1937.

In tsarist Russia, in 1914, there were 6,824 maternity cots in general hospitals and lying-in hospitals; in the Soviet Union in 1937 there were 81,342 maternity cots. Nurseries before the revolution could accommodate 550 children; today they accommodate 627,817 children.

The socialist country, which has created wide opportunities for talented and gifted people, provides most opportunity of all for young people. Our Soviet young people are living in happy times. They have never known the horrors of tsarism; they have never known exploitation; they have never known unemployment; they have never known political disfranchisement. They have never known the stringent limitations on education, often amounting to complete denial of opportunities, that existed in the old days. They have never known want, hunger and deprivation.

Great is the solicitude shown by the Soviet government for our young people. They are leading healthy and happy lives as conscious citizens of their country.

Workers' children in old Russia had practically no childhood. An investigation of the mills and factories of the Moscow Province made before the revolution revealed the fact that one-third of the workers had started work before they reached the age of 12. About 10 per cent of the workers' children were flung into the factories before they were ten. In the textile mills of tsarist Russia 90 per cent of the piecers, 56

per cent of the winders and 54 per cent of the ring frame operators were girls under 15 years of age.

But the Soviet law strictly protects juvenile labour. Child labour is prohibited, and violation of the prohibition is subject to severe penalties. The working day of adolescents is limited to six hours. Education is compulsory and opportunities for school education are open to all children. The children of workers, collective farmers and office employees are able to obtain specialized as well as general education.

Over five hundred thousand young men and women are studying in universities, institutes and other higher educational establishments. Hundreds of thousands of young engineers, agronomists, chemists, writers, doctors, pedagogues and professors have received their training in Soviet times. In the eight years 1929-1936 the Soviet government trained 393,000 young experts in various branches of economic and cultural activity. Half the young workers in Moscow, Leningrad, Gorky, Kharkov, Sverdlovsk and other large cities have a seventh grade education and higher. Workers who have not had an education of this standard are able to obtain it in their factories-in evening courses and professional schools. All the large factories in Moscow, Leningrad, Kharkov and other industrial centres maintain numerous courses of various kinds where workers can receive an intermediate and higher education and raise their qualifications. Young workers have every opportunity of combining work and study. The short working day leaves our young people sufficient time for study and rational recreation.

And our young people are growing up educated, vigorous and active, thirsting for knowledge and for achievements in science, technology, art and sport.

NATIONAL OPPRESSION UNDER TSARDOM

The U.S.S.R. is a country of many nationalities. It is inhabited by over 175 nations and tribes.

For centuries the tsars oppressed the conquered and subjected nations. The tsarist government incited one people against another—Russians against Jews, Tatars against Armenians. All the non-Russian peoples were brutally oppressed by the tsarist government and by the landlords and capitalists of the ruling nation. The majority of the non-Russian nationalities were deprived of political rights. Non-Russians were not allowed into the government service, or were only allowed to hold lower posts when Russian applicants were not available.

The tsar entrusted the administration of the conquered colonies to viceroys, who suppressed with fire and sword every attempt of the oppressed peoples to liberate themselves from the tsarist yoke or to improve their lot. The tsarist officials mercilessly plundered the national regions and crushed their inhabitants with burdensome dues and taxes. Russians were privileged to settle in any of the national regions they liked. But certain of the non-Russian peoples were not allowed to settle in the provinces inhabited mainly by Russians. The Jews, for example, were confined within the Pale, which embraced several provinces of the Ukraine, Byelorussia and Poland, and were not allowed to live in central Russia, in the capital and in the large industrial and cultural centres. Cramped and confined within the small townships of the western and south-western regions, the Jews were obliged to earn their livelihood by petty trading and handicrafts. They were not allowed to engage in agriculture. Jews and other of the so-called "aliens" were deprived of the right to enter high school and university, although certain "quotas" were established under which a very limited number of Jews were admitted to educational establishments.

The tsarist government fostered mutual enmity among the non-Russian nationalities, engineered Jewish progroms, Armenian massacres and bloody brutalities against the working masses of the oppressed nationalities. The tsarist autocracy deliberately incited one nation against another in order to divert them from the struggle against the chief source

of the wretched lot of their working masses—Isardom, the government of the landlords. What the ruling classes wanted was that the oppressed peoples should divert their indignation from the autocracy and direct it against one another, and thus make it easier to plunder and exploit them.

The tsarist government kept the oppressed peoples in a state of ignorance and degradation. The landlords and capitalists feared economic and cultural development in the national regions. Turkestan was rich in cotton and wool, and this is where textile factories should have been built! Kazakhstan and the mountains of the Caucasus contained huge deposits of copper, zinc, iron and coal, and this is where metallurgical plants and mines should have been built! But the tsarist government, the landlords and the capitalists knew that the creation of an industry in Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Georgia and Armenia would mean the creation of a working class in these regions. Furthermore, the Russian merchants and manufacturers wanted to have the unchallenged right to plunder the working people both of the Russian regions and of the Caucasus and Transcaucasia, Central Asia and the northern regions.

The tsarist government was mortally afraid of revolution, and therefore feared the rise of a working class in the national areas. The tsar, the landlords and the manufacturers preferred the ore of Turkestan and the Caucasus to lie unutilized. The capitalists built textile mills in Moscow, Ivanovo, Vladimir and Kostroma. The ruling classes of old Russia preferred to carry cotton from Turkestan right across the country rather than build factories in the national regions and there create a working class. The tsarist government deliberately held back the economic development of the national areas of old Russia in order to keep them economically dependent on the Russian landlords and capitalists.

The tsarist government also used every means in its power to prevent the cultural development of the oppressed peoples. Their national cultures were suppressed. Working hand in hand with the priests of the Orthodox Church, the tsarist officials foisted the Russian language and the Orthodox religion on these regions. The tsarist authorities and the Russian priests pursued this policy with the greatest severity. They prohibited native schools and teaching in the native languages and the printing of newspapers and books in the languages of the oppressed peoples. They only made an exception in the case of religious schools and publications.

The tsarist government knew that the mullahs were furthering its interests, that they were aiding the tsarist officials and the Orthodox priests to befog the minds of the masses. It therefore sanctioned the existence of religious schools and the publication of religious books, prayer books and so on.

The tsarist autocracy similarly hindered the development of all other

branches of life of the oppressed nationalities. The Eastern peoples were nomads; they had practically no large towns; they had no hospitals nor medical care: they were subject to the visitations of leprosy, cholera, plague and other frightful diseases, which wiped them out in thousands.

Lenin called old Russia "a prison of nations." And in this prison numerous nations languished in savagery and ignorance, were decimated by epidemics and were crushed beneath the jackboot of the tsarist autocracy.

ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL AWAKENING OF THE NATIONS OF THE U.S.S.R.

The oppressed nations of Russia were emancipated by the Great October Socialist Revolution. The workers and peasants overthrew the autocracy and the power of the capitalists and landlords, and destroyed the prison of the nations. The emancipated peoples of our country were at last in a position to decide their own destinies.

The nations of old tsarist Russia joined to form a single union, a single family of friendly Soviet nations.

It was no easy matter this—to overcome the mutual distrust of nations which had been oppressed by tsardom for so long. It was no easy matter to secure the harmonious co-operation of 175 nations and tribes who spoke different languages, who stood at different levels of development and who in the past had been deliberately estranged from each other by hatred, enmity, prejudice and massacre.

Long before the Great Socialist Revolution of October 1917, Lenin and Stalin, the leaders of the peoples of the U.S.S.R., had pointed out the way the Bolshevik Party could destroy the mutual distrust of the nations, which had been fostered by tsarism, and unite them in a spirit of confraternity, in a strong and indissoluble union and alliance. The Bolshevik Party and the Soviet government adopted the way recommended by Lenin and Stalin.

The working people of the more advanced nations of the U.S.S.R. came to the aid of those which had been most oppressed under tsardom. The Russian working class has done much for the peoples that were oppressed in the past. It has armed the working masses of all the Soviet nations with its experience in the struggle for communism. To the workers and peasants of the nations that were oppressed by tsardom, the Russian working masses have brought Russian culture, which has exercised great influence on the development of the cultures of all the peoples of our great Union. Guided by the Bolshevik Party, the republics and regions of the Soviet Union rapidly unfolded their creative faculties.

