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SOVIET RUSSIA

Lecture Delivered by

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Collective Man versus Individual Man.

I feel it a real honor to speak before the Naval War College, especially on a subject which affects us as Americans, much more than we as a nation are aware. A general survey, culled from eight lectures I gave before the Lowell Institute, Boston. A number of factors every American should have in mind when viewing our race with the Soviets for world markets. Pan-Europa conference, May, Geneva. U.S. and U.S.S.R. present.

I find that there is a general public bewilderment regarding the charges of Soviet dumping, of convict and slave labor, and of unfair competition, and a general public wonder as to the means by which the Soviets have passed in a decade from bankruptcy to the position of economic threat to the world. Now, while not attempting to rationalize the Soviet system, I believe we can explain much of this economic threat if we stop trying to estimate costs of production, stop trying to measure the strange forces for which we have no measuring rods, and frankly recognize that the final issue is not between forced labor and free labor, but between two economic systems, between cooperation and laissez faire, between collective man and individual man.

Taking the long view the question is this: Is the apparent economic success of collectivism in Russia the result of peculiar conditions which do not maintain elsewhere; or is the implication of the machine age in which we live such that the entire industrialized world must eventually adopt collectivism as the

only remedy for the self-destructive crises of competitive society?

Events of the last few months in Russia have focussed attention on the labor situation. This humanizes the problem for us, and gives us something tangible as a center of reference. So, with your permission I should like to draw a picture of the collective man, the new creature in world competition. My approach will be through the political and economic control the socialistic institutions developed by the Communists to carry out their plans. This explains much of what is otherwise dark. Secondly, I should like to show the results of the application of that control in socialization and industrialization. Thirdly, we must examine the social creature emerging as a product of the system. And lastly, we may draw conclusions regarding the probable development of the Soviet threat to the world's status quo.

I am personally convinced that, present company always excepted, people are not really interested in Russia, but in ideas about Russia.

My own idea is that we must think through the fundamentals, and keep them in mind when appraising the situation at any time. These fundamentals are always there, but they are generally ignored. Observers who judge Russia by rules which apply elsewhere generally end in a muddle because of the Quantity X rooted in the soil and the character qualities of the Russian people.

The Russian people are the imponderables. They supply the continuity between the old and the new, and prove that much of what is called new is really old in Russia. By Russian people

I don't mean the 1.5 per cent minority, the nobles who charmed and dazzled the Riviera. And I don't mean the 8 or 9 per cent minority, the bourgeoisie, even though that class contained scholars and reformers who made contributions to society of permanent worth. I mean the 85 per cent majority, the people who never had their day.

These people were placed by geography under the influence of Byzance, the Tartars, and Asia, cut off from the progress of the west. Their cruel climate has made them stoics, people who can endure. For centuries they were stifled by a theo-political autocracy, in virtual slavery to a church-state which regulated economic life to preserve a class system and a military machine.

These people never had a renaissance. They never had a reformation. They have no real tradition of self-government. They don't know freedom. They don't know the intoxication of liberty. They are peasants, or ex-peasants with their roots in the village, until recently dark in their illiteracy. They emerged from serfdom only to be plunged into the 1905 revolution. Before they recovered from that they were flung into a world war which they never could understand. For sixteen years now they have been under the tent, a people at war, for the so-called transition to socialism is war continued. They have gone through famine, plague, and economic exhaustion. No people have suffered as have the Russians, unless it be the Chinese. I don't know how the Communists will transform these "little brothers". They are specimens in the laboratory. They have been through the fire

many times, and have proved indestructible. Like the land they live in they are built on the big scale. They have big ideas. And they have a real love for Russia. These are people who can endure, what they have endured, and still go on increasing at the rate of three million a year, a larger annual increase than the whole population of Denmark. It is this fertility of the Russians, even in adversity, which is at the root of Russia's great economic problem. Over a long period of years the population has been growing faster than the means to provide ordinary necessities of life and employment. That was Russia's problem before the war. That has been the problem of the Soviets.

Communist Doctrine

Turning now to the fundamentals of doctrine we note that much of the Russian enigma can be explained by the opposition between this economic pressure from below, inherent in land and people, and the ideological pressure from above, that is, the efforts of the rulers to go from autocracy to socialism without passing through the stage of parliamentary democracy.

According to the Kremlin doctrine capitalism, as an economic mode, is becoming obsolete, unfit for the changing needs of an increasingly populous and industrialized world, and must eventually follow the outworn systems of feudalism and slavery into the scrap bag of history. It is believed that capitalism must shake itself to pieces by reason of its internal contradictions;

first, the division of society into two classes; and second, the anarchy of production.

To correct the evil of classes they propose a classless society, in which there are to be no private accumulations, but which permits the economic surpluses to be applied to increase the real rewards to labor, shorten the working days, and raise the cultural level of the common man.

To correct the evil of anarchy of production they propose an organized society free from competition, free from crises and wars, based on a socialized economy of unified plan and control which coordinates all branches of production and distribution in a general scheme of industrialization.

We must reason through this revolutionary philosophy of the Communists. They claim to be working for the prosperity of society as a whole. And they claim many advantages for their proposed methods of attaining and maintaining prosperity. The first is that the human energy now absorbed by the class conflict, the strikes, revolts, police activities, law courts, etc., will be liberated for production. The second is that the wastes of competition, crises and wars, will be avoided. And the third, that a general plan of economy will eliminate waste in production, and permit super-scale production, which is more economical, and permit technical advance at a rate impossible under the plan-less capitalistic system.

This never-never land of Communism is predicated on an econ-

omy of abundance, with an uninterrupted flow of goods through the channels of planned production, and with the motto: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his need". Labor is to cease being the means to support life, and become the first necessity of life. The opposition between mental and manual labor is to disappear. It is supposed that parasitism will disappear, and that crime will cease. Man will be required to spend less time on material provision for himself, and more on his mental development, so that human culture will rise to unprecedented heights as collective man moves farther and farther away from his brutal past under capitalism.

Just when such a society can be achieved not even Lenin presumed to know. Poor old humanity will probably never get there. But the way thither is said to be through socialism. However, the necessary overflowing abundance will not arrive with socialism. So socialistic economy must be founded not on abundance, but on scarcity. Socialism will habituate the people to social ownership, and to plan discipline, that is submission to the general plan of collectivism.

Now socialism, though not so distant, can not be attained overnight. There must ensue the years of socialistic transformation, during which capitalism is rooted out, class lines obliterated, economic life socialized, and socialistic institutions created and developed under the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is the reality today, the so-called transition period during which Russia is in the process of becoming socialistic.

The Soviet State

The apparatus designed to effect this transition is the Soviet state, which becomes increasingly interesting to us as the conflict sharpens between the Soviets and the capitalist world. In line with pure Marxist doctrine of class antagonism the state is considered the organ of oppression of one class by another. Officials rule society in the interests of the politically dominant class. When classes are abolished the state becomes superfluous. In the words of Engels the state must "wither away", and be stored in the museum along with the spinning wheel and bronze axe. According to Bukharin that far-off communist society will be administered by statisticians and bookkeepers.

Tsarist Russia was a unitary state, which granted little or no autonomy to the 180 nationalities within the empire. By contrast the Soviet Union is a federation of seven soviet republics. In general, the principles of private law are laid down by the federal government; civil matters are left to the republics. But legislation for the whole Union is uniform because of the centrally controlled Communist party. According to the constitution any republic has the right of free withdrawal. This is considered one of the jokers. Nevertheless, the Soviet policy of cultural autonomy within federation is of tremendous importance in view of the pending expansion to the East, the means by which Moscow expects to effect an economic federation of the world simply by admitting new members to the Union.

Now, of course, when socialism is achieved, classes are abolished, and everyone is socially educated, there will be no state, and no laws. But during the transitional dictatorship of the proletariat there must be laws to attain the revolutionary ends in view. The general legal purpose has been to transmute the economic interpretation of history into jurisprudence. To that end the constitution vests authority in the entire working class, thus a doctrine of class rights, not individual rights. The person is the whole class, in the collective sense.

Therefore, in weighing the charges of forced labor, we must remember that the proletarian state is a class-limited oligarchy, characterized by non-separation of executive and legislative powers, and by the negation of individual rights. Only producers may be citizens. These are divided into four economic categories: the proletariat or manual laborers and poor peasants; the middle class peasants; the toiling intelligentsia; and lastly the capitalistic elements, private traders and kulaks. They are divided into two political groups; first, members of the Communist party and Communist Youth, 3 per cent of the population; and second, non-members, 97 per cent. A large class of non-citizens is made up of those who employ labor for profit, or live on income not derived from their own labor, clergymen, former police, etc.

We see the obvious effect of this credo. In the first place, the state transcends the law. The state is the instrument with which to attain the revolutionary end in view. That is why it is so difficult to come to grips with Russia legally. There is some-

thing beyond the law which legalizes the social morality of dictatorship, and legalizes injustice, something called revolutionary legality.

During Military Communism, where there was a legal vacuum, there was not much need for law. The basis of court decision was the revolutionary conscience of the judge. But with the country economically exhausted and devastated by Civil war the state had to call in individual initiative again in order to restore economic life. This led to the celebrated New Economic Policy of 1921, and marked the advent of the various law codes, the Civil Code, the Land Code, the Labor Code, the Marriage and Family Code, the Criminal Code, etc. In all of these the Communists have enshrined the economic interpretation of history. In all of them they have erected elaborate safeguards against the exploitation of man by man. But as in the constitution, there is no safeguard against exploitation of man by the state.

In order to restore economic relations as between individuals the state had to give some kind of guarantee to property. By the decree of May 22, 1923, which had been called the magna carta of civil liberties, the state bestowed on citizens rights to hold property and to make contracts. This is quite different from law systems which we know. It implies that private legal capacity is not inherent in the individual, but merely enjoyed by him as a boon from the state. The individual has one function in a collective society, and that function is service to the class, or state.

