

TEN YEARS OF SOVIET RULE

An Economic, Social and Political Survey
of the Soviet Government's Achievements
from 1917 to 1927

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PREFACE

ON the tenth of November, 1927, the delegates from all countries, who had come to the Soviet Union to participate in the Tenth Anniversary Celebrations, met in Moscow as the First International Congress of Friends of Soviet Russia. The report of the Government of the U.S.S.R., made by Comrade Rykov, was the first item on the agenda. The very fact that the Soviet Government reported to this international assembly of workers and peasants, from imperialist countries and from oppressed colonial areas, is in itself remarkable. As Comrade Rykov pointed out—

“The Government of the Soviet Union considers itself responsible not only to the workers and peasants of the U.S.S.R. who elected it, but also to all those who are fighting for peace, for Socialism, for the abolition of exploitation of man by man, for the extermination of oppression and violence by some States over others. We think that this task which is now facing humanity cannot be solved by the forces of our country alone.”

The report, which is printed *verbatim* in this book, with the supplementary statistics circulated at the Congress, is an account of what has been done and what is in process of being accomplished—as yet, only in one part of the globe, with the brain and muscles only of one part of humanity. But it is a part of the struggle of all humanity to achieve the economic and cultural

order known as Socialism ; and because of this, every honest worker by hand or brain, every man and woman, every true friend of peace, must regard this report as a report of *his* or *her* government, a government working for the cause which he or she has at heart.

The report was made to nearly a thousand delegates from all parts of the world, whose gathering together at the Congress was a fine demonstration of the brotherhood of the workers and oppressed peoples in their common struggle against capitalism, against imperialism and war, and for the victory of the Soviet Revolution and the ultimate world victory of Socialism. In the discussion which followed the report Labour, Social Democratic, and non-Party delegates took part, as well as convinced Communists ; I spoke on behalf of the British delegates, in support of a resolution appreciating the achievements which had already been won, and expressing the need for the workers in every part of the world to be told of those achievements, and to be prepared to defend Soviet Russia against imperialist attacks. All the speakers—representing, as I pointed out above, every shade of political opinions and experiences—were united in their realisation of the tremendous work that has already been carried out, and of the steady building up of Socialism, which must be defended by the workers in every country. The resolution was adopted unanimously and with the greatest enthusiasm ; and in publishing this book the British section of the Friends of Soviet Russia consider that they are bringing to the British workers, following on the Report of the Delegation already published as *Soviet Russia To-Day*, further information which will help them to realise the truth about Soviet Russia.

Ever since the Soviet Revolution in November, 1917, there has been a virtual conspiracy to prevent the workers in other countries from knowing the truth about Russia—by the distortion of facts as well as by directly lying propaganda against the Soviet Revolution, and perhaps even more, by the deliberate failure to record the great progress which has been made in recent years. In this silence about Russia and distortion of facts, some sections of the Labour and Trade Union movement and press have been as much responsible as the capitalist parties and their press. Above all, there has been a failure to link up the struggle of the Russian workers and peasants with the struggle of the workers in capitalist countries and the oppressed colonial peoples; there has been a tendency to regard the Russian Revolution as something purely "national," instead of seeing in it and in its progress the most important development in the world struggle for Socialism.

This attitude has been clearly illustrated by the treatment of the Congress of Friends of Soviet Russia, which has been almost entirely ignored in the press. But no effort on the part of the capitalists and their apologists in the Labour movement can alter either the fact that the Soviet Revolution has been successful, or the very wide and growing interest in Soviet Russia, which is being shown among the workers in other countries and was expressed at the Congress. The working-class of Britain, as well as of European and colonial countries, is realising more and more that the Workers' State which has held its own for ten years in Russia is the glowing sign of a new social order for the world, and as such is as much their concern as that of the Russian workers. In the

struggle of Soviet Russia against imperialist attacks, two classes are at grip with one another, the socialist world of the future is engaged in a life-and-death struggle with the capitalist world of the past. This is also *our* struggle, the struggle of the British working class, and the success of Soviet Russia is of decisive importance for the ultimate victory of the international working class.

I hope that this book will help the workers in this country to realise both the achievements of the Soviet Revolution and its importance to us as British workers, and will increase their desire to establish closer contact with the Russian workers.

GEORGE WADDELL.

TEN YEARS OF SOVIET RULE

REPORT BY A. I. RYKOV

COMRADES, allow me, on behalf of the Government, to greet through you all Friends of the Soviet Union. The Soviet Government is particularly glad that comrades have come from abroad to participate in our celebrations of the Tenth Anniversary of the October Insurrection. The Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics gives its report to this Congress with the greatest willingness. My report is not merely an expression of goodwill towards our foreign comrades, it is an indication of the fact that the Soviet Government is working not merely for a national, but for the international cause of all workers. It is hardly possible to find an example in the annals of history of an assembly such as this, or a case where the Government of a vast country would consider it its duty to report before foreign representatives, or where these representatives themselves would feel it their moral right to demand such a report from the Government. •

The Government of the Soviet Union considers itself responsible not only to the workers and peasants of the U.S.S.R. who elected it, but also to all those whose task it is to fight for peace, for Socialism, for the abolition of the exploitation of man by man, for the extermination of oppression and violence of some States towards others. We think that this problem which is now facing humanity cannot be finally solved by the forces of our country alone and that all those who stand on this platform are, ideologically, strongly bound up in the general struggle for the achievement of our final aim—Socialism.

Before I speak of the policy of the Soviet Government, I should like to warn the comrades who came here from abroad concerning the possible difference of approach to the investigation and assimilation of what is transpiring in our Union.

The workers and peasants of our Union judge the policy of the Government not from the point of view of the difference at the present time between the situation of our people and Government and, let us say, the situation of the American Government and American workers and farmers, but from the point of view of what was here under Tzarism and what we have now after the October Revolution.

The foreigner who did not know tzarist Russia looks at things differently. He is inclined to judge what he sees here from the point of view of what is happening in Europe or America, leaving out of sight the heritage received from the old tzarist bourgeois regime by the working class after the October Revolution.

I will try to avoid in my speech, as far as possible, detailed figures in illustrating the policy of our Government. A group of comrades compiled on my request some figures to illustrate my report. I was informed that all members of the Congress have, apart from that, been supplied with different material (pamphlets, speeches, etc.) containing all kinds of information which can be used for reference.

I will therefore limit myself merely to the principles guiding the policy of our Government. I ask all comrades to take into consideration two circumstances which should serve as a starting point in an estimation of the results of our construction up to the Tenth Anniversary. Firstly, the fact that pre-war Russia was one of the most backward countries of Europe; and secondly, that our constructive work did not begin in 1917, but in 1921, when our industry and trade were greatly shattered, which may be seen from the fact

that our industry was only 20 per cent., and agriculture 52 per cent. of the pre-war level.