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In the period of the First Five-Year Plan, the Turkestan-Siberian Railway, or Turksib, was laid through the sands and steppe of Kazakhstan. Under the Soviet government 3,612 kilometres of railway have been built in Kazakhstan. All the republics of the U.S.S.R. have been covered by a network of railways, along which, from one republic to another, flow machines, coal, oil, cotton, tea, ore, grain, fruit, textiles, leather and all the wealth the great family of Soviet nations can boast. In 1936 more goods were consigned to the railway stations of the Ukraine alone than to all the stations of tsarist Russia in 1913. The amount of goods and mail carried by airplane in the republics of Transcaucasia and Central Asia and in Kazakhstan alone exceeds the amount carried in Germany, France and Great Britain together. The amount of mail and goods carried by air in the seven republics of Transcaucasia and Turkmenistan alone is one and a half times as great, and the amount of freight three and a half times as great as that of Germany, France and Great Britain together.

Under the Soviet government the productive forces of the national republics have rapidly developed. Where formerly the tsarist autocracy prevented the creation of industry, large factories, mills and power stations have now appeared. A huge textile mill has been built in Uzbekistan. A large non-ferrous metal plant has been constructed on the shores of Lake Balkhash in Kazakhstan. The extraction of oil has been started in the Bashkir and Kazakhstan Republics. A large number of meatpacking plants, fish-curing plants, canneries, tobacco factories, sugar refineries and other food factories have been constructed or are in the course of construction in Turkmenistan, Tadjikistan, Armenia, Uzbekistan and in many other republics and national regions. In Georgia, electricity production and manganese mining have been developed, and oil refineries, a chemical factory and a paper mill have been built.

The industrial development of the republics is proceeding by giant strides. If we compare industrial production in 1936 with that of 1913, we find that in the R.S.F.S.R. it has increased 7.8 times, in the Ukraine 6.9 times, in Byelorussia nearly 16 times, in Azerbaidjan 5.4 times, in Georgia 18.6 times, in Armenia 12 times, in Turkmenistan over 7 times, in Uzbekistan 4.4 times and Kazakhstan 11.8 times. And in the republics in which industry before the revolution was at a very low level, the development is even greater: in Kirghizstan 95 times and in Tadjikistan 116 times.

The agriculture of the national republics has also made great progress. The nomad herdsmen are now settling in collective farms and engaging in agriculture. Having emancipated themselves from the exploitation of the feudal landlords and bais (kulaks), the peasants of Uzbekistan, Tadjikistan, Turkmenistan and Kazakhstan have energetically set about the cultivation of wheat and other grain crops and the development of cotton growing. The cotton yield is rapidly rising under the genial influence of the Soviet system and the southern sun.

The Soviet government is doing everything to facilitate the labour of the collective farmers and agricultural labourers. Tens of thousands of tractors, harvester combines, sugar-beet and cotton harvesting machines are being supplied to the collective farms and state farms of the national republics. At the beginning of 1937 there were over 18,000 tractors in Uzbekistan, 22,000 in Kazakhstan and 81,000 in the Ukraine.

The economic development of the republics of the Soviet Union has ushered in a life of prosperity for the formerly oppressed and downtrodden masses of the tsarist colonies. The agricultural labourers and peasants of these regions suffered from a double yoke—the yoke of the tsar and landlords of the dominant nation, and the yoke of their "own" landlords, bais and priests. The Soviet government has saved these masses from utter poverty and degradation and has introduced them to the bright and cultured life of the collective farms.

Cultural development has made rapid progress in all the national republics under the Soviet government. The culture which the Soviet peoples are creating is national in form—language and external features—but socialist in content. The songs, stories, art and poetry of the peoples extol the Soviet system which has emancipated the working masses of the formerly oppressed nations. Their schools and universities are training people devoted to the socialist system, loyal sons of the socialist fatherland.

Soviet government has brought the light of knowledge to the people of the national republics. Education is developing on broad lines. The tsarist autocracy, deliberately fostering ignorance and barbarousness in its colonies, granted them no money for educational purposes. For example, in Uzbekistan only 25 kopeks per annum and in Turkmenistan 50 kopeks per annum per head of population were spent on public education. Today, under the Soviet government, 30 and 40 rubles per annum and more per head of population are being spent on education.

There were very few literate persons in these republics before the revolution; literacy was confined to the rich and the officials. Today nearly 80 per cent of the population of the Central Asiatic republics are literate. Free compulsory elementary education has been introduced for the children of all the national republics, as of the Soviet Union generally. There are twenty times more intermediate school pupils than in 1914; in some of the national republics the proportion is even higher, e.g., in Azerbaidjan 35 times, in Turkmenistan 37 times, in Uzbekistan 53 times, in Kazakhstan 48 times, in Armenia 68 times and in Kirghiz-

stan 172 times. There were no intermediate schools at all in Tadjikistan before the revolution; today the intermediate schools have a total of 22,000 pupils.

Before the revolution there were higher educational establishments on the territory of only three of the eleven Union Republics which now make up the U.S.S.R.-the R.S.F.S.R., the Ukraine and Georgia. There was not a single higher educational establishment on the territory of the other eight Union Republics. Today, however, there are 19 higher educational establishments in Byelorussia, 10 in Azerbaidjan, 8 in Armenia, 26 in Uzbekistan, 4 in Turkmenistan, 4 in Tadjikistan, 12 in Kazakhstan and 3 in Kirghizstan. In Georgia before the revolution there was only one higher educational establishment with 300 students; today there are 17 with 21,300 students. In the Ukraine before the revolution there were 15 higher educational establishments; today there are 117. The number of students attending higher educational establishments in the Ukraine is much larger than in Germany, although Germany has twice her population. There are 362 higher educational establishments in the republics, territories and regions which make up the R.S.F.S.R., where before the revolution there were only 73. There are over 341,000 students of higher educational establishments in the R.S.F.S.R., which is over three times more than in Great Britain, Germany and Italy together.

Soviet institutes and universities are training hundreds of thousands of experts to further the development of industry, agriculture and culture in the republics, national regions and districts. The national republics and regions already have hundreds of thousands of engineers, doctors, agronomists, stock-breeding experts, chemists, technicians, surveyors and other specialists.

Many of the peoples acquired their alphabets only in Soviet times. But even these peoples are rapidly developing culturally and contributing to the common cause of socialist construction. They have created their own schools, text-books and teaching staffs.

All the national republics and regions have their steadily growing press and literature. Before the revolution there were only 84 newspapers in the languages of the non-Russian peoples of Russia, and they as a rule were obedient instruments of the tsarist regime and were controlled by priests and reactionaries. Today, in the U.S.S.R., there are about 3,000 newspapers in the languages of its non-Russian peoples with a total circulation of over ten million copies. Whereas in 1913 a total of seven million books in non-Russian languages were published, in 1936 the number published was 133 million.

We thus see how great are the cultural achievements of the nations which in the past were brutally suppressed by the tsarist autocracy, the

landlords and capitalists. And all this fully bears out the words of Comrade Stalin:

"... We now have a fully formed multi-national socialist state, which has stood all tests, and the stability of which might well be envied by any national state in any part of the world."

THE ELEVEN UNION REPUBLICS

After the power of the capitalists and landlords had been overthrown, the Soviet government, at the Second All-Russian Congress of Soviets in October 1917, proclaimed the right of all the nations to self-determination. This meant that every nation could decide its form of state for itself. Every nation could determine its own destiny, even to the point of completely separating and forming an independent state.

Having become convinced that the Soviet government had destroyed the old national oppression, and that it would defend the interests of the working masses and the oppressed nationalities, the workers and peasants of the nations began to establish mutual ties of friendship and co-operation, which ties were still further cemented in the course of the common struggle against the Whiteguard armies and foreign imperialists. The working masses fought shoulder to shoulder in united ranks against the counter-revolutionary hordes, and this led to still closer ties of unity between the Soviet nations.

The growth of friendship and unity was furthered by the mutual need for assistance in economic affairs. The nations gravitated towards each other economically. The Ukraine, the Russian Federation, Byelorussia and all the other republics needed the oil of Azerbaidjan, while Azerbaidjan in its turn needed the coal of the Ukraine and the textiles of Ivanovo. The R.S.F.S.R. needed the cotton of Central Asia, while the peoples of Central Asia needed the industrial goods of Moscow, Leningrad and the Urals and the grain of the Russian and Ukrainian peasants.

All the nations of our country strove for one common aim, namely, emancipation from the exploiters and the oppressors and the creation of a new, socialist system. United by hatred for the prison-like regime of the tsarist autocracy, the peoples were also united in their aspiration for a new life, exempt from all exploitation and oppression.

But this aim could be achieved, a socialist society could be built, only by ensuring the defence of our great fatherland against the foreign enemy. And the defence of all the nations of our country could be properly organized only if they united and pooled their resources.

Thus the nations of our country arrived at the idea of forming a single union of Soviet Republics. At a congress of Soviet Socialist Republics held in December 1922 the nations all concluded a treaty by which they joined to form the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Today, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics consists of eleven republics.