This Civil Code, compiled in six weeks, and promulgated January 1, 1923, is an extremely interesting charter showing the relations between the Worker's state and its citizens. Article I of the fundamental rules reads: "Civil rights enjoy the protection of laws except in those cases in which they are sought to be realized in opposition to their social-economic designation." This clause is strengthened by Article 4: "....civil capacity is bestowed for the development of the productive forces of the country!"

This provision is legalization of revolutionary exigency. He who does not work shall not eat. If a person does not work he can not be a citizen, hence the disenfranchisement of priests, private traders, etc. Under this law almost anybody might be accused of counter-revolution in that he might seek to realize his civil rights in opposition to their social-economic designation, which is to develop-production. So the interests of an individual are valid only when they do not contradict the state's economic and social interests. The Russians have a word for it, Sovietskaya Vlast, Soviet Power. You meet Sovietskaya Vlast in the hotel, the restaurant, the tram, the theatre, the railroad, the factory. Everywhere you go, there is the state and its rights which you must not transgress. You can see how unfortunate it would be to develop a streak of individualism.

A feature of Soviet jurisprudence which is very troublesome to foreigners is the juridical person. Soviet economy is collectivistic. Articles 13 and 14 define juridical persons as associations of persons or institutions, which may acquire property, incur obligations, sue or be sued .. But more and more these

juridical persons represent the state, and often partake of state sovereignty, an industrial trust, for instance.

Property has a special status. The Civil Code, Article 58, does not define title, but establishes what is called the "doctrine of economic use", in other words, usufruct. Property in land, for instance, is not granted as a right; it is leased in usufruct, which lease the state may withdraw.

In criminal law also, in the early years, the basis of court decision was the revolutionary conscience of the judge. In laying down the principles for the enactment of criminal legislation by the republics the central government issued Instructions. These are characterized by the following:

1. Punishment is not a revenge, but social protection. An individual is a member of a class. Class is the authority, and a class can not punish itself.
2. Punishment must be corrective.
3. Inequality in application of the Criminal Code. By Article 31 of the Instructions the court, at its discretion, will impose the highest measure of social protection if the crime has been committed by a person of the exploiting class. By Article 32, allowance should be made when the accused belongs to the proletariat. Soviet jurisprudence thus declares that it is a class jurisprudence of the toilers, with two scales of measurement.

But it goes deeper than this. The purpose is to make punishment fit not the crime, but the sense of responsibility which the accused should have. The criterium is social origin. That is, a person with a cultural background is more of a culprit, for the

same crime, than an illiterate workman. There is some logic in the reasoning. The Soviet courts view criminals of the lower classes as victims of the past.

Now, what is crime! Article 6 declares: "...every act or lack of action which threatens the safety of the soviet order and regime is a criminal offense." This is a sweeping designation of crime, because it is left to the public authorities to decide what is threatening to the safety of the soviet order. This would apply, for instance, to a manager of a factory who neglects his job. With us that would be inefficiency. Under the Soviet system neglect becomes crime, because it prevents attainment of the revolutionary end in view.

Article 10 goes still farther afield in declaring that when the Criminal Code does not supply the exact provision to cover a particular type of crime the court must impose punishment and social protection in accordance with the provisions of the Code which are closest to the crime from the point of view of its importance. The Soviet Criminal Code thus seems to dispose of the principle, *nullo in crimen sine lege*, "in the absence of law there is no crime", which is the touchstone of our civil liberties. The touchstone in Soviet Russia is revolutionary legality of the class struggle.

As for penalties, first degree murder is punished by 10 years' restriction of liberty. There is no capital punishment for criminal offenses against the safety of individuals. If a peasant kills his wife he is withdrawn from circulation, and educated,

and if he behaves he is allowed to go home for three months a year to take in the harvest. There is no intervening penalty between 10 years' restriction of liberty, and the highest social protection, which is death. However, about 40 articles list the offenses endangering the class, hence the state, with one penalty, death. This turns our conceptions upside down. For murder the penalty is up to 10 years; for theft or serious mistakes in the state's business, death. But we must remember that the Soviet state is extremely vulnerable because of its economic character, and also that in establishing class justice the Communists claim they are merely reversing the tenets of bourgeois justice.

In this system the courts, the peoples courts, district courts, and the Supreme court, are all organs of state authority. There is no jury, just a judge and two assistants. All three issue the decree of judgment. The judge is not only an administrator of justice, he is a politician defending the class interest, who may disregard even the laws when they conflict with his revolutionary honor. This has been called socialization of the law.

I. Political Control.

Now, in order to see collective man, politically controlled, we must have a mental picture of the pyramidal structure, and the interrelations between the Communist party and the Soviet government.

The body of the pyramid is society in general. The stages are the steps of the government, from the lowest Soviets at the

at the bottom to the All-Union Congress of Soviets at the top. Then imagine the surface of these steps laced by iron ribs, holding the steps and the pyramid itself in shape. Those ribs, which are all-inclusive, represent the Communist party.

The resolutions adopted by the party are not laws. But party discipline demands that all members abide by them. As all the Peoples Commissars of the government are at the same time members of the Central Committee of the party, the decisions of the latter are readily transmuted into governmental decrees. No orders, party to government, are needed. The party will is expressed in the form of directives, which lay down the general principles to be followed in enacting particular legislation, or in effecting policies. Other members of the Central Committee hold key posts in the government organization. At times a party decision starts the machinery of application without waiting for the technical legislation by governmental decree.

In general, policy originates in the Politbureau, the inner party executive of twelve men, and is made concrete in the Central Committee. The Politbureau is the real source of legislation, and has the power to annul the decisions of the constitutional or Soviet organs of authority.

This interrelation at the top exist also at every step in the pyramid from the local soviets and party cells up. In every governmental body there is what is called the party "fraction", that is, the employees or elected members who are likewise party members. The "fraction" takes its orders from the party, and its

unfavorable report on the management is the signal for a "chistka" or cleansing, in the name of the proletariat. In all the soviets voting is by showing of hands, as the secret ballot is not on speaking terms with dictatorship. It thus happens that when the Communist president of a local soviet announces that Tovarish Piotr is a candidate for election as delegate to the next higher soviet he might say, as I have myself heard: "Now, has any one anything to say against Tovarish Piotr?" There might be growls in the back seats, but no hands go up, and Piotr is elected unan- imously. This political apparatus, whereby the towns dictate to the rural districts (industry to agriculture), the proletariat dictates to the towns, the Communist party dictates to the prole- tariat, and the Central Committee and Politbureau dictate to the party as a whole, to the government, and to the country at large, makes a pyramid of political control unparalleled in all history.

II. Economic Control.

Turning now to the second major force directed toward the creation of collective man I should like to bring out certain features of the economic control. The Communist program is predi- cated on the toil and sacrifice of all Soviet citizens. Immediate welfare is deliberately sacrificed for the sake of long haul pro- jects of industrialization. In proclaiming religion as the opium of the people, the Communists say: "Let parsons of all religious creeds keep telling us of a paradise in the world to come; we want to create a real paradise on this earth for human beings."

While the proposed earthly paradise is being laid out, the builders must evidently content themselves with iron rations and minimum comforts. As one might suspect, the first essentials of an earthly paradise in the machine age are power plants, railroads, iron foundries, and other basic means of production. Into these the state pours the wealth of the country. Meanwhile, the light industries which produce consumers goods are relatively neglected, and are forced, in fact, to bring in revenue with which to build power plants. The scheme to correct Russia's backwardness thus means that this generation must suffer. But the sacrifice of the welfare of a whole generation in order to build socialism is only a new form of the old subservience to the will of the state. The mass of the Russian people have long been accustomed to the sacrifice of their welfare without even the promise of earthly paradise which perhaps only their children can hope to enjoy. Failure to understand this policy leads to the snap conclusions we hear and read about the certain downfall of the system because of the welfare conditions. As a matter of fact, the Bolsheviks can improve the mass welfare whenever they choose, merely by easing off the pressure to industrialize.

There is no doubt that the Communists and Communist Youth, 3 per cent of the population, are sincerely working for the earthly paradise in Russia. The 97 per cent majority, born to be patient, and unsustained by the sweets of power, are more concerned with the problems of subsistence. The interesting question arises, how do 3 per cent make 97 per cent submit to sacrifice,

to accept steel mills owned by society in place of boots which an individual can wear?

In the first place, armed resistance is virtually impossible. It is true that the peasants have, until recently, kept up a sullen sabotage. But, in general, persons who do not approve of socialism must cooperate or starve. The workers grumble fiercely as individuals. Collectively, they are secure in the knowledge that they will receive boots first, when boots are passed around.

But the real answer to the question of how fanatic minority makes the majority submit to sacrifice is the organic nerve system of control, which threads the immensity of Russian life, with its brain in the Kremlin. In the words of Lenin: "The road to socialism is through public accounting (that is, statistics) and control." This is the Quantity X of the Soviet system, which permits the government to industrialize the country without the aid of foreign capital. To my mind, it is the economic control, built up over the years, which foreign economists ignore when they predict the fall of the Kremlin.

Besides the party control in which the rank and file serve as constant inspectors throughout the economic system, there is the G.P.U., the State Political Administration. This secret police differs from the old Cheka in that it is, at least nominally, subject to the constitutional organs of authority. As a matter of fact, its orders come from the Politbureau and the Central Committee of the party. It differs also from other

famous weapons of class justice, such as the Committee of Public Safety of the French revolution, or the Okhrana of the Tsars, by its functions in economic as well as political control. The G.P.U. is called the "watchful eye of the revolution," and the "punitive organ of class war". It pursues the speculator, the counterfeiter, the smuggler, and all economic criminals who ordinarily lie beyond the jurisdiction of a politico-military tribunal. In Russia and abroad it ferrets out economic espionage, economic conspiracy, and economic counter-revolution, generic terms which cover all possible offenses against a state which is in business.