The main factors determining the direction and character of our construction are on the one hand the organisation of a new State—the dictatorship of the proletariat based on an alliance with the peasantry—employing coercion in breaking the resistance of the hostile classes (*i.e.* the landlords and capitalists), and on the other hand the nationalised large-scale industry, transport, banking, the monopoly of foreign trade and the nationalisation of land. These two factors, of course, give an entirely different character to our policy, which is different in principle from any other experience of humanity before the October insurrection. These political and economic prerequisites guarantee a great impetus in the rate of construction, a rapid rate of development of our economy and a continuous rise in the standard of living of the broad masses of toilers. Thanks to these circumstances our country is able to advance more rapidly than would have been possible under a capitalist regime. An explanation of this may be found firstly in the fact that with the annihilation of the class of property owners, the unproductive consumption of the parasitic classes is eliminated. Secondly, the nationalisation of the land, the principal means of production, transport and the credit system, make it possible to substitute for the wasteful, anarchic, unorganised capitalist economic system a system of planned economy under which economic development proceeds on the basis of a unified plan and in the interests of the entire economic organism as a whole. This possibility of planned guidance guarantees the preservation and strengthening of the union of two of the most important classes of our country—the working class and the peasantry—as the plan takes into consideration the necessity of combining the interests of the towns and villages, industry and agriculture, so as to guarantee the support of the broad

masses of workers and peasants to our post-October regime. This does not mean that the working out of a plan, and its realisation, is a simple and easy task. Nevertheless, in spite of the tremendous objective difficulties of working so as to embrace the whole of national economy in the plan, we have made great progress in that direction. Based on the so-called economic commanding heights in the form of large-scale State industry, transport, the credit system, and the monopoly of foreign trade which I pointed out above, we obtain greater possibilities from year to year of employing our consciously planned influence on those sections of economy which are not in the hands of the proletarian State. I do not want to conceal from this Congress the fact that we still experience certain difficulties in the sphere of planned guidance. These difficulties result, firstly, from the influence of the spontaneous factors in the development of agriculture, which consists of a conglomeration of 23 million peasant households; secondly, from the prevalence of multifarious economic forms (beginning with backward self-sufficing peasant enterprises and ending with highly-developed industrial combines), and thirdly, from the insufficiently perfected system of accounting and statistics. We have behind us only six years of peaceful, economic construction which has distinguished itself by its extraordinary rate of development and its instability in the forms and methods of management. Besides, it must not be forgotten that we are building up a new economic system in an environment which is not at all interested in our growth—in a capitalist environment. In the sphere of our foreign trade it is particularly difficult to take into proper account the various factors owing to the fact that these conditions are greatly influenced also by political factors. Nevertheless, the system of planned guidance in our economy is improving from year to year.

The experience of planning during the last few

years enables the Soviet Government to bring up for consideration before the next Congress of the Soviets a five-year plan of development of national economy as a whole. It is the more necessary to do so considering that the prospects of the immediate phase of economic development, the phase of heavy investments in re-equipping our industry on a higher technical basis, cannot be coped with in a short, one-year plan.

Our main line of economic policy is the industrialisation of the country. It would be the greatest mistake to regard our industrialisation programme from the point of view of the working class taking advantage of its dictatorship for the purpose of subduing the interests of the peasantry, which still constitutes the majority of the population of our country. The industrialisation plan takes into consideration also the interests of agriculture. The peasant cannot advance his enterprise without assistance from the shops and factories. He must have instruments, machines, fertilisers and manufactured goods. Agriculture is at the present time confronted with the necessity of expanding its fixed capital which can be done only on the basis of development of large-scale industry. The main peculiarity of our economy is the existing disproportion between agriculture and industry, between the towns and the rural districts, Industry was extremely backward under tsarism. The villages were, properly speaking, in the state of colonies. This disproportion finds expression in the difference in prices of industrial and agricultural commodities, in the cultural backwardness of the rural districts and in the great difference in the life of the towns and villages. The development of industry is, therefore, the most important factor also in the development of agriculture.

Socialist construction has as one of its objects the elimination of this disproportion. Modern technique enables us to work energetically in overcoming the differences in the position of the rural and urban

population. This can be attained through the electrification of the country, the bringing closer together of industry and agriculture, the organisation of mixed types of enterprises combining factory and agricultural production, etc., etc.

In this manner, industrialisation is the principal method of elimination of the disproportion between agriculture and industry and the overcoming of the social and cultural distance between the position of the urban and rural population.

What special methods does the Soviet Government apply in the reorganisation of rural life and the building up of new economic forms ?

The rural policy of the Party and the Soviet Government is to support by every means the alliance of the working class and the middle and poor peasantry, taking special measures for the protection of the interests of the poor. At the same time we are carrying on a struggle against the rich rural elements, among whom we consider those groups of the peasantry which resort to the employment and exploitation of hired labour. In the political sphere, we are combatting the danger of the growing kulak elements in the villages by depriving them of the right of suffrage, the right to elect and be elected to Soviet organs, agricultural societies, etc. In the economic sphere, we deprive them of government credit, and give every advantage in the matter of finance and credit, in the sphere of rational redistribution of land, and in direct material support to the poor and middle elements of the population.

With the absence of private property in land, the kulak cannot become a big landowner, as he cannot own any land at all. The means of enslaving the other peasants is not land but agricultural implements which he possesses. The Party is now devoting all its attention to the struggle against the possible exploitation of the other peasants by the kulak. As far as the agricultural labourers are concerned, we do our utmost

to protect their interests through the trade unions and the government organs in the sphere of wages, the working day, labour protection, insurance, etc.

The main path of construction of new economic forms in the rural districts is that of co-operation. It would be madness to undertake the organisation of large-scale agriculture directly by divorcing the peasants from their land and organising large scale farms. The path chosen by the Party and the Soviet Government consists in a gradual transformation of petty farming on the basis of co-operation. The process of co-operation has already given great results in the sphere of distribution. Over eighty per cent. of the turnover is in the hands of the socialised distributive organs. But the organisation of agricultural production, the tilling of the land, the organisation of large-scale cattle raising must be, and is, carried on to a large extent through co-operation. At the present time, we are merely making the first steps in that sphere. No one doubts that this is a very difficult task and that many years of strenuous labour will be necessary for its realisation.

Under tzarism, the land, which was in the hands of the nobility, was a means of exploitation of the poor and middle peasants, who had to lease their land from the nobility. At the present time we have the reverse picture. All sections of the population possess land, but the poorer sections have certain advantages in the fact that they get the best plots in the process of redistribution. Now, if any leasing is done, it is not the poor man who takes land from the rich, but, on the contrary, the rich from the poor, owing to the fact that the latter does not possess sufficient live stock and implements to cultivate his land.

What general conclusion should be drawn from the results of our economic activity based on the figures distributed among the members of the Congress? It seems to me that the main conclusion is the fact that, firstly, the six years covering the period of

constructive work of the government have considerably raised the material welfare and cultural level of the masses; secondly, that as a result of this work, the socialised section of our economy has been strengthened to such a degree by the Tenth Anniversary of the October Revolution that it gives a full guarantee for further successes in the sphere of socialist transformation of our economy.