Article 13 of the Stalin Constitution reads as follows:

"The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is a federated state, formed on the basis of the voluntary association of Soviet Socialist Republics possessing equal rights, namely:

The Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic

The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic

The Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic

The Azerbaidjan Soviet Socialist Republic

The Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic

The Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic

The Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic

The Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic

The Tadjik Soviet Socialist Republic

The Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic

The Kirghiz Soviet Socialist Republic."

What does each of these eleven Union Republics represent?

The RUSSIAN SOVIET FEDERATIVE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC (abbreviated R.S.F.S.R.) is the largest of our Union Republics in respect to area and population. The R.S.F.S.R. covers four-fifths of the total area and has about two-thirds of the total population of the U.S.S.R.

The R.S.F.S.R. embraces the whole northern and central zone of the U.S.S.R. from its western frontier to the Pacific coast. The R.S.F.S.R. includes the European part of the U.S.S.R. (with the exception of the south-west which is occupied by the Ukrainian S.S.R. and the Byelorussian S.S.R.), the northern half of the Caucasus and the whole of West Siberia, East Siberia and the Far East.

The R.S.F.S.R. embraces the whole tundra zone and forest zone of the U.S.S.R. (with the exception of the Byelorussian S.S.R. and the Ukrainian Forest area) and a part of the steppe and forest-steppe zone; it embraces no part of the mountain regions of Tien-Shan and the Pamirs-Alai and only a small part of the desert and subtropical zone (southern part of the Crimean and the Black Sea coast in the Krasnodar Territory).

The R.S.F.S.R. is bounded on the south by the Crimean coast and the Azov-Black Sea coast of the Northern Caucasus. In the east, in Siberia, the southern boundary of the R.S.F.S.R. coincides with the southern frontier of the U.S.S.R.

The R.S.F.S.R. stretches over a vast area and is distinguished both by its variegated natural features and its mineral wealth, it possesses large deposits of iron ore in the Urals, the Crimea (Kerch) and Siberia; vast coal deposits in the Kuznetsk Basin, East Siberia, the Urals and near Moscow; oil deposits in the Azov-Black Sea Territory, the Urals and Bashkiria, as well as deposits of gold, platinum, copper, zinc and lead.

Economically, the R.S.F.S.R. is the most important part of the U.S.S.R.: it accounts for about 70 per cent of the latter's total industrial and agricultural output.

Russians constitute little more than half the population of the U.S.S.R., but they constitute four-fifths of the population of the R.S.F.S.R. Nevertheless, the R.S.F.S.R. is a multi-national state: it includes 17 autonomous republics and 6 autonomous regions. Therefore, unlike the other Union Republics, the R.S.F.S.R. is a federation.

The area of the R.S.F.S.R. is so immense, stretching from the Crimea to Kamchatka, and its natural and economic features so variegated, that it would be well to examine its various parts separately.

The Non-Black Earth Centre (Moscow, Ryazan, Tula, Ivanovo and Yaroslavl Regions), which formed the original nucleus of the old Russian state, is industrially the most developed part not only of the R.S.F.S.R., but of the U.S.S.R. generally: within it are concentrated about 30 per cent of the industry of the U.S.S.R. and about 40 per cent of the industry of the R.S.F.S.R. The chief branches are machinery, metals, textiles and chemicals.

Moscow, the capital both of the R.S.F.S.R. and the U.S.S.R., is not only the political and cultural centre and a training ground of educated forces for the whole Union, but an important economic centre as well. Its central situation and significance are clearly brought out on the map by the railway trunk lines that diverge from it in all directions.

Of the other industrial centres, the most important are *Ivanovo*, *Yaroslavl*, *Orekhovo-Zuevo* and *Tula*. The Non-Black Earth Centre receives raw materials and foodstuffs from all parts of the country and in its turn supplies the other regions and republics with machinery and equipment, chemicals, textiles, books and other typographical productions.

The *Black-Earth Centre*, consisting of the Kursk, Orel, Tambov and Voronezh Regions, possesses a rich, fertile soil and a mild climate. In tsarist times, it was known as a region of chronic impoverishment, where feudal institutions were most in evidence, the landlords most brutal and reactionary, and the peasantry most poverty-stricken.

The Black-Earth Centre has now become a highly developed agricultural region with vast fields of sugar beet, sunflower, hemp and potatoes, and it has a number of industrial centers, such as *Voronezh*, *Lipetsk*, *Kursk* and *Bryansk*.

It consigns to other regions grain, sugar, hemp, potatoes, vegetable oil and pork, as well as metals and metal articles and synthetic rubber.

The North, consisting of the Leningrad, Archangel and Vologda Regions and the Karelian and Komi Autonomous Republics, embraces one-third of the European part of the U.S.S.R. With the exception of its south-western portion, the North is a forest country, from which large quantities of timber are exported to foreign countries. The south-western part (south of the Leningrad-Vologda line) has been cleared, ploughed and fairly densely populated since ancient times, and specializes in flax growing and dairy farming.

The most important industrial centre is *Leningrad*, a large port, a cultural seat, a training centre for skilled cadres and a home of new and complex forms of production.

Other important industrial centres are *Archangel*, situated at the mouth of the North Dvina River, with a big timber industry and a timber export trade, and *Kirovsk*, a new socialist city built in the Arctic Circle in close proximity to some of the largest apatite deposits in the world.

The North supplies other regions of the U.S.S.R. with machinery and equipment, books and other typographical productions, apatites, aluminium, timber, flax, dairy produce and fish.

The West, consisting of the Smolensk and Kalinin Regions, with a moist, mild climate, valuable forests and large peat deposits, is principally agricultural, specializing in industrial crops (flax, hemp and potatoes) and dairy farming (meat, milk and pork). The West has some important industrial centres as well, in the vicinity of Kalinin and Smolensk. It consigns to other parts of the U.S.S.R. flax, hemp, pork, meat, dairy produce, timber, matches, paper and textiles.

The Volga area embraces the valley of the Volga, the great Russian river, from Gorky to Astrakhan, along which large quantities of timber are floated downstream, and oil, grain, salt and fish shipped upstream. All the important cities in the area have sprung up at the points of intersection of the railways and the River Volga.

The Volga area may be divided from north to south into three parts —Forest Volga, Forest-Steppe Volga and Steppe Volga.

The Forest Volga embraces the Gorky and Kirov Regions and the Udmurt and Mari Autonomous Republics and lies on the communication routes from the Centre to the Urals and Siberia.

Gorky, the largest industrial centre in the Forest Volga, which sprang up at the point of intersection of the water routes from Leningrad to the Caspian Sea by the Neva and Volga and from Moscow to the Urals by the Oka and Kama, has during the period of the Stalin Five-Year Plans become a very important manufacturing centre of transport machines. To the Red Sormovo Works, which builds steamships and loco-

motives, has been added the Molotov Automobile Works, the largest in Europe. Apart from the metal and machine-building industry, there has developed a woodworking and chemical industry.

In addition to locomotives, steamships and automobiles, the Forest Volga supplies the country with machine tools, chemical fertilizers, timber, flax and dairy produce.

The Forest-Steppe Volga, consisting of the Kuibyshev Region and the Tatar, Chuvash and Mordovian Autonomous Republics, is a transitional zone from forest to steppe. It has large areas under wheat and other grains, hemp, potatoes and sunflower seed. Among its useful minerals are shale, peat, oil (recently discovered in Syzran) and various kinds of building material.

The chief industrial centres of the Forest-Steppe Volga are *Kazan*, situated on the Volga not far from where the River Kama flows into it, and *Kuibyshev* in the eastern corner of the bend in the Volga known as Samarskaya Luka. The chief industries of the Forest-Steppe Volga are food, woodworking, building materials and transport machinery, the latter having developed in recent years.

The Forest-Steppe Volga consigns to other regions grain, livestock, hemp, oak staves and building materials.

The Steppe Volga, consisting of the Saratov and Stalingrad Regions and the Volga-German and Kalmyk Autonomous Republics, is steppe country with a dry climate, passing into semi-desert in the south-east near the Caspian Sea. It is predominantly pasture land. Between Saratov and Stalingrad there are large areas growing valuable hard-grained wheat, as well as sunflower seed and melons. The mouth of the Volga and the adjacent shores of the Caspian abound in fish. The territory east of the Volga contains a number of salt lakes with immense natural salt deposits.

The principal industrial centres of the Steppe-Volga are Stalingrad, a city with a big tractor plant and other large industries, situated on the Volga where it makes the bend towards the River Don and the Donbas. and Astrakhan, situated at the mouth of the Volga, a fishery, fish-curing and ship-building centre.