The G.P.U. took over the methods of the Tsarist Okhrana, and improved on them. It has about 130,000 agents in uniform, on the railroads and elsewhere. As it is a crime not to report observed activities hostile to the state's interests, the G.P.U. has also a civilian army, the size and identity of which are unknown. This is the invisible control.

The G.P.U. has power to carry out administrative justice, without trial. It strikes generally at night. There is a knock on the door, and a demand to open in the name of Sovietskaya Vlast. Then enter the polite, and efficient G.P.U. agents, who present the warrant, and proceed to ransack the apartment. In the morning the neighbors hurry by without looking, not even breathing the letters, G.P.U. Another citizen disappears from circulation, charged with offending against the revolution. His relatives may not learn until months later that he is to be released, to be exiled to Solovetsky or Siberia, or that he has already felt the sudden press of the cold pistol behind the ear in the cellar of the

Lubianka in Moscow.

There are times of quiet. Suddenly the political atmosphere gets sultry. The "punitive organ of class war" strikes with the swiftness of lightning. And for days the air is electric with fear. Even neutral foreigners absorb the thought-currents which come in through the windows.

But it must be admitted that the G.P.U., as distinct from the old Cheka, very seldom interferes with the great mass of peasants and workers. And it must be remembered that the state is economically vulnerable. The revolution is not over; the condition of war continues. Treason in time of war is the highest form of social danger. An obstruction to the government's plans is made identical with treason in Moscow.

Another organ of direct political control of the economic system is the Workers-Peasants Inspection, known as the RKI. Nominally the RKI is a government commissariat. In reality, it is an extension of the Central Control Commission of the party, which is the instrument of the chistka, or cleansing. One man is always chief of both.

It was found that a tapeworm was feeding on the vitals of the state body, absorbing its strength, and causing a terrific overhead in non-productive expenditure. The tapeworm was the inherited bureaucracy, which produced a progeny in kind the paper work and volokita. Volokita is the drag, the obstruction, the anti-efficiency. It was everywhere, in high offices and low, in commissariats and village soviets. It was stamped on important papers going through channels, which in some cases took

six weeks to pass through the twelve hands in one institution, housed in one building.

The party in 1926 directed the RKI to overhaul the government apparatus, and establish a "regime of economy". The ship of state had to shorten sail so as to lie closer to the wind just as any other commercial venture. The idea was to reduce administrative cost by killing bureaucracy at the heart, and by sweeping the debris into the dump of old institutions. The trade unions, economic commissions, etc., to report to the RKI all instances of volokita, bureaucracy, incompetence, and breach of trust. This implied inspection from below, an elaborate spy system. The RKI thus became a board of censors.

The method of inspection is for a commission from the Control and Verification section of the RKI to appear, without notice, at the headquarters of a commissariat, a trust, a factory, a soviet, a bank, a railroad office, almost any state institution, and call for its books. The doors are locked and guarded. For weeks the commission checks accounts against ascertainable facts. The working conditions of the organization are examined in the light of the general plan. The Council of Peoples Commissars then publishes the finding of the RKI, along with a decree to effect the changes recommended.

Party congresses from time to time have given more and more power to the RKI until it is today a searchlight of the Kremlin from which there is no escape. To put teeth in the so-called "regime of economy" the RKI recommends liquidation of institutions,

consolidation of functions, elimination of parallelism, abolition of red tape, discharge of unnecessary employees, and criminal prosecution of those who have been neglectful or guilty of venality, whether members of the party or not. In actual practice its recommendations amount to orders. The RKI works with one guiding principle: Whatever is necessary to the state and production remains; whatever is unnecessary must go. To individuals it gives the alternative: "Pull your weight in the boat, or get out".

It used to be very difficult to get money at the State Bank. The lady cashiers were inclined to let queues form while they dawdled over the hourly glass of tea, or gossiped among themselves on matters of high interest but remote from state finance. Then came a short visit from the RKI, after which the cashiers were so intent on serving you that they would read your mind before you spoke. After the RKI swept through the very citadel of volokita, the postoffice, the stamps fairly popped across the counter, and everyone was polite and efficient, as though it were a Rotary club. Of course, one was always reminded of Charles Lamb, "Gone, all are gone, the old familiar faces". But gone, also, was much of the dilly-dally of group responsibility.

And two months ago there was created a Verification Committee, which seems to have functions of a super-RKI, directed toward enforcement of discipline in carrying out the Five Year Plan.

Government economic control, in the strict sense, is vested in the Council of Labor and Defense, the inter-departmental body

composed of Communists of long standing who hold the key positions in the economic system. This is the unifying organ at the apex of the pyramid. It operates through a number of commissions, the most important of which is the State Planning Commission, the Gosplan.

State planning is the most original contribution of the Soviets to the science of modern government. State planning permits coordination of all the resources, in order to balance production and consumption. As excess production is the chief cause of world depression this planning system is the real challenge to laissez faire capitalism. We should note a few characteristics.

In the first place, all state organs and cooperatives are obliged to observe the strictest discipline in carrying out the plan, which makes the now celebrated "planning discipline" by which the Soviets expect to defeat capitalist countries economically. The Gosplan Control Figures, a survey of national economy as a whole, have grown from crude beginnings in 1926 into what is now considered the finest forecasting system known to business. The Gosplan has headquarters in Moscow. In each republic there is a planning commission subject to orders. The various commissariats also have planning commissions with ramifications all over the Union. And each local unit of the economic system must have a planning section.

The plans of local organizations, based on policies defined in Moscow, and capacities of local plant, are forwarded up the stages of the economic pyramid to the Gosplan, for coordination into a single plan for the whole Soviet Union. After ratification by the Central Executive Committee, this unified plan becomes the law of the land, and the general guide for the year. The scope of planning has increased from year to year, until now there is practically no activity without its particular plan. Krylenko, the public prosecutor, has even organized a five year plan for playing chess.

Now, state planning requires a corps of highly trained financial and statistical engineers. These the Soviets have lacked in the past. But they are producing rapidly a huge staff of technicians, experienced in the dynamics of planning. In the past the chief handicap has been the unreliability of agricultural statistics. The sown area had to be calculated from information furnished by the peasants themselves, who intentionally or unintentionally gave wrong figures. With the collectivization, however, much of the guesswork in agricultural data has been eliminated. Miscalculation also arises from the necessity to set the Control Figures for the ensuing year before the results of the current year are fully known. And state planning has such a short history that the average of error has not yet been worked out. Natural calamity and unforeseen changes in policy may cause even greater upsets.

I should like, at this point, to say a word about statistics, which are of much greater importance in Russia than in capitalist countries. The statistical organization is enormous, with reports going forward every week. Industrial, labor, financial and transport figures have been fairly accurate; those of private agriculture have been unreliable. In the early years of plans there was a tendency to overestimate the crop, and raw materials available. Moreover, the Russian people are blessed with what is called the "shirokaya natura", or generous nature.

I once hired a Cossack to take me on a week's journey in his telega. In the course of things the rim of the rear wheel worked loose, and finally parted at the weld. Then it began to flip-flap at every turn. I said nothing, for we were almost at a village. The next morning, I expected to find the wheel fixed. But there it was, flip-flap, flip-flap. I punched my Cossack, and said: "Hey, little brother, you have wire under the seat, why don't you bind up that wheel?" He stopped the horses, and said: "The devil take it, Barin, I didn't know it bothered you." Then he reached under the seat, and produced not the wire, but the axe. He spat on his hands, and forthwith assaulted the rim. He pounded away for fifteen minutes, and then began to bend a piece a foot long, back and forth, until he broke it off. To all my questions he would say: "Nitchevo", it's nothing, it doesn't matter." Then he tossed the piece he had broken off out into the steppe.. I asked why. He said "Nitchevo!" So I demanded how he could reconcile such destruction with the "regime of economy", etc.

Whereupon he thumped his chest, and said: "U nas, shirokaya natura" We, the Russians, have a generous nature.

The Communists are up against the Nitchevo and shirokaya natura. They are trying to economize the celebrated Slavic soul. Every Russian has a soul tucked away somewhere, a highly imaginative soul which is apt to soar away to astronomy when dealing with figures. But the hard realities of state planning demand accurate reports from below. Persons submitting statistics not based on careful study of ascertainable facts are punished under the laws designed to enforce "planning discipline".

In general, there is a constant pressure from the center to develop scientific methodology in statistics. Socialism might turn the Russians into a race of bookkeepers. Sometimes a worker or peasant will tell you that the only good thing in the old days was that no one was obliged to keep accounts. It requires a particular technique to use Soviet statistics, but so used they compare not unfavorably with statistics elsewhere. Even in the U.S. of efficiency no two fact-finding institutions have been able to agree on the amount of unemployment this last winter.

Now, the chief point for us about this planned control is that the foreign trade monopoly surrounds Russia like a Chinese wall. By means of this monopoly the Soviet government, the only buyer and the only seller in the foreign market, takes advantage of the competition abroad and operates on a united front. We haven't time to go into questions involved, the diplomatic immunity of the Trade Delegates, which raises problems for the international lawyers, and the lack of the so-called "material mutuality"

between socialist and capitalist systems in world trade. The various attempts to organize concrete opposition to the Soviet trade monopoly have always gone on the rocks through the inherent rivalries of the capitalist states. The Soviets count on the rivalry to continue.

Soviet money is an interesting phenomenon. The State Bank issues Chervontsi, 10 ruble notes, which are covered 25 percent by precious metals and foreign currency, and 75 per cent by short term bills. Since 1924 it has also issued the so-called Treasury notes, in 1, 3, and 5 ruble denominations, which pass as legal tender, but are not redeemable in the covered money, the Chervontsi. The limit of issue of these uncovered Treasury notes was first fixed at 50 per cent of the Chervontsi banknotes in circulation. In 1928 this limit was raised to 75 per cent, and last September to 100 per cent.