In addition to what I have already said in relation to the economic situation in the Union and the economic policy of the Government, I deem it necessary to make a brief remark concerning the 7-hour day. I happened to see in the bourgeois press an interpretation of this reform in the sense that the decision of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Government concerning the adoption of the 7-hour working day, was adopted exclusively for agitational purposes, and that the Soviet Government is hardly in a position to be able to put this decision into effect. I must categorically declare firstly, that we guarantee the fulfilment of this decision; secondly, that in a country in which the working class is the ruling class, such decisions cannot be violated because the workers will not allow it; and thirdly, the 7-hour day is the logical result of our entire government policy. It must not be ignored that Soviet economy, which underwent greater destructive influence than did that of any other country in the world, has been restored, in contrast with the capitalist countries, at an actually reduced working day of 8 hours (the average working day in Soviet industry being only $7\frac{1}{2}$ hours).

During the last two years our economy has entered the phase of reconstruction and rationalisation. Under the conditions of bourgeois economy this process is connected with the intensification of exploitation of the working class. Under a workers' government this must be, and will be, connected with an improvement of the conditions of the working class. The reverse side of rationalisation in capitalist countries is more

extensive exploitation of the working class. The reverse side of rationalisation in a workers' state is the improvement of the conditions of the working class. This measure will be carried out by the Soviet Government not at the expense of wages at all. The two processes will proceed side by side. The 7-hour day is an outcome of the very essence of the policy of the Communist Party and the Soviet Government.

I will now deal with the question of the character of the Soviet Government. The tasks of the Soviet Government are, of course, determined by the programme of the Communist Party, the consistent proletarian, revolutionary and Communist character of which is no longer questioned by anyone.

But it seems to me that it is important for comrades who come here from abroad to know who rules the Soviet Government. To answer this question I will cite the main figures. Of the total number of 827 members of the Central Executive Committee, the supreme legislative organ of our State, the workers constitute 43·6%, peasants 21·3%; intellectuals, artisans, office workers, store clerks and other categories constitute 35·1%. Of the total number of 71,325 members of the Municipal Soviets of five republics affiliated with the Soviet Union (there are six altogether) the workers constitute 46·6%, peasants 4·9%, intellectuals and office workers 31%, and the other categories—Red Army men, students, housewives and artisans—17·5%. The composition of the village Soviets is—workers 5·2%, peasants 84·4%, office workers 5·8%, Red Army men 1·6%. Such are the main figures for the composition of the supreme government organ and the local Soviets.

The administration of industry is characterised by the fact that the directors of factories are 74·8% workers. Among the leaders of the higher industrial organs, that is, the syndicates, trusts and other combines, the percentage of workers is over 50. The judicial organs are also in the hands of the toilers.

The workers comprise 34.4% of the permanent judges and the peasants 37%. The greater percentage of the peasants in the judicial institutions is due to the fact that most of the courts are in rural districts.

I have presented only some of the figures to show who has charge of the affairs of the State. These examples by no means depict the actual extent to which the workers and peasants are drawn into the leadership and management of the State and economy. The drawing in of the toilers into the every-day work of the different State institutions is performed in the most various forms. According to the figures of the Moscow Soviet, 30,000 working men and women of the shops and factories participated in the work of the health institutions of Moscow towards the beginning of this year. This number has increased to 36,000 in the course of the year. Such drawing in of working men and women and peasants takes place not only in the sphere of hygiene, but also in all other spheres, particularly in that of economic work, throughout the vast territory of the Union. The Party, the trade unions and the economic organs take particularly energetic measures towards the drawing in of the greatest possible number of toilers in the work of the production conferences in the shops and factories, in the work of the organisation and control of co-operative trade, etc.

Our local organs, the district, uyezd and municipal Soviets perform their functions not only through their members, but also by drawing in workers and peasants especially elected in the factories and village assemblies for the performing of certain definite functions connected with various campaigns.

Our government is working under the leadership of the Communist Party. The Communist Party has at the present time 1,199,616 members of whom the workers constitute 56.3% (this includes also those workers who are now at the head of factories and various institutions and are not now engaged in physical

work). The Communist Party, the Party of the working class, is the only legal Party in our country and not only in its programme, but also in its composition, safeguards the proletarian character of the political system of our State and the activities of the various institutions of the Soviet Government.

We often find in the foreign press a contradistinction between the working class dictatorship which exists in our country and democracy. If we are to understand by democracy the safeguarding for the toiling sections of the population all opportunities of participation in the leadership of the country and in the work of all economic, administrative, cultural and other organs, I think that there is no example in the history of the human race of a more democratic State organisation than the one prevailing in our Union. According to preliminary approximate figures, at least 30 out of every hundred workers take part in one form or another in the various organs of our State. The October Revolution, the Tenth Anniversary of which we are celebrating, was in itself an expression of the highest degree of democracy because it was accomplished by the forces of the most oppressed and least educated classes, against all the wealthy classes, against the propertied classes and against a considerable section of the intelligenzia. This revolution could only become a reality because all the oppressed strata of the population, tens of millions of toilers, took unanimous part in the October insurrection. Had there been a different correlation of forces, if considerable groups of toilers had been against the October Revolution, it could not have materialised.

The contrasting of democracy with the dictatorship of the working class of the U.S.S.R. is done by the followers of the Second International who have in mind chiefly the negative attitude of the Soviet Government and the Communist Party to the parties of the Second International. In order to understand the causes of our negative attitude to those parties and their ideas,

one must have a clear idea of the circumstances under which the October Revolution took place and of the attitude which prevailed during the October insurrection and the period subsequent to it up to the present time in the parties of the Second International to the dictatorship of the working class, to the dictatorship of the toilers. In October power in Russia was in the hands of the Social Revolutionaries and Social Democrats—Mensheviks, *i.e.* the government was in the hands of parties which belonged to the Second International. The October Revolution was an armed rising of the working class against the Government of those parties of the Second International.

The struggle against the parties of the Second International was not merely limited to the one act of the October insurrection. During several years of civil war in defence of the October Revolution the workers and peasants of our Union had to fight not only against the bourgeoisie, the white guards and foreign intervention, but also against the Menshevik and Social Revolutionary parties. The Social Revolutionaries and Mensheviks tried to raise the other governments against the Soviet Government during the period of civil war in an armed struggle. They tried to organise or support the bourgeoisie in those parts of our Union which the latter succeeded in capturing. As an example we can point out an attempt to bring together the various members of the Constituent Assembly in Samara and Ufa under the defence of bourgeois and white guard forces. Menshevik organisations and individual members of the Menshevik Party took part in the activities of the counter-revolutionary governments of the South which were at war against the Soviet Republic. These facts cannot be deleted from the history of the U.S.S.R. and, therefore, they must be taken into account by our comrades from abroad in judging our attitude to these parties which have been on the side of counter-revolution throughout the ten years. Complaints are heard to this day that

some active members of the parties affiliated to the Second International are subject to repressive measures in our country. I should like to ask the delegates to answer me one question. If it were possible for the working class to overthrow a government of Parties of the Second International, if the October Revolution as such was an insurrection against these parties, if the members of these parties continue their active struggle against the Soviet system, why is it inadmissible to resort to repressive measures for defensive purposes and on what revolutionary grounds should they be legalised? They were on one side of the barricade and we on the other. They shot at us and we fired at them. That was in October, and throughout the entire period of civil war subsequent to the October Revolution. I think that when the October Revolution takes place in any other country, history will repeat itself.