The Steppe-Volga consigns to other regions grain, melons, cattle, canned goods, tractors, cement, fish and salt.

The *South*, consisting of the Rostov-on-Don Region, the Krasnodar and Ordjonikidze Territories and the Crimean, Kabardino-Balkarian, North Ossetian, Chechen-Ingush and Daghestan Autonomous Republics, is skirted by our southern seas and has a warm climate.

The South is famed, on the one hand, for its large mineral deposits (eastern part of the Donbas coalfield, iron in Kerch, oil in Grozny and the Kuban-Black Sea area, cement clays in Novorossisk) and, on the

other, for its warm climate, which has given rise to a highly developed southern agriculture and to health resorts and tourist centres.

The principal industrial centres are Rostov-on-Don, which has a huge agricultural machinery works, Shakhti (coal-mining), Grozny, Neftegorsk and Tuapse (oil and oil refining), Taganrog and Kerch (iron and steel), Novorossisk (cement), and Krasnodar (food industry).

The chief agricultural areas are the Kuban (maize, sunflower, wheat and livestock), the Black Sea coast and the southern coast of the Crimea (orchards, vineyards and tobacco plantations) and the Don and Salsk steppes (grain, meat and wool).

The chief health resort areas are the Black Sea coast, the Mineralnye Vody group and the southern coast of the Crimea.

The South consigns to other regions agricultural machinery, oil, cement, grain, tobacco, fruit, vegetable oil and wool.

The *Urals* area, consisting of the Sverdlovsk, Chelyabinsk, and Orenburg Regions and the Bashkir Autonomous Republic, is distinguished for the wealth and variety of its minerals and for its location on the communication routes between the Centre and Siberia. The Urals constitute the chief link in the Urals-Kuznetsk Complex, which combines the iron of the Urals with the coal of Kuznetsk and which is a powerful factor in the industrialization of the East. The construction work developed in this area in the period of the Stalin Five-Year Plans, which created such giants as the Magnitogorsk Iron and Steel Works, the Chelyabinsk Tractor Works, the Sverdlovsk Machinery Works and the Novo-Tagil Car Works, has transformed the Urals into one of the foremost centres of heavy industry.

Apart from these metallurgical and metalworking industries, the timber, paper and chemical industries have also been highly developed in the Urals.

The chief industrial centres of the Urals are Sverdlovsk, Chelyabinsk, Magnitogorsk, Perm, Nizhni-Tagil, Ufa and Zlatoust. The chief items consigned to other regions are ferrous and non-ferrous metals, tractors, mining machinery, railway cars, timber, paper and chemical fertilizer.

West Siberia, consisting of the Omsk and Novosibirsk Regions and the Altai Territory, is a vast area containing the Kuznetsk coalfield, the largest deposits in the U.S.S.R., the grain-growing Steppe-Altai, the Barabinsk and Ishim forest-steppe areas in the south, and the timber, trapping, reindeer-breeding and fishery areas of the taiga and tundra in the north, the development of which has only just begun.

In the south this territory is intersected from west to east by the Trans-Siberian Railway. In the north, the huge Ob-Irtysh river flows into the Arctic Ocean where it emerges in close proximity to the Northern Maritime Route.

The Kuznetsk coalfield, whose vast coal deposits were used in tsarist times only to supply the nearby sections of the Trans-Siberian railway, has now, at the instance of the Communist Party, been transformed into a second Donbas. The increasing output of Kuznetsk coal, which is consigned as far west as the Volga, has lent vigour to the metallurgical and other industries of the Urals.

The Kuznetsk Iron and Steel Works, which is already producing over a million tons of metal a year, has become the "smithy" of Siberia and the Far East.

In addition to coal and metal, West Siberia consigns to other regions large amounts of grain, livestock, butter and timber.

East Siberia, consisting of the Krasnoyarsk Territory, the Irkutsk and Chita Regions and the Buryat-Mongolian and Yakut Autonomous Republics, is a vast territory stretching from the River Yenisei to the watershed dividing it from the coastal region of the Far East.

East Siberia is a mountainous area. The climate is more severe than that of West Siberia, and it is less suitable for agriculture and therefore far less populated than that region; but it has been far more richly endowed by nature with everything required for industrial development.

Here we have the Yenisei, Angara and Lena rivers, with their vast water power resources, capable of feeding scores of power plants of the size of the Dnieper Electric Station; large coal deposits in the Cheremkhov, Kansk, Yenisei and Tunguska fields; enormous forests of fine timber, and every kind of mineral, including precious and rare metals like gold, molybdenum, tungsten and vanadium, as well as tin.

The development of this territory has only just begun, but the first approaches have already been conquered, namely, the Trans-Siberian Railway in the south, the Northern Maritime Route in the north and the coal and metal industry of the Kuzbas. East Siberia is at present one of the most important sources of gold, furs and timber.

The Far East, consisting of the Far Eastern Territory stretching along the coast of the Pacific from Vladivostok to the Bering Strait, is more remote from the main centres of the country than any other region and lies in close proximity to imperialist Japan.

Only the beginnings of the settlement of this young territory have been made. Its natural wealth is highly variegated—coal and oil on Sakhalin Island and other places, iron, non-ferrous metals, gold, magnificent forests and rich fishing grounds.

The tsarist government used these regions as a base for its policy of conquest and as a place of exile and penal servitude (Sakhalin).

Today this area is the scene of intense construction work, which is simultaneously developing its natural resources and creating a powerful

bulwark against the insolent ambitions of the Japanese imperialists. The taiga is being cleared, railroads and highroads are being laid and new cities constructed. This region, so recently undeveloped, is now producing many highly important products.

It chiefly consigns gold, furs, fish, timber, coal and oil.

The UKRAINIAN SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC (UKR. S.S.R.) is situated in the south-western part of the U.S.S.R. between the latter's western border and the Black Sea. The Ukraine embraces most of our black earth regions, noted for their warm and moist climate which has facilitated the wide development of agriculture in the Ukraine (grain, sugar beet, sunflower, and stock breeding). In addition, the Ukraine possesses vast mineral wealth of industrial importance, such as coal in the Donbas and iron ore in Krivoy Rog. There is no other region in the U.S.S.R. where high-grade ore and coking coal are to be found in such close proximity. In addition to coal and iron, the Ukraine possesses manganese, salt, mercury and other useful minerals.

The chief river of the Ukraine, the Dnieper (the third largest in Europe, coming after the Volga and the Danube), flows through the three principal soil-vegetation areas of the Ukraine—Forest, Forest-Steppe and Steppe.

The principal nationality—the Ukrainians—constitutes 80 per cent of the population. Next come the Russians (10 per cent), followed by Jews, Poles, Germans and Moldavians. To the south-west of the Ukraine lies the Moldavian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, forming part of the Ukrainian S.S.R.

The Ukraine is the second of the Union Republics in respect to size of population and economic power, coming after the R.S.F.S.R.

The Ukraine holds a very important part in the socialist economy of the Soviet Union. It is the largest coal and metal centre in the U.S.S.R. It has an important heavy machinery, basic chemical and electric power industry. It has the most highly developed agriculture in the U.S.S.R. with its accompanying food industry (sugar, flour-milling, etc.).

With only one-fiftieth of the area and one-fifth of the population of the U.S.S.R., the Ukraine produces one-fourth of its grain, two-thirds of its sugar and more than half its coal, iron and salt; it possesses one-fifth of the machine-building and chemical industries of the U.S.S.R. and one-sixth of its railways, which carry about one-third of its total railway freight.

The heavy industry of the Ukraine includes the mining of coal, iron, salt and other minerals, and the production of iron and steel, chemicals, machinery and electric power. All these branches are closely inter-connected and virtually constitute a single huge complex which plays a

very important part in the economic life of the Soviet Union.

Compared with 1913, the output of coal and iron in the Ukraine has trebled; the number of workers employed in its machinery and chemical industries has increased sixfold and the output of these industries even more; electricity output has increased more than tenfold.

The largest centres of heavy industry in the Ukraine are situated in the Donbas (Stalino, Voroshilovgrad, Makeyevka, Kramatorsk, etc.), in the Trans-Dnieper in close proximity to the iron and manganese deposits (Krivoy Rog and Nikopol), along the Dnieper between the Donbas and Krivoy Rog (Dniepropetrovsk, Dnieprodzerzhinsk and Zaporozhye), in Mariupol between the Donbas and the Kerch iron deposits and, finally, in the largest cities of the Ukraine, with their skilled engineering workers—Kharkov, Kiev and Odessa.