Thus for every dollar, (pegged at 51 cents plus), that it puts in the vault the State Bank can issue roughly eight Chervontsi rubles. Against these eight rubles in banknotes it can likewise issue eight rubles in Treasury notes. This makes 16 rubles, or about eight dollars at par. Now, putting one dollar in the hole and extracting from it eight dollars is a feat not to be taken lightly these perilous times. Traffic in rubles across the frontier is expressly forbidden. In their dealings abroad the Soviets are compelled to use foreign currence, to get which they are accused of selling goods at a loss. And protected from the fluctuations of international exchange by the foreign trade monopoly they go on building socialism with socialized money. The for-

foreign trade monopoly is thus the armour plate of socialism, the highest protection ever devised in international relations.

III. Socialization.

This gigantic control system has been dedicated, first of all, to socialization of the means of production. Because of the two conflicting forces, the economic pressure from below and the ideological pressure from above, the Soviet system has developed with a certain amount of private capitalism always operating. Consequently the economic life of the country has flowed in two main streams:

1. The socialized sector, state of cooperative enterprises.
2. The non-socialized, or private sector, that is, the individual operators in agriculture, industry and trade.

Between the two there has been a dramatic conflict since 1917. In the first act, Military Communism until 1921, ideology was triumphant, but the country was bankrupt. The New Economic Policy, 1921-28, meant a restoration of individualism. It was expected that the socialized sector would absorb the private by inherent superiority. But in 1927/28 98 per cent of the agriculture and 12 per cent of the industrial production were still private, along with one-fourth of the retail trade, which state of affairs was considered dangerous for a system in the process of becoming socialistic. The Communists were in an impasse. They had either to retreat again, holding ideology in abeyance for the sake of immediate economic advance, or scale the wall and risk everything

on the gamble of speed in socialization. Being schooled in audacity they chose to gamble. Hence the third act, beginning really in 1929, the Socialist Offensive. And thus the end of tolerated individualism in Russia.

In many ways this Socialist Offensive is a return to the methods which failed in 1919, agriculture is collectivized mostly in the form of the artel, industry is reorganized into huge vertical combines, the private trader is practically wiped out. The most significant innovation is the credit reform now going on, leading to the reduction of the use of money. Commercial credit is being replaced by bank credit. That is, the State Bank acts as a clearing house, and the financial relations between socialized institutions are conducted by central bookkeeping without the transfer of money. The bill of exchange, which has been with us for centuries, disappears. Wages are still paid in money, and retail trade demands money. But considering the size of the state's commercial turnover you can see the tremendous significance of this socialist credit.

You have probably read of Cyrano de Bergerac's imaginary trip to the moon, a tale written some centuries ago. He made a frame on to which he attached bottles of dew. As the dew evaporated he sailed upward. It was difficult getting away, because of the earth's attraction. But after rising slowly for two-thirds of the way he was suddenly turned end for end, and fell straight for the moon. For thirteen years now socialization has been retarded by

the old attraction of individualism for human beings. But in 1931 that attraction seems to be overcome. The Russians have a phrase, Kto-Kogo, who beats whom, the socialized or the private sector. That seems to be answered, at least for the present. Socialization will probably go the rest of the way by its own momentum. Of course, Cyrano de Bergerac did come back to earth. I believe he landed in a Canadian forest. Whether or not that indicates a moral, I don't know.

The greatest innovation of this year is the Financial Plan, established by law, May 23, 1930, which gives an entirely new direction to the economic system. This Finplan charts the movement of values within the country, and the accumulations of the socialized sector, thus the redistribution of wealth. It includes all the budgets, plus all the non-budgetary resources which figure in the redistribution, that is, the suction of wealth from the private sector into the socialized, from agriculture into industry, from light industry, into heavy industry, from prosperous regions into Central Asia, and finally from all other classes into the proletariat and poor peasant classes.

The main instruments of this redistribution are taxes, prices, and loans. With the advance of socialization prices are superseding taxes as the main source of state revenue. Taxation is considered a class function, necessary only while there is opposition between the state and private economy. Hence the tax reform of October, 1930, the first step toward making taxation obsolete in the socialized state. And hence, also, the new open

stores, in which prices are five times those of the closed cooperatives, where only those with trade union or ration cards can buy.

Now it is difficult to show this redistribution of wealth without columns of figures. As a general idea, however, the Finplan in 1930 mobilized 20 billion rubles from prices, (that is profits of socialized economy), taxes, loans, deposits in savings banks, social and state insurance funds, trade union fees, etc. The socialized sector paid in 6 billion rubles, and took out 13 billion. The private sector and citizens paid in 7 billion, and received a billion and a half. For every ruble (ruble is 100 kopeks) a poor peasant paid in, he received 68 Kopeks in return, in the form of educational, health, and other facilities. A worker or employee for his ruble received 57 kopeks, a middle peasant 31, a town bourgeois 9, and a kulak 8 kopeks. The average for the whole population was 41 kopeks on the ruble.

This Finplan is considered the major triumph of the Soviet system. It mobilized all the available resources of the country, this year two-thirds of the expected national income, and pours them through a single funnel of redistribution. It likewise serves as a class equalizer by extraction of money from the small capitalist class, bourgeois, kulaks, etc., thus liquidating the private sector, and by expenditure of the same money in socialized economy, and on the proletariat and poor peasants in the form of education and health facilities from which the former classes are

are somewhat excluded. It thus whips on the abolition of classes, and the development of collective man, the ultimate objective of the revolution.

This redistribution permits financing industrialization without the aid of foreign capital. Within this controlled movement of values are many factors which defy measurement, including the patience of the Russian people. But command of all the resources of the country, even to the small change in the pocket of the individual, a condition now approaching, will mean that the Soviet state, at any given moment, can hurl enormous economic power into an international conflict, even into military operations.

IV. Industrialization.

What the Communists have done thus far is to create and develop a system of political and economic control, through which they have achieved socialization. But there is another side to it. They also proposed, remember, to bring prosperity to society as a whole, and leisure, and enlightenment. Now, we have time only to characterize the Five Year Plan, with which you are all somewhat familiar, to double the national income, invest 66 billion rubles, lower production costs, raise the standards of living and in general correct Russia's backwardness at a rate never attained by any country. All the desirable changes are mapped out for realization, construction, exploitation of Russia's really fabulous riches, new railways and highways, new empires in virgin territories, new cities, new housing, new education, no phase of life is left untouched.

The Communists have always believed that the capitalist states must in the nature of things attempt to throttle the Soviet system. They believe that economic blockade and eventual military attack are postponed only until the bourgeois countries are themselves stabilized. As a gradual industrialization would give the outside world time to close the ring around Russia, the only alternative is speed so that the industrial plant and great mechanized farms will enable the country to stand a seige.

I don't want to take you through the dizzy arithmetic, **Map and figures** here for those interested. The extraordinary feature of this industrialization fever is that when the figures are criticized as fantastic the Communists promptly revise them upward and make them delirious. There is no way to check either the figures, or the underlying data. But we see that life is moving at high speed in Russia, that great power plants are being built, steel mills are operating on what was barren steppe, factories are turning out tractors and combines, oil is flowing at a tremendous rate, new railroads are tying up the industrial centers with the sources of raw materials, unemployment has disappeared, and the Russian land which today has one-fifth of the total cultivated area of the globe is being tractorized and motorized, all this as a prelude to an assault on the world market, for the smashing of the capitalist system and the furtherance of world revolution.

There are internal technical problems too vast for us to consider. The quality of Soviet products is not up to our standard on the whole. The real barrier is the lack of trained personnel to manage the industrial Juggernaut. But training, too, has been caught in the furious tempo. During the war we had to fly ten hours double control before we were allowed to fly solo. It now seems possible for the novice to hop off alone after one hour of instruction. The same acceleration in the rate of training can be observed in Russia. Before the war over two-thirds of the people were illiterate. The advance

since the revolution has been so rapid that the utter liquidation of illiteracy for persons under 45 is expected by the end of next year. Technical education is now enormously endowed, with 188 industrial, and 68 agricultural institutes of university rank, over a thousand technicums, of the rank of high school, 126 universities for medicine, pedagogy, art, etc., and 321 Rabface, or Workers Faculties, besides the innumerable factory schools, trade schools, and even technical schools for children. The special feature is the conjunction between the textbook and the factory or soil, making a close relation between pure knowledge and practice, which permits a much more rapid training of experts, even though the cultural background of the students is thin.

Turning now to the conditions of labor, I should like to indicate some of the changes I found last summer after an absence of a year. First, as to the peasant. Socialization of so much of the agriculture, now over 60 per cent, has resulted in an integration of the Soviet state.

The majority of the peasants are no longer a producing class apart. They are absorbed into the state system; they are on the road to become a rural proletariat. From the Soviet point of view this means final unification of the national economy.

We find, first, these enormous state farms, "grain factories", 142 last year, 200 this year. On 8.9 million hectares they produced one million tons of grain, mostly for export,

and replaced the kulaks in supplying the marketable surplus. With scientific farming their yield has been raised from 45 to 75 poods per hectare. Their 1,600 harvester combines are to be increased to 4,000 this year. Labor on the state farms observes trade union rules, eight hour day, vacations, etc.

Next, the collectives. There is the beginning of a collective in the contractation. When the majority of a village wish to make a contract to deliver a certain portion of the crop to the government at a certain price, the rest are forced to agree. Or it might begin with the cooperative use of machinery. Or the strips might be eliminated, and means of production pooled, to form an artel. The entrance fee for each household is 2-10 per cent of the value of family property, or 10 per cent of the person's wages. One half of the share a member brings into the artel goes into the reserve fund. Other half remains his property, which he receives back if he quits. All work is done collectively, and is paid for from the revenue according to three categories of skill, 1, 1.25, 1.50 rubles a day for labor. Strict account is kept of the labor time, which means a complicated system of bookkeeping. Current wages can be drawn up to 50 per cent; the rest payable after the harvest. Piece work on the farms has been introduced this spring.