On the termination of the civil war, the representatives of these parties still maintained their negative attitude to the proletarian dictatorship and the present system of the Soviet Government. From a direct struggle with the use of arms against the Soviets they have gone over to the preparation of an overthrow of the dictatorship of the working class after the working class was victorious in the civil war.

The Soviet Republic is the only republic in the world in which the working class is in power in alliance with the peasantry.

But the organisation of a socialist society on the territory of the Union is now in the preliminary phase of its development. Private property tendencies, tendencies towards restoration of the bourgeois order, have their followers both among the remnants of the old capitalist elements of the pre-October period and also among the new bourgeois elements and the kulaks. These sections of the population are the supporters of the policy of international capitalism

within our union. This is true not only in the sense of identity of interests ; it is an absolutely established fact that various groups of the international bourgeoisie have been giving all kinds of direct support in the form of financial aid and ideological support to the active bourgeois groups in the Soviet Union during the last ten years. In so far as such a state of affairs exists we are compelled to resort to repressive measures in defending the dictatorship of the working class.

Some bourgeois and bourgeois-labour parties have expressed their dissatisfaction over the recent execution of white guards and general repressive measures which we have been compelled to resort to. But I should like the representatives of the bourgeois-democratic and bourgeois-labour parties abroad (I do not believe that there are many workers who would like to undertake the task of closing the prisons for the bourgeoisie) to understand that, firstly, the dictatorship of the proletariat in itself signifies the employment of violence in respect to those sections of the population which are hostile to the working class ; and secondly, in the transition period towards socialist society and particularly in constructing socialism under conditions of hostile capitalist environment, these direct measures of coercion are absolutely unavoidable. Let the representatives of these parties answer the following question :—The Soviet Republic has been in existence for 10 years while the rest of the world has been ruled by a bourgeois capitalist dictatorship. Let us suppose it had been otherwise ; imagine that in all countries the working class has become dominant and there are Soviet Governments, and some one country, let us say Germany or France, it is immaterial, has remained under a capitalist regime. The question then arises, how long could a capitalist order exist under such conditions, and secondly, by what measures would the bourgeoisie defend its regime ? It seems to me that under such conditions, such a bourgeois regime would not be able to exist a single year, and its existence

for even a few months would depend upon far greater violence towards the working class and the peasantry than that which we employ in relation to the bourgeoisie. I say nothing of the fact that the protests of the bourgeois press concerning the repressive measures are absolutely hypocritical and false, because there is no doubt that if the impossible happened and a bourgeois regime were restored in the Soviet Union, these same newspapers would not only applaud the mass shooting of the followers of the Soviet Government, but would advocate the application of the most brutal forms of mass terror in relation to the entire working class and the peasantry. It suffices to recall what the bourgeoisie did with the adherents to the Paris Commune and the attitude of the bourgeois press to the wholesale shootings of the communards of Paris at the time.

The main reason for the existence of a Soviet workers' government in one country for 10 years lies in the fact that the Soviet Republic is the most progressive type of State organisation and that it represents the organisational form of human society of to-morrow. This is the cause of the stability of the Soviet Republic in spite of the animosity of the capitalist environment. The imperialist forces of all other States try to establish direct contact with those classes and strata of our country which would be glad to undertake the restoration of the bourgeois order. These facts impel us to resort to repressive measures in defence of the dictatorship of the working class, and to guarantee for the toiling strata of the population the system of proletarian democracy and the opportunity to build a new socialist society. Terror as a principle of government is in no way a part of our programme. It is the extreme expression of coercion. We resort and will resort to it, it goes without saying, only in extreme cases, when it becomes necessary to stave off serious menace to the very existence of the dictatorship of the working class or to break the

attempts at a direct attack on the principal organisation of the Soviet Government.

In the sphere of national policy, the principles we are guided by were most clearly expressed by Lenin as is the case also on other questions. I will give a short quotation from Lenin. He said:—

“The proletarian Party aims at the setting up of as large a State as possible because this is advantageous to the toilers. It aims at a rapprochement and further merging of nations, but it wants to attain this not through violence, but exclusively through a free fraternal alliance of the workers and toiling masses of all nations.”

In the declaration of the rights of the workers, adopted in 1917, it is said:—

“The Soviet Russian Republic is constituted on the basis of a free alliance of free nations, as a federation of Soviet national republics.”

Our State is at the present time a Union of six independent national republics. But apart from that, there are national minorities in every one of these republics. In order to secure the greatest possible cultural and economic development, 14 independent republics and 17 autonomous regions have been organised. This system of autonomous national regions, autonomous republics and independent republics constitutionally protects the interests of the multitude of nationalities inhabiting the Soviet Union.

But constitutional rights are insufficient to guarantee the freedom of national development. Under *tzarism* the attitude to the national minorities resembled the worst type of relationship to oppressed colonial countries, and it is, therefore, natural for many nationalities to be extremely backward in cultural and economic respects. At the present time, considerable work has been done towards the cultural and economic development of these nationalities. To characterise this work, I will give only a few examples and will take up one of the most backward republics,

Uzbekistan, which has altogether about 4,000,000 inhabitants. In 1923, there were altogether 53 women's educational institutions in that republic, and in 1927 there are already 276. The number of women students has increased during the period from 1,394 to 13,200. I purposely picked out the women's movement because the Eastern women are the most oppressed of all. Women are oppressed more than all other sections of the population also among the so-called cultured Eastern nations, and as a result of the specific medieval heritage of Eastern despotism woman is to this day in semi-slavery. Before the Soviet Government was established, polygamy prevailed in those countries and the women were oppressed in the most barbarous fashion.

At the present time the national problem, as it exists to-day and is understood in European countries, *i.e.* as a problem of oppression and enslavement of one nation by another, does not exist in the Soviet Republic. This question has already been removed from the order of the day. We are confronted with another issue, namely, the fact that the formal and constitutional conditions of equality are absolutely inadequate for the creation of real equality among nations which are on different levels of development in an economic and cultural respect. The inheritance of centuries of oppression, violence, and barter weighs down so heavily on the many nationalities inhabiting the Soviet Union that during the past ten years we have been unable, to any considerable extent, to heal the wounds which have been inflicted in the course of the preceding history of Russia.

I am not going to give a detailed list of the measures we have taken for the guaranteeing of a free cultural development of the various nationalities inhabiting our Union; I will merely give a few examples. At the present time there are first grade schools in 62 languages, and special medium schools in 39 languages. The reading-rooms, which are the closest cultural centres

of the people, have literature in 52 languages. During the tzarist regime, many nationalities never had their own alphabet or writing. At the present time all nationalities have their writing and alphabets. As regards writing, all nationalities have performed such work in the simplification of their alphabets and grammars that literacy and native literature have become accessible to the broadest masses of the population.

The problems of our foreign policy are usually dealt with in our speeches more than any other question. They are dealt with by the representatives of the Soviet Government, and are to a certain extent known abroad. I will therefore merely limit myself to an outline of the main problems of our international policy. It resolves itself, as has been often stated by me and by all representatives of the Government, and as has been many a time stressed in the resolutions of the Communist Party, in a struggle for peace for the safeguarding of peaceful construction in our Union. We proposed and propose now to the other governments pacts of non-attack. We have again reiterated this proposal to representatives of Poland and France but so far we have not as yet received a satisfactory answer from them.