The importance of the Ukraine to the economic system of the Soviet Union generally is indicated by the heavy interchange of goods between the Ukraine and other parts of the U.S.S.R. The Ukraine consigns coal, metals, grain, salt, sugar and heavy machinery (mining, transport and agricultural); to the Ukraine are consigned textiles (from Moscow and Ivanovo), complex machines (from Moscow and Leningrad), timber from the north, oil from the Caucasus and fish from the Lower Volga.

The BYELORUSSIAN SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC (B.S.S.R.), drained by the Western Dvina and the Dnieper and situated along the western frontier separating us from Poland, is of prime importance to the defence of the country. Byelorussia is an outpost on our frontier with the capitalist West.

Its surface is undulating, the general slope being towards the south. Owing to its western situation, its climate is somewhat influenced by the Atlantic Ocean. Compared with the central European part of the U.S.S.R., the rainfall here is heavier, the summer is rather cooler and the winter much warmer, especially in the south-west, where thaws are common in the winter, freeing the rivers from ice. Byelorussia lies in a zone of mixed forests of deciduous trees (oak, elm, maple and hornbeam). Abundant rainfall accompanied by low evaporation causes marshiness, especially in places with poor natural drainage, as in the south-west, where along the River Pripyat lie the extensive Pinsk marshes. The chief mineral is peat, which is here used not only as a fuel but as a fertilizer as well. In addition, there are various kinds of building material.

The Byelorussians constitute 80 per cent of the population. About 10 per cent are Jews, principally inhabiting the towns; the remainder are Russians, Ukrainians and Poles.

As part of tsarist Russia, Byelorussia was very backward and im-

poverished, just as western Byelorussia in Poland across the border is today. The Byelorussian peasant was a byword for ignorance and poverty.

During the period of the Stalin Five-Year Plans, Byelorussia has made great progress in its cultural and economic development. Formerly, two-thirds of its population were illiterate; today illiteracy has been abolished. The Byelorussian language was forbidden under the tsar; today 200 newspapers and hundreds of books are published in the Byelorussian language. Scores of higher educational establishments and scientific research institutions, headed by the Byelorussian Academy of Sciences, have been created.

Thanks to collectivization, agriculture has made tremendous strides. Seven hundred thousand hectares of marshland have been drained and converted into meadows and pastures. The cultivated area has increased from 2,500,000 hectares to 4,000,000 hectares. Byelorussian agriculture specializes in fodder and industrial crops (hay, potatoes, flax and hemp) and in dairy farming. In respect to pig breeding Byelorussia holds first place in the Soviet Union.

Byelorussian industry, which has increased tenfold compared with pre-war times, principally uses locally procured raw materials—agricultural, timber and minerals. The garment and metal industries use raw material imported from other Soviet regions. Byelorussia consigns to other parts of the Soviet Union pork, bristle, timber, paper, matches, cement, glass, garments and machines.

The AZERBAIDJAN SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC embraces the eastern part of Transcaucasia facing the Caspian Sea. It consists principally of the lowlands drained by the Kura and its tributary, the Arax, and the bordering slopes of the Great Caucasian Range in the north and the Little Caucasian Range in the south.

In the eastern foothills of the Little Caucasian Range is situated Nagorno-Karabakh, an autonomous region of Azerbaidjan with a predominantly Armenian population.

The Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic, inhabited by Azerbaidjan Turkis, also belongs to the Azerbaidjan Republic.

The chief nationality of Azerbaidjan—the Azerbaidjan Turkis—constitutes three-fifths of the population; in addition there are Armenians, Georgians, Kurds, Russians, Tats and Talyshes, the two latter being Iranian nationalities.

Shut off by mountains from the moist western winds of the Black Sea, Azerbaidjan has a dry climate. The summer in the lowlands is as sultry as in Egypt. Here splendid crops of valuable long-staple cotton (Egyptian and Sea Island) are grown on irrigated land, as well as lucerne and rice. The mountain valleys abound in orchards and vineyards and silk growing is highly developed.

In the extreme south, near Lenkoran, where the mountains skirt the very coast and where the rainfall is very heavy, tea, lemons, oranges, tangerines and other sub-tropical plants are grown in the coastal plains. Another important pursuit in Azerbaidjan is stock breeding, the cattle being grazed in the mountain pastures in summer and in the lowlands in winter.

But the chief wealth of Azerbaidjan lies not in its fields but below the surface of the earth. Near Baku on the Apsheron Peninsula lies one of the world's richest oil fields and the principal source of supply of the U.S.S.R., which generally has the largest oil reserves in the world, Compared with pre-revolutionary times, oil output has trebled (7,000,000 tons in 1913 to 21,000,000 tons in 1936). The oil is consigned by two routes—by the Caspian Sea to Astrakhan and thence by the Volga to the internal markets of the U.S.S.R., and by pipeline to Batumi, whence it is shipped to foreign countries.

Around oil extraction and refining and their accessory branches a huge industry has sprung up in Baku, making it the third largest city in the U.S.S.R. (coming after Moscow and Leningrad).

The chief products consigned by Azerbaidjan to the other republics of the U.S.S.R. are oil and oil products, cotton, rice, fruit, wine, silk and fish.

The GEORGIAN SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC is situated in the western part of Transcaucasia. In the north it is protected from the cold winds by the Caucasian Mountains. Its western part is open to the warm moist winds of the Black Sea, into which pours the Rion and the majority of its other rivers.

For its variety, beauty and natural wealth, Georgia holds a prominent place in the Soviet Union.

On its small territory, constituting only one-third of one per cent of the area of the U.S.S.R., Georgia combines the high, snow-covered peaks of the Caucasian range and the winterless lowlands of the Black Sea coast, with its luxuriant evergreen vegetation. Side by side with mountain pastures and steppe meadow land, there are highly developed agricultural areas producing valuable sub-tropical crops, such as tea, oranges and lemons.

It has large forests of beach, boxwood, yew and other valuable timber.

The power resources of its swift and deep rivers complement its deposits of coal (Tkvarcheli and Tkvibuli) and oil (Shirak Steppe).

It is also rich in manganese (in Chiatura, one of the largest deposits in the world), barites, building material and mineral springs.

The Georgians, a people with a high, ancient culture, constitute two-thirds of the population. They are followed by Armenians, who constitute 10 per cent of the population. In addition, there are Abkhazians, Adjarians, Ossetians, Russians, Ukrainians, Greeks, Jews and others.

Georgia has two autonomous republics—the Abkhazian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, with its capital in Sukhumi and the Adjar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, with its capital in Batumi—as well as the South Ossetian Autonomous Region, with its capital in Stalinir.

The principal agricultural areas of Georgia are:

- 1. The moist sub-tropical area along the Black Sea coast where grow such valuable plants as tea, citrus fruits (oranges, lemons, tangerines); tung (producing an industrial oil), eucalyptus, camphor, geranium and high-class tobaccoes (especially in Abkhazia, the chief region in the U.S.S.R. where Turkish tobacco is grown).
 - 2. Imeretia (centre, Kutaisi), producing wine and silk.
- 3. Kakhetia (along the River Alazani, a tributary of the River Kura), a district of orchards and vineyards, famous for its wines.

The chief industrial centres are:

Tbilisi—various industries, including the production of machinery for the special requirements of Georgia, Azerbaidjan and Armenia (equipment for the oil, wine, silk and tea industries).

Kutaisi—food, silk and chemical industries (treatment of barites). Chiatura and Zestafoni—manganese mining and treatment.

Tkvibuli and Tkvarcheli-coal mining.

Batumi-oil refining and food.

Sukhumi—tobacco and food.

Under the Soviet government, about 200 new industrial enterprises and a number of district hydro-electric power stations have been built in Georgia. Compared with pre-war days, industrial output has increased nineteen times.

Georgia consigns to other republics of the U.S.S.R. manganese, timber, tobacco, tea, fruit (including oranges, lemons and tangerines), wine and silk.

The ARMENIAN SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC is situated in the south of Transcaucasia, with Georgia on the north-west and Azerbaidjan on the north-east. The southern frontier of Armenia forms part of the general frontier of the U.S.S.R. with Turkey and Iran.

Armenia is a country of high plateaus surrounded on all sides by mountain ranges which intercept rainfall. The climate of Armenia is therefore arid and, for the Caucasus, rather severe. Owing to the small rainfall, there is little forest. The soil is mostly of volcanic origin and very fertile; so also is the alluvial soil of the valley of the River Arax, which flows along the southern border of Armenia.

The Armenians, a people with an ancient culture, constitute about 85 per cent of the population. About one million Armenians live in other republics of the Soviet Union, chiefly in the Caucasus. Armenia is also inhabited by Turkis, Kurds, Georgians and Russians.