Administration of an artel is by a committee elected at the general meeting of members. There is also a Control Commission. The artel is the lowest link. There might be several

in one village. But each artel enters into a Kolkhoz, or Collective, which are very large. The local Kolkhoz supplies the artels with goods from the cooperatives, with machinery, clean seed, fertilizer, etc., and might have a branch bank to furnish production credit. The local Kolkhoz enters a rayon union of Kolkhozes, and so on up to the Union of Unions of Kolkhozes in Moscow.

These collectives in 1930 cultivated 38 million hectares, and supplied the government with 10 million tons of grain. The larger ones are becoming towns, with plans for playgrounds, public dining rooms, bakeries, laundries, libraries, schools, clubs, creches, kindergartens, etc. The village soviet remains, however, as the organ of political authority.

Now what of the peasant himself? Ivan Ivanovich has not accepted the new order whole-heartedly. The ground has simply moved out from under his feet. He prefers the old days when he didn't plow till St. Nicolas day, and didn't harvest until some other saint turned upon the calendar. Moreover, he could loaf in the winter, and make samogon (moonshine). Now, he must rise to the bell, troop into the mess hall for morning tea, rush out to work at the sound of another bell. Now does he go to his former work. The tractor brigade moves past him in column, a dozen, fifteen or twenty monsters hauling gang plows, and plowing deep, something Ivan always refused to do. For this tractor service the collective pays the state 30 per cent of the harvest. Ivan does not plow.

He works in the orchard, with the poultry, or with the live stock and hay. He doesn't like it much, because there is always someone checking up on the amount of weeds he pulls in an hour, or the way he plants cabbage, or there is some work-fiend of the shock brigade who sets a pace no normal person cares to emulate. But he musn't quit till the bells rings. Besides all that there is no barrel of moonshine standing by the door, from which he can scoop a ladleful in passing. Ivan Ivanovich, called the muzhik (little man), also the Krestiyan (the man of the cross), is losing his identity and becoming a rural proletariat, with social insurance, and other advantages of the ruling class. Economically, he is better or worse off, according to his former particular status.

Around these collectives you will see great numbers of discharged soldiers. Since last spring the government has been shunting the entire discharge from the army into the collectives, to build roads for the tractor columns, bridges, and to man the machine repair shops which now dot the map. And you will see children of kulaks whose parents are away in the northern woods, or out in the irrigation projects of Turkestan. These children are, on the whole, treated kindly. The principal crime of the kulaks was desire for money, which is against socialist sharing. So far as I could learn last summer the dispossessed kulaks get trade union wages for their labor, wherever it is, but they are not allowed to leave. I was told they are not under military guard. But there is no chance for

them to escape, because every citizen needs papers and credentials now. There would be no place for them to escape to. After one year at labor under detention the local trade union votes by majority whether or not particular kulaks will be admitted to the ranks. If voted, the kulak becomes a citizen again, and can move where he likes.

Now for labor in industry. The revolution established a universal eight hour day for manual, and a six hour day for brain labor, with a continuous rest of 42 hours each week. Labor conditions are regulated by collective agreement between trade unions and employers. Vacations for two weeks or a month are enforced. Over-time is paid at double the rate. And social insurance, paid by the employer, guarantees medical attention within the limits of the equipment. In the workers' state, the proletariat is the aristocracy. The privileges of the working class are too numerous to mention, making a large amount of social wages.

There are several features of the labor situation to note. First, this tremendous construction all over the country has not only absorbed the surplus population, but has produced an acute labor shortage. In 1930, 1.5 million were added to the payroll of hired labor, making nearly 14 million in all, which is expected to reach nearly 16 million this year.

The Five Year Plan introduced the so-called socialist competition, as distinct from the profit-seeking competition of capitalism. This socialist competition is whipped up by

various means, rewards to the factory which produces more than the next one, or bonuses for getting a piece of work done within a certain time. Red board for names of those who excel in merit; black board for the sluggards. It is supposed to reduce laziness at the bench, and to make the workers keen to discover deficiencies in operation. One-third of the workers in state industry are now on the seven hour day. The transfer is supposed to be complete by next year.

Since October, 1929, Soviet Russia has operated an unbroken week. Sunday is abolished. Factories, stores and government offices are open and running on Sunday as on any other day. The idea is to keep the machinery turning and increase the number of shifts. By abolishing Sunday and other religious holidays the workdays of the year have increased from 300 to 360. This alone increased production by 20 per cent, and the employment by one-sixth. It also eases the strain on the stores, as it does away with the Saturday rush.

At the same time there was decreed the five-day week, that is, four days work followed by one day of rest. In Moscow now a Russian hands you his card on which he has his rest days enscribed, the fifth, the tenth, the fifteenth of the month, or the second, the seventh, twelfth, etc. Rest days within a family are different, generally, so family outings are no more. There are 72 working weeks in the year, and only five holidays. Labor is forbidden on Lenin day, January 22, International Labor Day, May 1 and 2; and the birthday of the revolution,

November 7 and 8. The odd day of Leap Year is set aside as Industrialization Day.

For years the workers through their trade unions and committees in factories were dictating to the managers, who were often ex-bourgeois. One result was inefficiency, because these workers would frequently go into a huddle to decide what Marx or Lenin would have done in the case before them. Also there was prevalence of the "progul", absence from work, and Blue Mondays. Then came the institution known as the red manager, a worker risen from the ranks, and the bourgeois manager became only the technical specialist. Metaphorically the whip began to crack. The slogan was: "We are being undermined by the lack of labor discipline."

The first order in establishing labor discipline was that for unique command in industry, September, 1929. Workers interference with the management was forbidden, no matter what their position was in the party or trade union. The directors' orders had to be carried out without question. All this time, of course, there had been blackboards in the factories for posting the names of workers who misbehaved. The "wall newspapers" published detailed accounts of misdemeanors. It now became a dishonor to be posted.

Much of Russian industry is on piece work. The products were of uneven quality, and some were very poor. In November, 1929, it was decreed that persons guilty of defective production through carelessness were subject to deprivation of liberty for

five years, and hard labor for one. For not keeping up to standard in quality they were liable to two years in prison. And in August, 1930, there was established a State Inspection Department of the Commissariat of Domestic Trade, the function of which is to check, and trace back to their sources all products below par in quality.

Also in the last few months a whole series of decrees have been issued to arrest the huge labor turnover, in some places as high as 100 per cent, caused by the labor shortage. The workers finding the tide had turned, that they were in big demand, began to shift from factory to factory, out to the collectives and back. In September, 1930, the government ordered the Labor Exchanges to strike from their lists all persons who had left their jobs at their own inclination, and to counteract the enticement of workers from one institution to another. Above all, the Labor Exchanges were ordered to register every one who refused a job, if it could be proved that he was drawing some kind of unemployment insurance. The Monetary payments for unemployment were suspended entirely October 9.

Already last July the Labor Exchanges began the formation of the so-called reserve squads, which were shunted from factory to factory for emergency tasks. The idea of shock brigades, or pace-makers, was carried further in September by increasing the reward to the best workers for the Five Year Plan, in the form of excursions around the Union to the interesting new industrial centers, sojourns at the health resorts in the Crimea and the Caucasus, special facilities for study at home and abroad, in-

cluding scholarships, and even such features as gifts of bicycles. So bicycle riders became another class apart, the heroes of production.

By the law of August 13, 1930, recruits for military service can be shunted to the factories and mines. Of particular interest was the decision of the Central Committee of the party, October 20, 1930, that the various Commissariats of Labor, in conjunction with the trade unions, have the right to remove specialists and skilled workers from one district to another, and from the less important industries to the more important, such as coal mining, iron foundaries, transport, and large scale construction. The privileges granted to the shock brigades were increased, and extra holidays promised for uninterrupted work.

The transport situation has been especially serious. The enormous movement of goods in 1930 demanded loading of freight cars at the rate of some 60,000 a day. The actual average was only 47,000 a day. Besides, the passenger traffic swelled beyond all proportion with the rushing about of officials on "commanderovka", and of migrating workmen. The new discipline hit the transport system by the orders of November 3 in the definition of what is called "service offence". Any infringement of regulations, any non-fulfillment of orders, becomes a "service offence". The penalties range from reprimand through three months arrest on half pay up to dismissal with prohibition of working anywhere else.

The progressive mobilization of labor is now on in full career. Transport workers, farm experts, etc., all must accept assignment no matter where it takes them in the Soviet Union. And a new form of credential has been devised, the behavior passport saying: Lumber cutters are not compelled to work in Russia. They are taken out to the arctic forest and offered a choice between cutting wood and playing the piano.

Now these new laws certainly indicate industrial conscription, a militarization of labor, of men and women alike. Attraction of women into economic spheres means doubling the potential labor force 1-1/2 million in 1931. But all these 160 million people, party and non-party, are under conditions of forced labor in places not always of their own choosing, and at a tempo only the enthusiasts and shock brigades find agreeable. This gives the Soviet Union a military complexion, a state at war. And since November 21, 1929, these Soviet citizens who choose to desert while on service abroad, and enjoy bourgeois life, are pronounced traitors to be shot at the frontier should they attempt to return.

As to the success of the Five Year Plan, its uneven execution makes judgment difficult. But that does not matter in the final issue. Russia is being filled with the smoke of chimneys, life is being mechanized and transformed, the rattle of the hammer and the drill is heard everywhere, and the result of it all is an industrial plant the immensity of which really staggers the eye. Russia is closing the gap of the centuries.

The ultimate human cost of the madness we can not begin to appraise. There is an increase in neurasthenia which can not be measured. The economic interpretation of history lashes the Russian people to the wheel of mundane things, which turns faster and faster in the effort to overtake and outstrip capitalist countries. And short of an economic blockade, or actual war, I predict that the wheel will go faster still until the equilibrium is struck between the pace desired by the rulers and the demonstrated capacity of the "little brothers" for training. Meanwhile, a second Five Year Plan, 1933-37 has been prepared in outline, a Fifteen Year Plan is around the corner, and a Fifty Year Plan is not far in the offing.