The legend of red imperialism is busily spread in Western Europe. I have already repeatedly refuted this legend and I do not think that it is necessary to prove at this Congress that the charge of red imperialism is a preposterous and deliberate lie. What is the object of this malicious charge? I think that it is being spread in order to prepare public opinion for a very probable intervention, a very probable war against the Soviet State. This is one of the stages of the ideological preparation of war against the Soviet Republic. The delegates here had an opportunity to become acquainted with the composition of our army and with its organisation. Our army is so closely connected with the broad sections of the working

population, that it is utterly impossible to separate it from the people or the people from it. Moreover, to enormous sections of the population it is a kind of educational establishment.

The Red Army is certainly not an organisation which could be moved here and there for the sake of some adventure or other, regardless of the opinion of our workers and peasants. We are against any kind of war. The October Revolution itself was a gigantic breach in the imperialist military front and a mighty call for peace addressed to all peoples. The Soviets broke off immediately all connection with the imperialist war; they issued the slogan of a real, genuine democratic peace, and ceased on their part immediately all participation in the imperialist slaughter. Immediately after the Revolution, the Soviet Government published all the secret treaties and secret documents, it denounced the treaties which the Tsar had made with other States for the purpose of a military alliance and oppression of other peoples and States. One must be foolish indeed to imagine that the Soviet Government, which is the only workers' government in the world, surrounded by bourgeois States, will take it into its head to embark on an offensive war, for, given the present correlation of forces, the Soviet Republic would have the entire capitalist world against it. If the Soviet Government really embarked on an offensive war, the differences which exist between the bourgeois States in their attitude to the U.S.S.R. would take a back seat and we should have against us the united bloc of all bourgeois States throughout the world. The slanderous charge of red imperialism is the clearest proof that the enemies of the U.S.S.R. will use anything and everything in order to prepare public opinion in Europe and America for a very probable intervention in the U.S.S.R.

We have only lately expressed our wish to participate in the disarmament conference. With a full sense of responsibility, I declare at this Congress that we will

propose, support and pledge ourselves to pursue a most consistent, most radical disarmament policy. But at the same time we pledge ourselves not to support proposals aiming at deceiving mankind, at deceiving the working class—we will not support any policy which endeavours to conceal preparations for a new war under pacifist phraseology.

Comrades, it would be wrong for the delegates at this Congress to arrive at the conclusion, from my report, that everything has already been done to ensure all the cultural and material requirements of the working class and the peasantry, that everything has been done for the organisation of a Socialist society. Nor should I like anyone to interpret my speech to mean socialism is already established here. What are the results of the first decade of the existence of the Soviets? I will not give a detailed account of the Kerensky period, because all governments of that period essentially followed the Tsar's policy both in the question of war and in questions of social reform (the land reform, the length of the working day, etc.). In comparison with the old tsarist Russia, we have made a gigantic step forward. We have uprooted all relics of feudalism. We have destroyed private ownership of the means of production and transport. We have abolished private ownership of land. We have put political power into the hands of the workers. We are making revolution in all the spheres of our people's life; in the sphere of its religious beliefs, in the sphere of relation between the sexes, in the sphere of culture, habits and customs, etc., etc. Science and technique in the Soviet State are instruments in the hands of the people for the work of building up a socialist society. We have created an order which differs in every respect from what mankind has known prior to the October Revolution. At the recent demonstrations throughout the Union in connection with the Tenth Anniversary of the October Revolution, you were able to see for yourselves that the peoples of the

U.S.S.R. will defend this new social order to the last drop of blood. All this does not mean that we have already traversed most of the road which leads to a socialist order. Construction of socialism has only just begun. In the last ten years we have made the first steps in the direction of the organisation of a Socialist society, but many more years of stubborn struggle will be required to complete this work. But the history of our ten years' work shows that we have all the necessary means within our State for the organisation of socialism.

I have already told you about the successes achieved during these ten years in regard to economic development. I should like to supplement this part of my report by pointing out that these successes were achieved without any help whatever on the part of foreign powers.

The post-war period will not find a single State in Europe which has reconstructed its economy without outward help. We are the only State whose economy, which reached a much lower level than the economy of any other country, has been reconstructed by the country's own resources and has in the course of five years recovered to the extent of out-distancing pre-war levels. I have not mentioned the few cases when foreign States gave us credits, for instance the German credits. These credits in themselves have certainly helped us a little, but compared with what we spent for the reconstruction of industry alone, these credits played a very insignificant rôle. We have spent on the reconstruction and partial re-equipment of industry about 3 billion roubles during the last 2-3 years. The last ten years have shown that by our own strength, and whether we receive a loan or not, we can with the support of the working class and peasantry, bring to a successful end the organisation of a Socialist society, if war against the Soviet Union does not frustrate this. Of course, even in this case one cannot consider the existence of the

Soviet Union and the victory of Socialism fully guaranteed as long as the remaining States retain the bourgeois system of the organisation of society. The liberation of the working classes and abolition of exploitation of man by man cannot be limited to one State. They must have an international character. We are convinced that the successes in regard to Socialist construction in our country will facilitate the struggle of the working class of the whole world for the reorganisation of the whole of human society on a socialist basis.

In this hall we have about 1000 people who have come here from all parts of the globe. I would like to wind up my report by expressing the wish that in our work for the organisation of a Socialist society, in our struggle against any exploitation of man by man, in our struggle for peace, we might have the support of all the revolutionary workers and peasants throughout the world. I would like to secure for our work the support of all the delegates at this Congress and of those groups of the population with which the delegates are connected. (Loud applause—singing of the International).

APPENDIX I

Facts and Figures referred to in the Report of the President of the Council of People's Commissaries, Comrade A. I. Rykov.

(The Economic and Cultural Development of the U.S.S.R.)¹

1.—In studying the development of the Soviet Union following on the October Revolution, the following circumstances must be borne in mind:—

- (a) Pre-War Tsarist Russia was replete with survivals of serfdom and from the industrial standpoint represented one of the backward countries of Europe.
- (b) The constructive work of the working class was commenced from the point when the industries of the country had been reduced to absolute ruin by the imperialist and civil wars.

2.—The State of Industry in October, 1917.

The state of ruin to which the productive forces of the industries of Russia had been reduced by the imperialist war and the state in which it was at the time of the October Revolution can be seen from the following:—

Large Scale Industry.—By 1917 the total output was reduced by 30% (the total output in 1914 amounted to 6,391,000,000 roubles, while in 1917 it had dropped to 4,468,000,000 roubles).

Agriculture.—The total output of agriculture had dropped by 19·5% in 1917 (in 1913 the total output of agriculture was valued at 11,790,000,000 roubles, while in 1917 the output was valued at 9,500,000,000 roubles). The number of unfit locomotives in 1917 represented 29·4% of the total. In the middle of 1917 the rouble was quoted on the London Stock Exchange at 27 kopeks. Towards the end of 1916 wages in the Moscow industrial area had increased by 19% as compared with pre-war rates, but the prices of articles of primary necessity had increased by 53%. By 1917 the price of rye had increased by 1,140-1,660%.