The chief agricultural area of Armenia is the valley of the Arax and the adjacent land depression of Yerevan, where there are large irrigated areas devoted to cotton, orchards and vineyards. Elsewhere, the chief agricultural pursuit is cattle grazing in the mountain pastures, land cultivation being not more than enough to meet local requirements.

The industries of Armenia are food (fruit canning, wine, etc.), textiles and mining (copper and building material—pumice, tufa, etc.).

Steps have been taken in recent years to utilize the chief natural wealth of Armenia—the power resources of mountainous Lake Sevan, lying one thousand metres above the valley of the Arax into which it flows through its tributary, the Zanga. A number of power stations are being built on the Zanga, the first of which, at Kanakir, is already completed. Cheap power derived from Lake Sevan will transform the whole economic face of Armenia.

Armenia consigns to other republics of the U.S.S.R. copper, building materials, fruit, brandy, wine, wool and leather

The TURKMEN SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC lies between the Caspian Sea and the River Amu-Darya. Along its southern frontier stretch hilly ranges separating the U.S.S.R. from Iran and Afghanistan.

Turkmenistan, like Egypt, has a lot of sunlight and a small rainfall. Agriculture is possible only on irrigated land, while water is to be had only in the south, from the rivers which flow from the border hills, and in the east, in the valley of the Amu-Darya. It is in these two directions that lie the oases caused by artificial irrigation, and it is here that practically the whole population of Turkmenistan lives. The remaining territory consists of the Kara-Kum, the largest desert in the U.S.S.R., which can be used only for grazing purposes.

The area of Turkmenistan is equal to that of the Ukraine, but it has only one-thirtieth of the latter's population.

The principal inhabitants are Turkomans, who were recently nomads; they constitute three-quarters of the population. In the towns there are Russians and Armenians, and in the country districts Uzbeks, Tadjiks and Kara-Kalpaks.

Turkmenistan specializes in cotton growing and in the breeding of pedigree cavalry horses and caracul sheep. The women engage in carpet weaving. In addition to agriculture, the food industry and light industries have greatly developed in recent years. A mining industry has also been started—for oil on Cheleken Island in the Caspian and in the hills of Nebitdag, sulphur in Kara-Kum and mirabilites (a raw material for the chemical industry), obtained from the bed of the Kara-Bogaz-gol Bay in the Caspian Sea.

Turkmenistan consigns to other republics cotton, fruit, silk, caracul, carpets and oil.

The UZBEK SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC lies in the heart of Central Asia between the lowlands of Turkmenistan on the west and the highlands of Tadjikistan and Kirghizstan on the east. A large part of Uzbekistan therefore consists of foothills and low valleys—places most suitable for artificial irrigation.

There is more irrigated land (which is the most valuable under the conditions of Central Asia) in Uzbekistan than in Turkmenistan, Tadjikistan and Kirghizstan together.

Uzbekistan includes a large part of the Ferghana valley, one of the biggest oases in Central Asia, as well as the large oases of Tashkent, the southern part of the Hungry Steppe, Samarkand, Bukhara and Khorezm.

The Uzbeks are of Turkic origin with an Iranian admixture; they are the largest of the nations of Soviet Central Asia and today the most cultured. The Uzbeks are mostly a settled and agricultural people; they are experts in irrigated agriculture and fine cotton growers. They supply skilled husbandmen for the other republics of Central Asia. Of the minority nationalities, the most numerous are the Kara-Kalpaks, who inhabit the lower reaches of the River Amu-Darya and form a separate republic—the Kara-Kalpak Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic. Most of the cities of Uzbekistan are ancient and are situated amidst large oases and surrounded by villages.

Uzbekistan is the richest of the Soviet republics of Gentral Asia.

Uzbekistan accounts for half the population, half the cultivated area, four-fifths of the industry, two-thirds of the railways and all the larger cities of Soviet Central Asia. Uzbekistan is the largest cotton-growing republic in the U.S.S.R. It produces seven or eight times more

cotton than Turkmenistan, Tadjikistan and Kirghizstan together. It is also the largest producer of wool and silk in Soviet Central Asia.

Uzbekistan has abundant orchards and vineyards. It is not self-sufficing as to grain, which it obtains partly from Kazakhstan and Kirghizstan and partly from West Siberia (by the Turksib Railway).

The centre of the Kara-Kalpak Autonomous Republic, which forms part of Uzbekistan, consists of the lower reaches of the River Amu-Darya, where water is plentiful and cotton, rice and lucerne are grown, while its outer territories lie in the deserts of Ust-Urt and Kzyl-Kum, where stock grazing (caracul sheep) is the principal pursuit. In the mouth of the Amu-Darya there are important fisheries.

The industry of Uzbekistan consists largely of cotton ginning, oil pressing and fruit canning, as well as wool washing and silk spinning.

There are two cotton mills (in Tashkent and Ferghana). Oil, copper and building materials are mined and quarried.

New industrial construction is designed to meet the needs of cotton growing: a cotton textile machinery plant has been built in Tashkent and a nitrate fertilizer plant, in conjunction with the large Chirchik hydro-electric power station, is in course of completion near Tashkent.

Compared with pre-war times, industrial output has increased six times, and the cotton crop two or three times.

Uzbekistan consigns to other republics of the U.S.S.R. cotton, silk, wool, fruit, caracul and fish.

The TADJIK SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC is situated on the highlands of the Pamirs-Alai ranges in the south-eastern corner of Soviet Central Asia and borders on the east with the western province of China, Sinkiang, and on the south with Afghanistan.

Tadjikistan contains the highest peaks in the U.S.S.R.—Mt. Stalin (7,495 metres) and Mt. Lenin (7,127 metres).

The general rise of land is towards the east. None of the valleys of the Pamirs drop lower than 3,500 metres. The huge mountain glaciers give rise to deep and swift rivers, tributaries of the Amu-Darya which flows from east to west along the southern border of Tadjikistan.

The most valuable area from the agricultural standpoint and, consequently, the most populated, lies in the valleys of the lower western part of Tadjikistan.

The chief valleys of Tadjikistan are, in the north, Ferghana on the River Syr-Darya, only the western part of which (near Leninabad) belongs to Tadjikistan, and, in the south, the valleys of two tributaries of the Amu-Darya—the Gissar and the Vakhsh. The southern valleys are open to the "Afghan," a sultry wind blowing from Afghanistan, and have a hot, dry climate which renders artificial irrigation essential for

agricultural purposes. On the western and northern slopes, where the rainfall is heavier, fairly large areas are cultivated without irrigation.

The population consists mainly of Tadjiks, a settled and agricultural people since olden times. They constitute three-quarters of the population. After the Tadjiks, the most numerous are the Uzbeks who inhabit the west and the north-west. The western Pamirs are inhabited by small Iranian tribes kindred to the Tadjiks, while the eastern, more elevated Pamirs are inhabited by Kirghiz nomads. The Pamirs form a separate autonomous region known as Gorno-Badakhshan, with a population of about 40,000.

Before the revolution Tadjikistan was a remote colony of tsarist Russia. It is now completely transformed. A railway has been laid from Termez to Stalinabad, the capital of Tadjikistan, and a number of automobile roads have been driven through the formerly impassable mountains (from Stalinabad to Tashkent, from Osh in Kirghizstan to Khorog, the capital of Gorno-Badakhshan, and others). A large power station has been built near Stalinabad. Tens of thousands of hectares have been irrigated in the Vakhsh valley for the cultivation of Egyptian cotton, New and valuable mineral deposits have been discovered and a fairly large industry developed. Hundreds of schools and several higher educational establishments have been opened.

Tadjikistan consigns to other republics cotton, fruit, silk, wool and ores (tin, molybdenum, etc.).

The KAZAKH SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC has a vast territory stretching from the lower reaches of the Volga on the west to the Chinese frontier on the east, and from the line of the Trans-Siberian Railway in the north to the parallel of Tashkent in the south. It has a length of about 3,000 kilometres from west to east and a breadth of over 1,500 kilometres from north to south. The frontiers of Kazakhstan could embrace the whole of Western Europe without its peninsulas. In respect to area, Kazakhstan holds second place among the Union Republics of the Soviet Union, being only smaller than the R.S.F.S.R., but considerably larger than all the other nine Union Republics together.

The chief feature of Kazakhstan is its dry climate and lack of water. The rainfall is particularly small in central and western Kazakhstan. All the larger rivers of Kazakhstan take their source outside its borders. With the exception of the Irtysh and its tributaries, which drain the north-eastern part of Kazakhstan, all the rivers empty into landlocked waters. This is true of the River Ural, which pours into the Caspian Sea, the River Syr-Darya, which pours into the Aral Sea, and the River Ili, which pours into Lake Balkhash.