By using our imaginations we can compare this socialist construction to the solar system. The planets rotate and revolve in fixed relations. Out on the fringes there is commotion and irregularities. But they all revolve around the sun, and the whole solar system moves by some law in time and space toward the Constellation of Hercules. The socialist construction of Russia likewise has fixed relationships, commotion and disorder, all revolving with faster and faster velocity around a central force, and the whole system by the logic of its nature is moving in time and space toward a single fixed objective, called world revolution.

V. Collective Man.

Now, this complicated net work of socialistic institutions

which we have reviewed, the instruments of political and economic control, are directed not only to socialize the country and reduce economic life to plan and order, not only to industrialize and bring prosperity to society as a whole, but to transform man himself from an individual unit into a cog in the cooperative machine. There are many sides to this transformation. We can consider only a few. We find the deification of the machine, the utilitarian concept of value, the violent break with centuries of habit, and a tremendous acceleration of the rhythm of life, of doing, talking, thinking, and eating. The "little brothers" even rest faster than of old. This is the revolution within the revolution.

In speaking of Russian people, we now mean the workers and peasants. By the processes I have described anti-Soviet classes are gradually being "liquidated." Liquidation of potential opposition has been the Moscow creed. The old intelligentsia is dying out, to be replaced by a new race of thinkers, of a different social origin. However, an indeterminate portion of the population is still outside of the government's beneficence, including the non-citizens.

But for the sovereign class the state spares no expense. There is an enormous health service. Medicine is socialized, and standardized. Social insurance guarantees free medical attendance to proletariat and poor peasants. Social insurance funds in 1931 are expected to pass 2 billion rubles. Of course, there is a general shortage of medical supplies, soap, and other

articles of comfort which the state has not manufactured in sufficient quantities. But all workers and employees have two weeks or a month's vacation every year, for which they flock to the rest homes, sanatoria, and health resorts of the Caucasus and Crimea, both of which are fairylands of sunshine, rocky shores and open sea, with the cypress and pine everywhere, and miles and miles of vineyards. In this land of Beulah, Crimea, the old nobility built their summer palaces. Every one of the palaces is now a rest home for workers and peasants. The Livadia, the Tsar's own palace is reserved for peasants. Ivan Ivanovich dreamt he dwelt in marble halls, and there he is, stroking his beard for all to see.

And the industrial army is fed and clothed, not well, but sufficiently. They are the producers. In cities such as Moscow there is strict rationing, and scarcity for the general population. Food is shunted out to the new industrial centers. The meals are apt to be monotonous, meat three times a week, and endless kasha (a cereal). A new institution is the socialized restaurant. There are now 1,281 such restaurants, and almost 4,000 buffets, around Moscow alone, supplying 50 per cent of the workers and their families with hot meals. The idea of this communal feeding is to do away with the waste of individual cooking. Meal tickets are sold in advance. The service is to be trebled this year. At the end of five years it is expected that the greater part of the industrial army will be put on communal feeding. Meanwhile, although the food

scarcity has been somewhat relieved this last autumn, the rest of the population exists, or fails to exist, on what is left after the government fulfills the export program.

The housing shortage also has promoted collective living. Because of centuries of huddling together in the midst of a cold immensity the Russians seem to require less privacy than western people. Nevertheless, the old city palaces, filled with dozens of families, fenced off from each by cubicles or furniture in the great halls, are centers of domestic politics. In the common kitchen each housewife stakes off her inches of domain. You can see and hear ten or fifteen gasoline stoves going at once. On bake days the hottest spot on the stove is always captured by storm. And the interesting feature of the new apartment houses which the government is building for workers is that the old jumble of the common kitchen is preserved. Feeding is in a common dining room. The great increase of socialized restaurants, and the conscription of women, means that home cooking will disappear for industrial workers, and for agricultural labor on the collectives.

There is the new type of socialized city, springing up in the shadow of the great industrial plants of the Urals and elsewhere. Sections of these cities are to be completely socialized, and the rest of the traditional type. Children will be reared and supported by the community itself in their kindergartens, schools and high schools. Parents are encouraged to visit the children, but not to interfere with the state

training. The immense housing communes will have clubs, gymnasiums, libraries, etc. Food will be cooked and distributed from a single communal kitchen. The enthusiasts speak of soup in pipes, another commodity like the water supply. Other such cities are under way for agricultural centers, collectivizing life, and sinking the individual in the impersonal mass man. Even though privacy in rooms is assured to individuals, under such conditions the old life of the family is replaced by life of the herd.

A word about marriage. As you know, marriage and divorce are both obtained merely by civil registration, Violation of marriage is not an offense. Bigamy itself is not a crime. But to commit bigamy a person would have to make a false statement about his previous marriage. It's that statement which makes the offense.

The main purpose is to facilitate both marriage and divorce, but at the same time protect the material interests of all concerned. By the 1927 law the property brought to a marriage by husband and wife remains his or her property on separation. The property acquired after marriage is common, and must be divided between them. This gives the wife full independence, especially if she is not acquiring property, but doing housework.

For a divorce only one spouse need declare his or her will to the registry clerk. Rumor has it that you can get a divorce merely by writing a postcard to the party of the second part.

That is not true, You must sign the book.

Cohabitation without registry is likewise legal. All children are legitimate. There is a powerful brake on the marriage turnover in the form of alimony. The Soviets make alimony payable either to the wife or the husband, according to the conditions of earning power. That is, a man can divorce his wife, but he may be bound to support her for a period fixed by the court. If the husband is unable to work, it may be the wife who must do the supporting after separation. If there are children, either in a registered marriage or from cohabitation, the law fastens the support of the children until the age of 18 on one or the other of the parents. Before 1927 it was generally the man who was charged with this support. But the women overenjoyed their revolutionary independence. There were cases in 1927 showing that certain women were receiving alimony for the support of children from three different men. As alimony involves one-third of the man's salary until the child is 18, such women were receiving three-thirds, or 100 per cent salary, as alimony until the children began to arrive at legal maturity. So the law was changed. In 1927 I knew men who would flee at the sight of women socially, because, they said, it would only lead to alimony.

The housing shortage complicates marriage. A man may be deprived of his room for some reason. He might then look for a woman who has a room, and marry her if he can. It might

prove to be a mistake, that they are incompatible. Then the woman goes down to the registry and signs the divorce book. She comes back and tells the husband: "You're divorced, here's your hat, or rather, your cap." But he says: "Nitchevo", and refuses to vacate. To get rid of him she marries some one else, and brings home husband No. 2. They both tell the ex-husband to move out into the wide life of the town. He then reports to the House Committee, which exists in every dwelling, that his ex-wife is trying to eject him. Whereupon the House Committee calls on the wife, and tells her that Ivan Ivanovitch must not be put out on the streets, as he is a worker, or an employee, or something. So they all three settle down to enjoy life in one room. I must say they do it with good temper, and amazing unconcern. Very often your Russian friends will say: "There goes an old wife of mine." An electrician once came to repair our lights. He addressed our cook by her Christian name. I asked her how she happened to know him. And she said: "Oh, we used to be married in 1923."

Now all this leads to international complications, as most countries do not recognize Soviet marriage and divorce. But the system seems to be adapted to collective society. There was considerable license in the early years, but it has now shaken down into something amazingly moral. The worst feature, from our point of view, is recognition of de facto marriage, equalizing legal and extra-legal birth, which breaks up family life. In general, the system means the application of the

economic interpretation of history to marriage with extraordinary results.

We see this collectivism in education, in which the ideal is to develop "group consciousness", and "pupil autonomy". Since October 1, 1930, primary education has been compulsory. It was Lenin who said: "Give me four years to teach the children, and the seed I have sown shall never be uprooted." Thus the system of civic training, in which the Communists train the Communist Youth (Komsomols), they the pioneers, and these last the Little Octobrist under ten. The Komsomols, 3 million of them, are reaching up for power. Their alliance with Stalin was what defeated both the Left and Right Oppositions in the party, which were composed of old Bolsheviks. These leaders of tomorrow represent disciplined power, and obedience to the control will. No one can see the Komsomols in action, on parade, in their athletics, in preserving order, in stamping out hooliganism, without being impressed by their militant determination. They are being trained to conquer, and to strike by collective action. What it bodes I do not know. But any one who denies its significance is hiding his head in the sand.

We see the collectivism also in the mass education by radio, and in the new forms of art. A new organization called "October" is dedicated to promotion of collective life through architecture, mass festivals, and the artistic production of material things, clothes, furniture, household utensils, etc. The idea is to get away from bourgeois representative art in

which the individual creator is important, and return to the community expression, such as that which built the Gothic cathedrals. The same spirit runs through the industrial dramas of the theater, and in music, the symphonies of industrial noises, the song of the hammers and whirring of belts, and even in a siren symphony, an orchestra of actual factory whistles directed by a leader waving flags from the top of the tallest building, to produce the theme song of industrialization.

This mechanization of life is producing a collective culture. The language is changing. You are familiar with the war on religion, which may be summed up as the Communist attempt to establish militant materialism, to replace worship of God and hopes for a life to come, by worship of man and the powers of man expressed through the machine to build a paradise on earth. This teaching has been more successful with the young than with the mature. There is a drift back to traditional religion by people who can not accept militant materialism. The general effect is that Russia has been changed from a land of churches and monasteries into a land of workers' clubs.

But with our knowledge of human nature, we can be sure that what is true and abiding in religion, what comes from man's inherent need of God, from within himself, will remain and be purified. What passed for religion as a department of state, the overhead of political autocracy, and what was superstition to be dispelled by enlightenment, - that will probably be gone

never to return. The fact remains that the great mass of Russian youth is growing up without God. But that Russia is without a soul, I do not believe.