At that time the process of divergence between industry and agriculture became very marked. The country became divided into two independent parts—town and country. Industry became moribund in the town and the prospects of an approaching famine became very clear. The countryside began to feel a shortage of manufactured goods and sold its grain to the cities to a diminishing extent.

¹ Details are to be found in the appended tables.

3.—The State of Industries in 1921 (after the Civil War).

The working class could not begin constructive economic work immediately after the October Revolution, because it was compelled first of all to carry on an armed struggle for the right of existence of the workers' government. The necessary condition precedent for peaceful constructive work was victory in the civil wars against foreign intervention and the domestic counter-revolution. This victory was achieved after four years of severe fighting against the enemies of the proletarian revolution and at the price of enormous sacrifice and deprivation.

The state of the industries of the country at the beginning of the period of peaceful constructive work (after the civil war) is indicated by the following:—

Industrial Output.—The output of industries at the beginning of 1920 had been reduced by 80% (the output of the rated industries in 1913 was valued at 6,391,000,000 roubles and in 1920 at 949 million roubles). In certain industries the drop was even more catastrophic (for example the output of the cotton industry represented only 5.1% of pre-war output; the output of railway cars had dropped to 4.2% of pre-war, the output of pig-iron to 2.4% of pre-war and the output of ores to 1.7% of pre-war).

Hardly any repairs had been made to the technical equipment of industries throughout the 7 years of war. By 1920 the number of unfit locomotives represented 55% of the total. The shipment of goods by rail had dropped to 20% of pre-war. The number of workers employed in rated industries was only 1,599,000 (in 1913 the number was 2,686,000).

Agriculture.—The output of agriculture by 1921 had dropped to 41.7% of pre-war (the total output of agriculture in 1913 was valued at 11,790,000,000 roubles, while in 1921 it amounted to 6,900,000,000 roubles and the value of agricultural commodities, *i.e.*, that part of the agricultural produce that was sold on the market by the peasants was reduced to one-fourth).

A distinguishing feature of the civil war period was the disappearance of market relations (*i.e.* buying and selling) and the substitution of a system of centralised distribution. In order to secure for the army and the urban population the minimum of bread that was required, the State was obliged to resort to the system of requisitions, *i.e.* a system of taking from the peasantry all surplus stocks of grain, potatoes, etc.

The economic system prevailing in the period of War Communism was based on the military and political alliance between the working class and the peasantry. This military alliance between the working class and the peasantry was determined by the necessity to defend the gains of the revolution. Victory was achieved under the leadership of the Communist Party.

4.—The Distinguishing Features of Constructive Work in the U.S.S.R.

After the period of civil war, intervention, ruin, famine, and cold; after having radically broken up all former social relations and destroyed the whole of the former State apparatus and the habits and traditions that had been acquired in the course of centuries, the masses of workers and peasants of the Soviet Union energetically set to work to restore their industries and to reorganise them on a socialist basis. It must be borne in mind that the work of restoration in the U.S.S.R. differs entirely in character and aim from that in capitalist countries. The industries in capitalist countries were restored upon the old capitalist basis, whereas in the U.S.S.R. the restoration was accompanied by the creation of new economic relations and on the basis of new principles of organisation, *i.e.* on the basis of the collective ownership of the factories, railways, land, etc. Soviet statistics employ the 1913 index merely as a quantitative comparison, but the analysis of the economic achievements is made principally from the class point of view. The principal distinguishing feature of the economic and cultural development of the U.S.S.R. is the process of socialisation, of the transition of industry to a socialist basis.

5.—“Smytchka.” Why Restoration commenced with Agriculture.

The guiding principle of the whole work of construction in the U.S.S.R. is the so-called “smytchka” (link) between town and country, *i.e.* the strengthening of the economic alliance between the working class and the peasantry. The substitution of the agricultural tax and the permission granted for private trade in agricultural produce for the requisitions of agricultural produce marked the turning point from the period of war Communism, which was the economic policy of the period of the civil war, to the system which is now known as the New Economic Policy. In view of the utter impoverishment of the country and the destruction of its productive forces it was necessary first of all to seize upon that section of the national industries which would facilitate the rapid establishment of a food and raw materials basis for the cities and for the industries. This section was agriculture, notwithstanding the fact that its output had dropped to 49% of pre-war, for the output of industry had dropped to 18-20% of pre-war. After restoring agriculture it was possible to develop socialist construction.

6.—Achievements during the years of Peaceful Construction.

Detailed figures indicating the rate at which the various industries were restored are to be found in the Tables appended

hereto. For that reason, only the principal figures will be quoted here.

Agriculture.—The total output of agriculture for 1927 is valued at 12,775,000,000 pre-war roubles, which represents 108·2% of pre-war output. Simultaneously with the process of restoration, a campaign was conducted against the obsolete methods in agriculture. At the present time the peasantry are abandoning the old three-field system and are adopting the system of rotation of crops. The cultivation of technical crops such as cotton, flax, etc., is increasing. The growth of agriculture is indicated by the fact that during the last three years fresh capital amounting to the sum of 2,678,540,000 roubles has been invested in agricultural machinery (54% of this sum was provided to the peasantry by the State and the Co-operative Societies in the form of credits). It must be borne in mind that the exercise of the influence and planned guidance of agriculture by the State is hampered by the fact that it is divided up among 22,500,000 individual peasant farms. The principal path of development of agriculture to a higher technical basis to bring it into line with socialist construction is to organise the peasant population in the various forms of Co-operative Societies. This year the government has appropriated a sum of money out of the budget for the purpose of re-arranging¹ the holdings of the poor peasants and to relieve 35% of the peasantry from the agricultural tax in order to enable them to develop their farms (*cf.* Table No. 6 in Appendix).

Industry.—The total output of all industries in 1927 is valued at pre-war prices at 7,820,000,000 roubles. The value of the output of rated industry is 6,637,000,000 roubles, which is equal to 112·9% of pre-war (the annual increase is shown in Table 2 in the Appendix).

The output of means of production in the large-scale industries alone amounted in 1926-27 to 2,028,400,000 roubles, while the output of articles of consumption amounted to 2,585,800,000 roubles.

The output of various industries as planned for 1927, as compared with 1913, is as follows:—Coal 124·1%, Oil 120·7%, Pig-Iron 82·3%, Rolled Metals 85·2%, Cotton Fabrics 112%, Rubber Shoes 132·6%.

These figures show that the restoration of the industries proceeded first of all along the line of satisfying the acute need for articles of consumption. Nevertheless, at the same time the country set to work to bring about the reconstruction of the industries on a new basis in order to increase the role of industry

¹ At the present time the vast majority of peasant holdings are split up in small parts usually remote from each other. Throughout the whole country the work of re-arranging these holdings, so that each holding will comprise one whole plot, is going on which entails a great deal of land-surveying work.

as compared with agriculture and to develop electrification, as well as to effect a general technical transformation of industry. The past two years have marked a beginning of the process of expanded production, *i.e.*, a beginning of the plan for the industrialisation of the country.

Divided according to sections, the total output of all industries are as follows:—Socialised section 85·9% (State-owned 77·1%, Co-operative-owned 8·8%) and Privately-owned section 14·1%. In agriculture, the socialised section represents 2·7% and privately-owned section 97·3%.