The land surface consists principally of flat, treeless, arid steppe.

Side by side with such areas, which are suitable only for grazing and which comprise the whole central and western part of Kazakhstan, there are areas in the north, east and south which are not only suitable but even valuable for agricultural purposes—in the north for grain crops and in the south for grain crops and industrial crops including cotton.

Kazakhstan is rich in mineral resources, the chief of which are coal in Karaganda (in the centre of Kazakhstan), oil on the River Emba (in the west), copper (Djezkazgan and Kounrad) and other non-ferrous metals. Kazakhstan contains more than half the copper, lead and zinc deposits of the Soviet Union.

The Kazakhs, the principal nationality, constitute about 60 per cent of the population. Russians and Ukrainians make up about 35 per cent of the population and live principally in the grain-growing areas along the northern frontier, where the rainfall is heaviest. The majority of the remaining population are Uzbeks inhabiting the oases in the far south.

When the Kazakhs were conquered by tsarist Russia they were a nomad people. Cattle-grazing was the principal pursuit of Kazakhstan right down to the Great Proletarian Revolution. Thus, of all the natural wealth of Kazakhstan, only that which was of comparatively secondary importance was utilized, namely, the scanty grass growing in its dry steppeland; while the most valuable—its deposits of non-ferrous metal—were hardly utilized at all. Cattle could travel on their own feet for sale beyond the frontiers of Kazakhstan; but in order to exploit the mineral deposits railways were required, and there were hardly any railways in Kazakhstan before the revolution; the Trans-Siberian Railway and the Orenburg-Tashkent line only skirted the border of Kazakhstan without penetrating it.

In the period of the Stalin Five-Year Plans the economic life of Kazakhstan advanced several centuries.

Compared with pre-revolutionary times, the length of railway line has increased three and a half times, the number of industrial workers six times and industrial output twelve times. Karaganda has become the third coalfield in the U.S.S.R., coming after the Donbas and the Kuzbas. When the newly built non-ferrous metal plants (Ridder, Kounrad, Djezkazgan, Chimkent, etc.) begin to work at full capacity, Kazakhstan will hold first place in the U.S.S.R. in this branch. As regards agriculture, in addition to the radical reconstruction of the old branches—grain growing and stock grazing (for meat and wool)—valuable new branches have been started in the south, such as cotton, rice, and sugar beet.

In spite of a considerable increase in the output of agriculture, the proportion of the output of industry to total output has increased from 6.3 per cent to 53.2 per cent.

Kazakhstan consigns to other republics coal, oil, non-ferrous metals, grain, cotton, livestock and wool.

The KIRGHIZ SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC is situated in the mountains of Tien-Shan bordering on Sinkiang, the extreme western province of China.

Only in two places does the territory of Kirghizstan drop somewhat below the usual high elevation, namely, in the north, along the valleys of the River Chu and the River Talass (on the Kazakhstan border) and in the west (on the Uzbekistan border), where the eastern edge of the Ferghana valley belongs to Kirghizstan.

These valleys—Ferghana, Chu and Talass—are highly suitable for agricultural purposes. In them are concentrated the whole irrigated area, the whole industry, all the cities and a considerable part of the population of Kirghizstan, and only to these valleys do the railways penetrate.

The Kirghiz, a people of Turkic origin, constitute two-thirds of the population; the other third consists partly of Russians and Ukrainians, inhabiting the northern valleys of Kirghizstan, and partly of Uzbeks, inhabiting Ferghana.

Since the Great Proletarian Revolution Kirghizstan has made great progress economically and culturally. The majority of the nomads have taken to a settled life. The cultivated area has doubled, new and valuable crops are being grown, an industry has been created and transport facilities have improved.

The chief grain crop is wheat. Even the mountainous districts are self-sufficing in respect to grain, since the mountain valleys of Tien-Shan as a rule have a gradual slope and are well watered, while thanks to the southern location agriculture is possible as high as 3,000 metres above sea level. Apart from grain, cotton and lucerne are grown in the Ferghana valley, sugar beet, kendyr and kenaf in the Chu valley, tobacco in the Talass valley, and poppy near Lake Issyk-Kul. Nevertheless, stock-breeding is still the chief branch of agriculture, for which there are rich mountain pastures. The industries are chiefly confined to the working up of locally produced agricultural produce (flour mills, sugar refineries, wool-washing plants, cotton gins, etc.). In addition, coal mining is rapidly developing in the Ferghana valley.

Kirghizstan consigns cotton to the central part of the U.S.S.R. and coal, livestock, grain and sugar to the neighbouring republics. Kirghizstan holds first place among the Soviet Republics in Central Asia in respect to surpluses of coal and grain.

A SOCIETY WITHOUT EXPLOITERS

Great and profound are the changes in the life of our country brought about by the workers and peasants, led by the Bolshevik Party, in the twenty years that have elapsed since the Great Socialist Revolution. The first article of the Stalin Constitution runs as follows:

"The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is a socialist state of workers and peasants."

This article fully reflects the remarkable changes that have taken place in the life of our country. Before the revolution the population of Russia was divided as follows: workers and other employees—16.7 per cent, small owners (peasants, handicraftsmen and artisans)-65.1 per cent, bourgeoisie (capitalists, landlords, merchants and kulaks)-15.9 per cent, other persons (students, members of the armed forces, pensioners)—2.3 per cent. But now the population of the U.S.S.R. is divided as follows: workers and other employees-34.7 per cent, small owners (individual peasants and handicraftsmen and artisans not belonging to producing co-operatives)—5.6 per cent, collective farmers and handicraftsmen and artisans belonging to producing co-operative societies-55.5 per cent, other persons (students, members of the armed forces and pensioners)-4.2 per cent. There is no bourgeoisic, in other words, there are no capitalists, landlords, merchants, or kulaks. In the table showing the class composition of the population of the U.S.S.R. under the category "bourgeoisie" stands the sign zero. Thus the exploiting classes have been reduced to zero, abolished.

In our state there are two friendly classes, the workers and peasants, who are free from exploitation and are the builders of their own lives. There is also in our state an intelligentsia, that is, people who live by mental labour, who in their interests and work are closely bound to the working class and the peasantry and devote their abilities and knowledge to the consolidation of the socialist system. Hence, while there are still classes in our state, these classes are not hostile to each other, but are pursuing a common path to a common goal, namely, the consolidation of the system of victorious socialism, the achievement of complete com-

munism. That is why our state is a socialist state of workers and peasants.

For the first time in the history of exploited mankind, a society has been built in which there are no exploiting classes. The Soviet system is a social system created, directed and consolidated by the working people in order to put an end to the exploitation of man by man and the division of society into classes. It is called a *Soviet* system, because it was created, won and consolidated against the enemies of the new social order through the Soviets. The significance of the Soviets is defined in Articles 2 and 3 of the Stalin Constitution, which run as follows:

"The political foundation of the U.S.S.R. is the Soviets of Toilers' Deputies, which developed and grew strong as a result of the overthrow of the power of the landlords and capitalists and the achievement of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

"All power in the U.S.S.R. belongs to the toilers of town and country as represented by the Soviets of Toilers' Deputies."

The Soviets are the organs of power in our socialist state of workers and peasants. All toilers who have reached the age of 18 may take part in the election and formation of these organs of power, with the exception of the insane and persons convicted by court of law for crimes against the socialist state to sentences including deprivation of electoral rights.

According to the new Constitution, the highest organ of state power is the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. Until the Supreme Soviet is elected (by universal, equal, direct and secret suffrage), the highest organ of state power is the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R. The head of the Central Executive Committee is M. I. Kalinin.

The government of the Soviet Union is the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. The head of the Soviet government is V. M. Molotov, a close friend and disciple of Lenin's and one of the foremost of Stalin's fellow champions.

Through the Soviets the working class does its work of guiding socialist construction. Our society is not yet a classless society, and it needs the guidance of the working class, the most advanced and consistent class in the struggle for the victory of communism.

The dictatorship (leadership of the state) of the working class remains even after the exploited classes have been abolished and socialism has been victorious. The working class and its Party—the Communist Party, or Bolsheviks—lead the struggle of the working masses against the remnants and survivals of the old capitalist system. These survivals still remain in our society in economic life and in the habits and minds of people. Moreover, there are people in our society who formerly belonged to the now obsolete exploiting classes. The accomplices and agents

of these classes, the hired agents of the enemies of our country—the Trotskyites, Zinovievites, Bukharinites and bourgeois-nationalists—have not yet been completely eradicated. We are surrounded by capitalist countries, and the most rabid enemies of the U.S.S.R.—the imperialists of Germany and Japan—are preparing to make war on our country.