We could multiply many times these implications of collective life, such as the equality of the revolution, the glorification of labor, or the complete emancipation of women which is destroying the home and taking the mothers out into the economic sphere. The general question is: Are the people any better off than before? My answer is to tell you of the Alexandrite. This is a gem, more costly than the diamond, first discovered by the Urals in 1833, and named after the Tsarevich who was to become Alexander II. The Alexandrite is green in the day time. At night, under artificial light, it turns fiery red, and gleams like the star Acturus. You find Russians better or worse off according to the light you bring. Some foreigners see only the unfortunates, the non-citizens. To them Russia is sordid green. Others see only the workers building paradise. To them Russia is brilliant red. Still others are aware that Russia has both extremes of color, and all the shades in between. My own opinion is that sacrifice of welfare and patience to endure sacrifice have entered a race, of which the outcome seems in favor of the state because it can relax the pressure to sacrifice at will.

I have tried to give you an impression of a whole people energized, and galvanized into action, a people who never were punctual, and who had no conception of time. The high note of

industrialization is the syncopation of labor; human power must keep time with machine power, stepping up the tempo as the wheels accelerate their spinning. At present that machine seems to have no governor. Whether or not this will change the "little brothers" into mechanical robots, who move only like wooden soldiers, I don't know.

The product of this crucible is collective man. The individual is seldom alone. Children are trained in group action, and group responsibility, which is the undertone and overtone of Russian life. And with it all there is a substitution for material goods in the form of intoxication with change, and wide public service. This consuming enthusiasm for service is apparent everywhere, in the opera singers who go to the fields to sing to the peasants taking in the harvest, in the traveling free theatricals to entertain the industrial army, and in the unceasing effort of all with a little culture to impart what they know to the "dark people."

The implications of collective life might well give us the shudders. It destroys many of the institutions which we hold dear, such as the family. But of its economic effectiveness in Russia there can be no doubt.

The "little brothers" are unaware of the historical significance of what is happening to them. A whole people, made fluid by tremendous events, are being repoured into a collective mold. And the result seems to be an athletic, healthy, energetic, creative but unromantic, moral but utilitarian and Godless, new

creature in the social cosmos, ... a synthetic beehive, the impersonal mass man.

VI. The World Issue.

And now I should like to draw a few conclusions from what we have considered. In the first place, socialism, after a century in the nebulous region of doctrine, has finally entered the realities of big business in a world already saturate with grain, cotton, and manufactured goods.

According to the Soviet constitution the world is divided into the camp of capitalism and the camp of socialism, between which eventual conflict is inevitable. The camp of socialism is controlled by a state which can hurl enormous economic power into the conflict with the opposite camp. This is a state in business, and it is seeking new markets. With the resources of a continent and the pocket money of 160 million people at its command it can sell for any price in order to get foreign currency with which to buy more machines. Its internal power enables it to export commodities and food needed for home consumption. It can make the ruble, of which the estimated gold value is 7 cents, exchange for 51 cents plus within the country. The Soviet exports were valued at half a billion dollars in 1930. The foreign trade showed a jump of 21 per cent during the year, whereas that of other countries seriously declined. Among the exports were 2.5 million tons of grain, of which close to 1

million tons were wheat, with 2.5 million more waiting shipment. When the new South Siberian trunk railroad is finished, a matter of a few connecting links between Troisk, south of the Urals, and the port of Rostov, Russia will be in a position to smash the grain market of the world. But agricultural exports accounted for only 40% of total in 1950; were 80% of total before the war. And other exports are gathering in volume, cotton cloth to Asia, sugar, and an avalanche of cheap conserved food in the form of canned fish, and of fruit which now rots on the ground all over southern Russia. How can we estimate the cost of production of these commodities when the state pays no rent for the land, and pays its labor in sufficient rations to maintain working strength and the rest in enthusiasm for building socialism? A grain crop is expected - 100 million tons this year (over 3-1/2 billion bushels). The so-called dumping is bound to lead to increased embitterment as the competition sharpens.

Russia's wheat belt is 3,600 miles long, from Roumania to Lake Baikal, and 200 miles wide. The black soil of that region, chernozem, is the finest wheat land in the world, a rich humus of decomposed steppe grass. Moreover, it is smooth and level, with an ideal rainfall of 16-20 inches. Much of this is virgin land awaiting the tractor. It will have no weed problem for four or five years after breaking the sod. Land for state farms is available up to 75 million acres. The total black soil available for wheat is 482 million acres. To these must

be added 371 million acres of chestnut or brown soil, somewhat inferior to the black soil. The yield may be less than in advanced countries, but even at the minimum of 15 bushels per acre, it means that Russia in all probability will have 200 million bushels of wheat for export in 1933, produced at something less than 35 cents a bushel.

In appraising the strength of the Soviet position we must allow for the potential opposition from the peasants once they are organized as collectives. On the other hand, collective man does not revolt. It remains to be seen whether or not the pendulum will swing back after the enthusiasm for building something new has given way to the commonplace routine of existence.

As to the measures we must take to meet the competition of collective economy, I believe that decisions propelled by commercial fears will reflect small renown on our political wisdom. The international line-up is favorable to the Soviets. Germany and Italy are eager to make the desired machines, and to act as pipe lines for Soviet commerce. Some two thousand years ago **there** was a trade war in the Mediterranean. Periodically, old Cato rose in the Roman Senate to shriek: "Delenda est Carthago." He eventually was heard. We also have our Catos, who keep up the shout: "Let this modern Carthage be destroyed. Exterminate this race of pirate, and smash the slave state they have created." Our modern Catos know that one nation no longer puts another nation to the sword. They would serve us better if

they showed us how to plan our production without sacrificing institutions which we cherish. We can not expect uncoordinated volunteers to defeat a disciplined economic army.

I certainly believe that some form of state planning in capitalist countries will be forced by this socialist competition. Planning is a problem for the whole world. And it will require leaders of vision to fit planning into our cherished principles of private property and private initiative, for we can not meet the concentrated power of the Soviets in the open field with our weapons of anarchy and laissez faire.

There's another side to it. Between the camps of socialism and capitalism is a No Man's Land, the entire East, which lures Russia with the logic of geography. Like Janus in the Roman temple, the Russian has two faces, one to the East, and the other to the West. Russia turns East, this fact is the most potential for the future of all post-war phenomena. The East is now stirred to the depths by its renaissance and self-determination of nationalism. The Soviets unite with national movements in the East to throw off the white man's imperialism, and have drawn their immediate neighbors into a network of treaties. They wiped out the debts owed to the Tsar, they submit to native courts, they abolished social inequalities, and they look forward to an Asiatic federation under the Soviet Union, built on their doctrine of cultural autonomy within federation.

The greatest market of the future will undoubtedly be

awakened Asia, in which the consumers' demand is beyond calculation, once the desires have been stimulated by the spread of modernization methods. Look at the map. The Soviet Asiatic boundary is the longest frontier in the world. Along that line steel plants are going up, new railroads are shattering the remoteness, and vast irrigation projects are even now turning the Central Asian steppes into empires of cotton. Moreover, the Soviets have a shorter all-land route to the markets of the East. They learn technique in the West, and teach in the East. And with their teaching goes not the orthodox church, but Karl Marx, and manufactured goods which they are willing to sell at a loss to gain political influence. China will probably be the battlefield of socialism and capitalism. China is at present neutral, just emerging from feudalism. As you know we inherited our civil law from Rome, our moral law from Judaism and Christianity, but our economic law has never been codified. The machine age has introduced a whole series of new situations to which our old categories do not apply. To my mind, the system that wins the market of the East will probably dictate the new political institutions there, and gain the mass weight necessary to write the lex economica of the future, the relation of public authority to property, and of man to the machine.