Trade.—The total trade of the country is divided up as follows:—State and Co-operative trade 81·9%, Private Capitalist trade 18·1% (*cf.* Table No. 10 in Appendix).

Transport.—The rate of development of the whole of the industries of the U.S.S.R. is reflected in the state of railway transport. The enormous distances between the principal economic centres of the U.S.S.R. and the necessity to maintain contact between them entirely by land transport stimulates the very rapid increase in the railway system. In 1913 the railway system in Russia represented a total of 58,500 kilometres, whereas in 1926 it reached 74,600 kms. and according to the estimates in 1927-28 it will reach 77,200 kms. (132% of pre-war, *cf.* Table No. 7 in Appendix).

The State Budget.—The growth of the industries is accompanied by a corresponding increase in the State budget. In 1925 the State budget totalled 2,965,400,000 roubles; in 1926 3,973,400,000 roubles and in 1927 5,045,500,000 roubles. In 1925 17% of the total budget was appropriated for financing industries; in 1927 the amounts appropriated for this purpose represented 25·3% (*cf.* Table No. 12).

7.—The Conditions of the Working Class.

The number of wage-workers employed in industry in 1927 was 3,030,300. Of these, 2,908,000 were employed in socialised industries and 122,300 in privately-owned industries (*cf.* Table 8 in Appendix). The number of workers employed in the rated industries in 1926 was 2,389,000, which is almost double the number employed in these industries in 1921.

Wages.—Wages in all industries on the average represent 116·9% of pre-war level and in some industries they have reached 172% of pre-war (food industries) but in others they have only reached the level of 89·2% of pre-war (mining). This inequality is due principally to the conditions inherited by the Soviet Government from tsarist Russia (*cf.* Table No. 4 in Appendix).

Real wages in the U.S.S.R. are determined not by the state of the labour market at any given moment but by the general economic

state of the country and the real possibilities that exist for increasing wages.

Parallel with the steady growth of industries during the past few years there has been a steady and systematic rise in the wages of the workers employed directly in industry as well as of the salaries of office employees. The rate of increase in wages and salaries can be seen from the following figures, showing the average annual wages in industry:—in 1923-24 the average annual wage was 422 chervonetz roubles; in 1924-25, 521·78 roubles; in 1925-26, 648·48 roubles; in 1926-27, 726·92 roubles. This indicates that during the past three fiscal years nominal wages in industry have increased by 72%. In this connection it must be borne in mind that in the U.S.S.R. no deductions are made from wages for social insurance, that house rent is fixed according to the rate of wages received and that the workers receive considerable municipal services at reduced rates and even gratis.

At the same time there has been a steady levelling up of the wages in the various industries. The highest increases have taken place in those industries which were the worst paid in pre-war times (*cf.* Table No. 4 in Appendix).

This divergence in the relative rates of wages paid is due to the fact that in pre-revolutionary times wages in the medium and light industries (textiles, etc.) considerably lagged behind the heavy industries. During the past few years wages have increased mostly in those industries in which in pre-war times the workers were most exploited. Table No. 4 does not include supplementary additions to wages in the form of free municipal services, social insurance, sanatoria and rest homes, etc., the cost of which, on the average for industry as a whole, amounts to a sum representing 33·9% of the pay roll.

How high these supplementary payments are can be seen from the sums spent on social insurance. Thus, in the present fiscal year the amount spent on social insurance is 677,947,000 roubles (*cf.* Table No. 5).

The Working Day.—The average duration of the working day, taking industry as a whole, is 7½ hours. This is explained by the fact that in a number of industries (chemical and mining) and in injurious trades generally the working day is from 6-7 hours. The Manifesto issued by the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R. provides for the transition to a general 7-hour day. Overtime is permitted only in exceptional cases. During the last few months, the amount of overtime worked averages 20·6 hours per month, *i.e.* less than one hour per day; overtime is paid at the rate of time and a half.

3.—Unemployment.

Statistics show that the unemployed consist mainly of peasants who have migrated into the towns from the country and of office employees who have been discharged as a result of the reductions of office staffs in State and administrative departments in connection with the effort to reduce the cost of administration.

The following figures illustrate the migration of peasants from the country into the towns:—

Migrated into the town	1923-24,	1,700,000.	
"	"	2,800,000.	↗ 51%
"	"	3,200,000.	

The migration of peasants into the towns, as will be seen from the above, steadily increases from year to year.

Unemployment among industrial workers as such is not nearly so high. A certain percentage of the unemployed among industrial workers are temporarily unemployed in the period of changing one factory for another, removing from one town to another, or when going home to their villages on family affairs, sickness, etc.

In view of the insurance laws existing in the U.S.S.R. and the enormous part played by the Labour Exchanges and the trade unions, it is hardly likely that the statistics of unemployment would under-estimate the situation. Unemployed workers are eager to register at the Labour Exchanges and their trade unions, not only in order to receive employment, or unemployed benefit, but also to be able to retain their trade union membership cards and the privileges connected with them (*cf.* Table No. 9 in Appendix).

At the present time the important factor which determines the state of employment is the migration from the country into the towns. This is the very opposite to what took place in the period of War Communism. At that time there was a great migration from the towns into the country in the search of food. Now, however, the economic conditions of the workers in the cities have considerably improved and consequently there is an influx of population into the towns from the country. This brings up the problem of raising the standard of living of the peasantry and industrialising agriculture as a means of combating unemployment.

In view of the forthcoming reduction of the working day and the increase in the number of shifts, unemployment at a very modest estimate will be reduced by half a million.

The total expenditure on unemployed benefits in 1927-28 is estimated at 132 million roubles, as against 84,500,000 roubles in 1926-27, *i.e.* an increase of 55%. To meet this expenditure 12 million roubles will be appropriated in the State budget, 9 million roubles in the local budget and 108,700,000 roubles will be appropriated from the social insurance fund.

9.—The Distribution of the National Income.

During the period from 1925 to 1927 the national income increased from 15,589,000,000 roubles to 22,560,000,000 roubles. In 1925 the agricultural population received 51% of the total national income and in 1927 49.1%. The share of the working class in the national income in 1925 represented 24.1% and in 1927 29.4%. In 1925 the net income of the socialised industries, as the principal source of accumulations from which the further expansion of industry can be financed, represented 7.8% of the total national income and in 1927, 9.5% (cf. Table No. 11 of Appendix). A characteristic feature of the national income is the fact that the net income of the urban bourgeoisie remains at the same level, while relatively, as compared with the total income of the wage workers and of the socialised industries, it is declining.

The achievements of the years of the "restoration period" have improved the conditions of the mass of toilers to an enormous degree and have had their effect in accelerating the growth of the socialistic elements in the whole of industry. The progress that is made from year to year in the improvement of the technical base of industry, both in the increase in the number and size of industrial enterprises and the rapid improvements made in their equipment and management, renders possible the expansion of the programme of economic construction.

10.—Social and Cultural Development.

The social and cultural problem is beginning to play an increasingly important role in the process of socialist construction. The principal factor in industry is labour power, and consequently the principal task of social and cultural development is the reproduction and preservation of labour power. During the past few years considerable success has been achieved in widening the material basis for popular education. In 1913 expenditure on education represented 2 roubles 18 kopeks per head of the population. In 1925-26 this expenditure represented 3 roubles 86 kopeks per head and in 1926-27, 4 roubles 79 kopeks per head.