And, therefore, far from weakening the dictatorship of the working class, we must strengthen it in every way. The working class continues in our society to guide the struggle of all the working people for the consolidation of the socialist system. "The guidance of society by the state (the dictatorship) is in the hands of the working class, the most advanced class in society," Comrade Stalin said when explaining the principles of the new Soviet Constitution.

Wherein lies the strength of this most advanced class in Soviet society? In the fact that it is the most conscious, consistent and organized class in the struggle for communism. This consciousness and organization of the working class enables it to rally all the working people and to lead them in achieving socialism and consolidating the socialist system.

In turn, the consciousness, consistency and organization of the working class have been achieved owing to the fact that this class is led by the militant Communist Party, the Bolsheviks, who have been steeled in the battles against tsarism and counter-revolution, internal and international. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) was founded by Lenin and moulded by him. And Comrade Stalin worked persistently hand in hand with Lenin to create and consolidate the Bolshevik Party.

As the vanguard of the most advanced class—the working class—the Communist Party is the vanguard of the working people generally. Around it rally and unite not only the working class, but also the collective farm peasantry and the Soviet intelligentsia. By leading the struggle of the working class for communism, the Bolshevik Party directs the struggle of the working people generally to consolidate and develop the socialist system until the victory of complete communism is achieved.

Lenin and Stalin inculcated in the Party a spirit of relentless hostility to all opponents and enemies of the working people—the bourgeoisie and landlords and their henchmen, the Mensheviks, Socialist-Revolutionaries, anarchists, Trotskyites, Zinovievites, Bukharinites and bourgeois nationalists.

Led by the Bolshevik Party, the working people of our country demolished these enemies of our socialist country and secured the triumph of socialism in the U.S.S.R. Led by the Bolshevik Party, which is headed by the Central Committee and the great Stalin, the working people of

our country are gaining success after success in the struggle for communism.

THE MIGHT OF OUR COUNTRY IS GROWING

Thanks to the efforts of the workers and peasants of our country, led by the Bolshevik Party, a new and just social system has been created. It is the system of which the working people of the world are dreaming, and for which they are fighting.

For the first time since human society became divided into classes, our working people have acquired their own country. Marx and Engels said in the *Communist Manifesto* that "the workingmen have no country." A worker cannot regard a country as his own just because he was born and brought up in it, when in fact all he ever got from it was suffering, poverty and deprivation. Every bourgeois country is a stepparent to its workers. Germany is not the fatherland of the German workers, because all it offers them is poverty, disfranchisement and the penal regime of the fascist police system. In the winter of 1936 there were about eleven million persons in Germany who were doomed to pauperism and beggary. What country had these millions of impoverished workers?

The workers of Italy, Japan, Poland or of any capitalist country cannot say: This is my country! Driven by want, the worker will leave "his" country without regret and go to any other in search of bread. But here too disappointment will await him; in any other bourgeois country unemployment and starvation will lurk in wait for him. No, under capitalism the workingman has no country.

Neither had the workers of Russia a country in the old days. They suffered brutal exploitation in what was called their country. The workers of the non-Russian nationalities in addition suffered from national oppression. To the attempts of the workers to obtain some improvement in their condition, "their" country, the tsarist country, replied with bayonet, knout, bullet, prison and the scaffold. Neither had the peasants of old Russia a country; all it held out to them was a lingering death from hunger and disease, and frightful exploitation and bondage, ignorance and ruin.

It was the victory of the Great Proletarian Socialist Revolution and the establishment of a socialist system in the U.S.S.R. that gave the working people a country. They have acquired a fatherland at last.

Great is the love of Soviet citizens for their young and rapidly developing country. The working people feel that the land of socialism is their real home. They are equal participants in the great work of con-

struction, and not unwilling slaves condemned to live like beasts of burden. Their creative energies are given full play. They feel that a warm solicitude is shown for their welfare. Their country is a real parent, not a step-parent.

And how can we help but love our country! It is the fruit of the great gains of the working people in the years of revolution. The land in our country belongs to the whole people. Over 156,000,000 hectares of land formerly belonging to the royal family, the state, the landlords, the kulaks, the churches and monasteries, have been handed over to the peasants, in addition to the land they held before. All the mills, factories, power stations, mines, banks and railways have become the property of the whole people. Our socialist country has become enriched by thousands of new mills and factories. The fields of 244,000 collective farms and 4,137 state farms are yielding splendid harvests of wheat, vegetables and fruit. Thousands of machine and tractor stations send into the fields of the collective farms hundreds of thousands of tractors, harvester combines and other machines to make the labour of the collective farmers easier, to increase the yield of their fields and to raise the incomes of the collective farms. The very roots of the capitalist system have been torn up in our country and the causes of the exploitation, unemployment, poverty and disfranchisement of the working people have been destroyed. The citizens of our country have won the right to labour, rest and recreation, education, maintenance in old age and material support in case of illness and incapacitation. The Constitution of the U.S.S.R. confers upon Soviet citizens the broadest democratic liberties in the world.

That is why the citizens of the Land of the Soviets cherish a profound love for their country. And that is why they consider it their sacred duty to increase its might, to strengthen its power of defence, to surround the Red Army with love and care and to defend their country with every means in their power. And this duty the working people of the U.S.S.R. have registered in the Constitution.

"To defend the fatherland is the sacred duty of every citizen of the U.S.S.R.," it is stated in Article 133 of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R.

Treason to the country is the worst of crimes. Nothing can be more criminal than to cause injury to the military might of our Soviet state. The Soviet people hate nobody more than the spies and hired agents of states hostile to our country. There are no more disgusting and despicable traitors and enemies of our country than the Trotskyites, Zinovievites and Bukharinites. They have been branded with the curses and contempt of the people of our great and mighty Soviet Union.

Our country is surrounded by capitalist states. The most rabid and vicious enemies of the country of socialism are fascist Germany in Europe and imperialist Japan in Asia. These warmongers are seconded by fascist Italy and Poland. Germany and Japan are preparing to attack our country. To make it easier to do so, their military intelligence services send spies and wreckers into our midst. They recruit agents from among the enemies of socialism within our country. The Trotskyites, Zinovievites, Bukharinites and bourgeois-nationalists have placed themselves completely at the disposal of the military intelligence services and general staffs of the German and Polish fascists and the Japanese imperialists.

The People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs, faithful sentinel of the socialist revolution, headed by N. I. Yezhov, the fighting disciple and fellow champion of Comrade Stalin, has destroyed and swept out the nests of the Trotskyites and Bukharinites. The Soviet courts have severely punished and ruthlessly destroyed the gangs of spies, wreckers and assassins created by the Trotskyites, Zinovievites and Bukharinites. The Soviet people show no mercy to traitors to the country, to hired servitors of the fascists.

In response to the despicable acts of the Japanese and German spies, the Trotskyites, Bukharinites and other enemies of the people, the citizens of the Soviet country have doubled and trebled their vigilance, they have multiplied their care for the Red Army, and have turned their gaze to the frontiers of our immense country.

Our Red Army, which is firmly and confidently protecting our Soviet frontiers, is an indestructible force. The creation of a powerful, upto-date industry has enabled us to equip our army with first-class fighting machines—splendid tanks, guns, machine-guns and bombing planes. It is in our Soviet factories and on our collective farm fields that the might of the Soviet country is being created and the strength of the Red Army is ripening. Our army is bound by strong ties with the Soviet people. It is part of the flesh and blood of the working masses. Its men and commanders are true sons of the people. The invincible Red Army is headed by K. E. Voroshilov, a former Lugansk mechanic, and now iron People's Commissar of Defence and First Marshal of the Soviet Union.

It is the direct duty of all citizens of the Soviet country to help to strengthen the Red Army and to strengthen the rear that supports the Red Army. This is the best way to demonstrate our love for our country and our hatred for its enemies.

Mighty and splendid is our Soviet country. Grand is the sweep of its socialist development. Wonderful are its peoples and heroes. Astonishing are their feats, unfailing their valour and magnificent their achievements.

The people of our Soviet country are stretching to their full height. They are justly proud of their great gains. And they have expressed their joy and warm gratitude to their beloved leader in their song:

"And we who have conquered, we sing it so proudly,
The Stalinist epoch we honour as one—
We sing of our new life so happy and splendid,
We sing of the joy of our victories won.

From border to border, o'er valley and mountain, Where loudly the aeroplane's swift motor roars, Of Stalin the wise, the dearly beloved, The song of the peoples triumphantly soars."