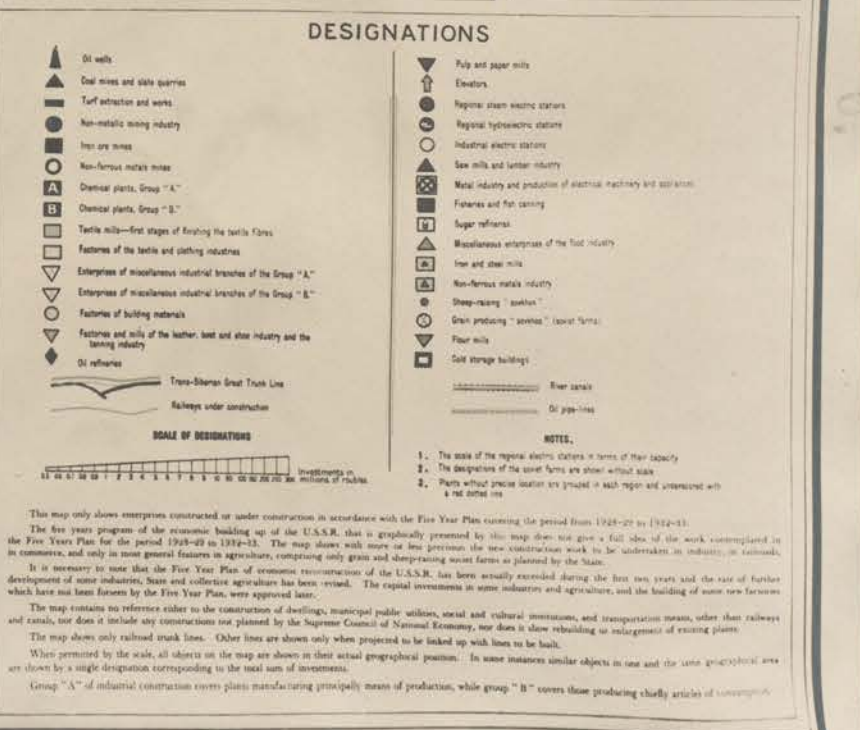
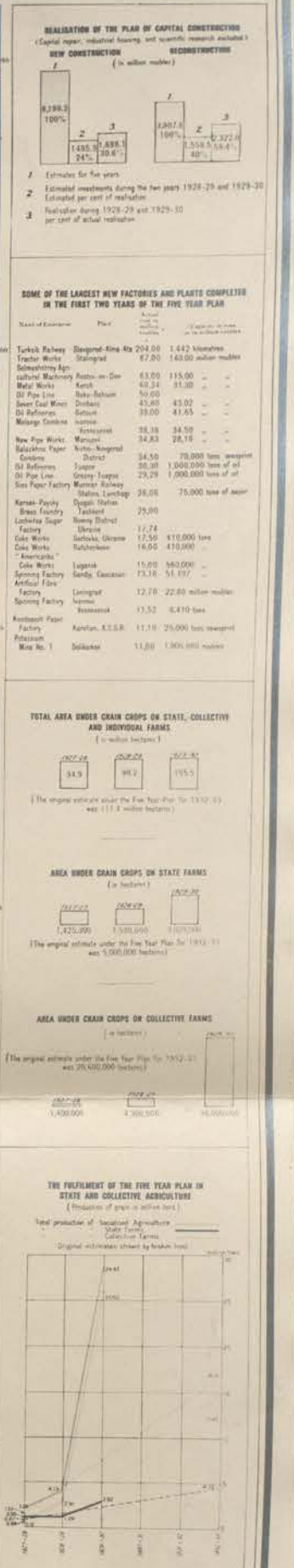
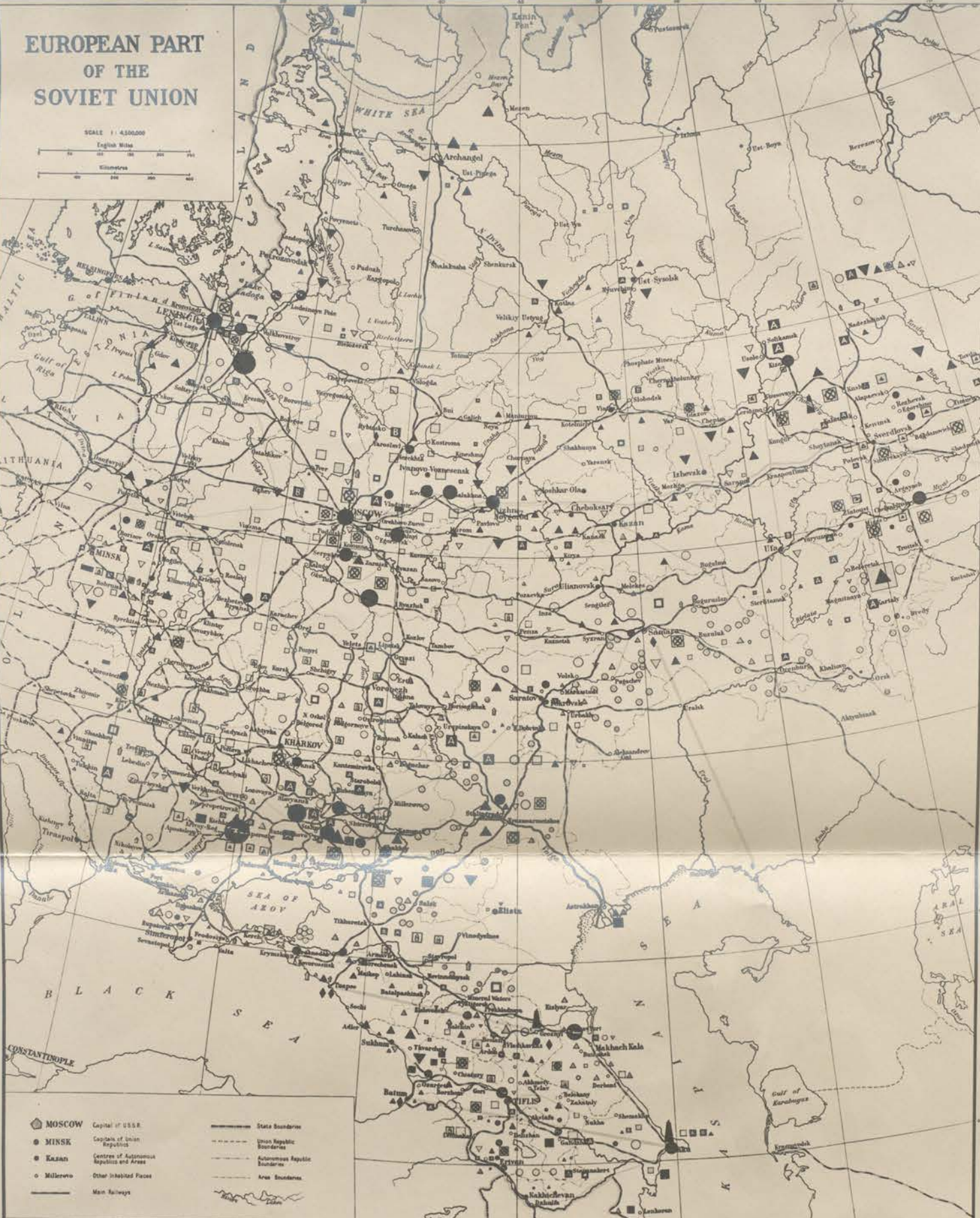
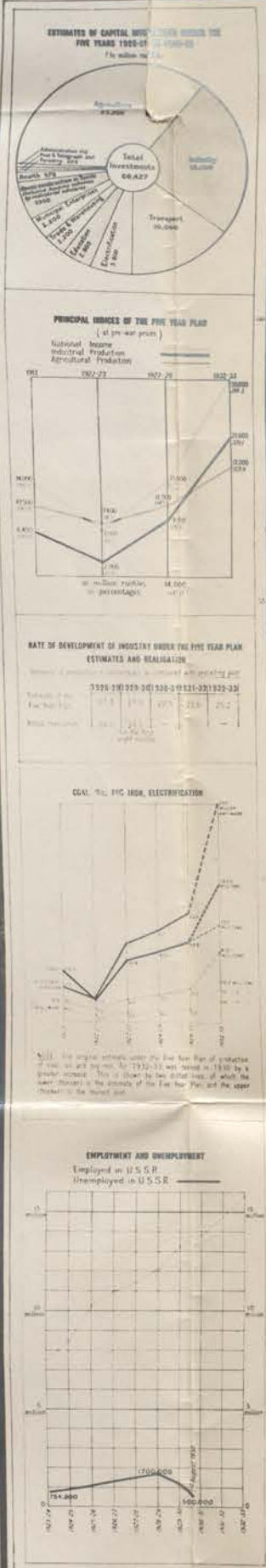
In the West the Soviets are protected by the rise of the common man. It was the common man who fought the war, and though he did not come back to a land fit for heroes, he is

reaching up for power in the economic councils of European governments, and in the political activities of trade unions. There is a certain class solidarity growing up which is hard to measure. It cuts across international lines. It is deep calling to deep. That tendency the Communists hope to inflame, to redivide the world from its present vertical compartments, the national states, into two horizontal layers, the capitalists and the laborers. That class interest, however inarticulate in quiet times, is the Soviet defence to the West. It enables them to carry the offense to the East. I predict a general assault to capture the East as soon as Russia is industrialized.

I believe this world issue emphasizes anew the prophecy of Bishop Berkeley: "Westward the course of empire takes its way." Spengler's "Untergang des Abendlandes" may be a premature suggestion of the twilight of the European gods. Nevertheless, man in his quest for raw materials, and space, and sources of economic power, is shifting the arena to the new economic centers of the Pacific.

And, finally, let me picture the mass of humanity plodding along the middle of the road between the radicals and the consciously righteous. Without the radicals progress would be slow. The Bolsheviki may be wrong. The social consequences of their system seem abhorrent to most of us. But without the Bolsheviki the capitalist states would not see the realities of machine civilization. We can meet them only by matching our brain power against theirs.

THE FIVE YEAR PLAN OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE U.S.S.R.



NOTES ON THE RED ARMY

by

Dr. Bruce Hopper

The size of the standing army 562,000

Can put 15 million in the field for defense.

800,000 summoned annually.

Of these:

200,000 assigned to the RED Army (term of service two years)

200,000 to the territorial units (undergo military training for eight months each year during a period of five years).

340,000-subject to the "extra - army" military training for six months each year during a period of five years.

Territorials

2,700,000 under arms every year

+ 562,000
3 million plus

Special Troops

The O G P N troops - 120,000

Chon (troops of special destination)

Recruited exclusively from members of the Communist Party, subject to periodical military training outside of the RED Army, no figures available.

Convoy troops Guard prisons and accompany the arrested, subject to regular military training, no figures available.

Vokhra - "Militarized guard"

(a) Railroad guards)	100,000
(b) Factory guards)	

RED Army soldiers, who have completed their term of service, are offered positions in the VOKHRA with an obligation to serve no less than 2 years.

Auxiliary organization, having for its purpose to link civilian groups with military activity:

The OSOVIAKHIM (supposedly voluntary membership):

A merger of two organizations:

(a) Oso - "Society to assist the national defense"

(b) Aviakhim - "Society to promote aviation and chemistry".

3,725,000 members (among them over one million women)

Forms of activity: rifle clubs (over 15 thousands), schools of sniping, aeroclubs, women's clubs of liaison service (over one thousand), groups engaged in the study of military science (over 27 thousand), organization of financial campaigns for the need of national defense (over 15 million rubles collected).

In 1926 there were in the RED Army

	<u>In 1913</u>
71,3 percent peasants	69,3
18,1 " workingmen	14,1
10,6 " other groups	16,6

In 1927 there were among the commanders of the army (all ranks):

53,3 percent peasants
20 " workingmen
26,7 " others

In January, 1929 there were in the RED Army

about 110,000 members of the Com. Party

about 135,000 members of the Comsomol

245,000 out of 562,000

Among the commanders of the army (all ranks) there were:

51,1 per cent members of the Com. Party

4,8 " " " " " Comsomol.