The successes achieved in social and cultural development are reflected in the increase in the number of children attending schools. The number of children attending elementary schools increased from 7,236,000 in 1913 to 9,487,000 in 1925. Still greater successes have been achieved in the sphere of vocational education. The number of children attending vocational training schools has increased from 267,000 in 1913 to 529,000 in 1925.

After the close of the civil war the movement for education among the masses assumed gigantic proportions. Thus in 1925-1926, there were no less than 50,893 schools for abolishing illiteracy

in the country, attended by 1,640,000 adult pupils. There are now 6,015 working-men's clubs in the country.

The same process is observed in the sphere of higher education. The number of higher educational establishments has increased from 91 (in 1913) to 134 (1925-26).

The so-called workers' faculties play an extremely important part in preparing the working class youth for entry into the universities. In 1926-27 there were in the U.S.S.R. 109 such workers' faculties attended by 45,702 students.

Another characteristic feature of social and cultural development in the U.S.S.R. is the considerable cultural development that is taking place among the national minorities in the Union. The introduction of instruction in the native languages in the schools has helped to increase literacy among the hitherto backward nationalities in the U.S.S.R. An indication of the successes achieved in this sphere is provided by the educational work conducted among the indigenous population of the Turkoman Socialist Soviet Republic. In 1916 the total number of pupils attending schools in the Turkoman Republic was 9,875, of whom only 524 were of the indigenous population. In 1926-27 the total number attending school was 32,239, of which the indigenous pupils numbered 19,500.

In the sphere of Public Health, indications of a general improvement in the health of the population are observed, as is evidenced by the following table:—

Per thousand of the population.					
		1913	1924	1925	1926
Births	44·1	42·65	46·97	44·15
Deaths	27·2	23·46	25·86	21·25
Natural increase in the population	16·9	19·19	21·11	22·91

Not less than 80% of the population of all ages enjoy facilities for receiving State medical and sanatoria assistance in one form or another.

The past year marks a turning point for the better in regard to infant mortality. The number of children dying before reaching the age of 1 year per 100 of those born alive was as follows:—

1924	1926
19·5	19

11.—Plans and Future Prospects.

The principal feature which distinguishes economic activity in the U.S.S.R. from that of all other countries is the process of economic development which is conducted according to plan. The Soviet economic system requires that all the principal economic

problems be taken up and linked up with one another into a single national economic whole. For that reason the method of advancing according to plan acquires increasing importance in our economy from year to year. This applies particularly to the present period of economic development upon a higher technical basis. Planning for one year ahead is now inadequate, the scope of the work is much wider and plans are now being drawn up for a much longer period ahead.

The successes achieved in the economic field up to this year served as the starting point for the drafting of the plan of economic development of the U.S.S.R. for the next five years. The drawing up of this plan is hampered considerably by the generally complicated international situation and the enormous scope of internal development. For that reason the proposals in the plan as yet bear to a considerable degree the character of estimates, although in the last few years the actual work carried out has exceeded the planned estimates.

The plan is based on the necessity for developing such enterprises as will accelerate the rate of development of the industries in the U.S.S.R. to a greater degree than that in capitalist countries. From the point of view of the internal situation the five-year plan is based on the necessity of accelerating the rate of growth of the socialist elements as compared with the growth of privately-owned elements.

In 1926-27 all branches of industry have exceeded the level of 1913. The five-year plan provides for an increase in output by 139%. In connection with the proposed reconstruction of industry, the increase in the number of workers employed in the State industry coming under the supervision of the Supreme Executive Council will amount to 23.4%. It is estimated that the national income per head of the population during the five years will be increased at least by 31%; that the monetary income of the workers will be increased by 26% and the real income by 57%. It is estimated that the income of the peasants will be increased by 16% per head, and if the reduction of prices estimated is included, the increase will be 37%. This will guarantee that the alliance between the working class and the peasantry will be strengthened on the basis of a general increase in prosperity in town and country.

APPENDIX II

Table No. 1—TOTAL OUTPUT OF INDUSTRY.
(In millions of pre-war roubles at pre-war prices (000,000 omitted).)

1913	1921-22	1922-23	1923-24	1924-25	1925-26	1926-27	1927-28	Estimated for 1931-32
19,837	8,120	11,316	12,272	14,574	18,739	20,695	22,487	31,369

All figures dealing with 1928-31 represent the estimates of the State Planning Commission.

Table No. 2—INDUSTRY.

I.—Total Output of Rated Industries in millions of pre-war roubles at pre-war prices (000,000 omitted).

1913	1917	1918	1919	1920	1921-22	1922-23	1923-24	1924-25	1925-26	1926-27	1927-28	1931-32
6391	4468	2260	1111	949	1344	2156	2583	3917	5731	6728	7607	12,580

Of the above, the output was as follows in the Large-Scale State Industry:—

	1924-25	1925-26	1926-27	1927-28
Means of Production	1,142,3	1,629,3	2,028,4	2,378,5
Articles of Consumption	1,602,5	2,273,2	2,585,8	2,964,6

Table No. 3—LABOUR.

II.—Number of Workers employed in Rated Industry (000 omitted).

1913	1917	1918	1919	1920	1921-22	1922-23	1923-24	1924-25	1925-26	1926-27	1927-28
2686	3212 ¹	3442 ¹	1713	1599	1294	1446	1618	1795	2289	2389	2460

¹ The increase observed in 1917 and 1918 is due principally to the growth of output of the factories supplying requirements of war.

Table No. 4—WAGES IN LARGE-SCALE INDUSTRY.

	1913 (in pre-war rbls).	In Chervonetz Roubles.				Index of Real Wages (% of 1913)			
		1924-25	1925-26	1926-27	1927-28	1924-25	1925-26	1926-27	1927-28
MONTHLY WAGE—									
Metal Industry ...	35	49.71	62.90	70.98	76.23	67.5	77.4	86.9	97.7
Textile	17	37.31	45.29	51.64	54.89	102.3	111.9	129.2	143.8
Mining	33	38.34	51.97	58.25	61.05	55.5	71.1	81.3	89.2
Chemical	20	44.20	54.24	60.85	63.22	104.9	116.9	130.5	142.0
Leather	25	60.61	70.18	79.59	81.42	116.4	122.0	136.8	146.5
Food	20	56.1	64.21	67.87	72.28	141.4	149.5	154.2	172.0
Paper	18	42.32	51.01	55.09	58.45	115.3	126.3	134.4	149.3
Woodworking ...	22	47.04	53.63	56.77	58.13	97.6	102.3	108.8	116.6
All Others ...	25	43.48	54.04	60.52	64.15	82.6	93.7	105.3	116.9
ANNUAL WAGE—									
Aver. for all industries	300	521.78	648.48	726.19	769.76	82.6	93.7	105.3	116.9

Table No. 5—Budget Expenditure on Social Insurance, 1924-25—1927-28.

ITEM OF EXPENDITURE.	Thousands of roubles (000 omitted)				Per cent. of Total Budget.			
	1924-25	1925-26	1926-27	1927-28	1924-25	1925-26	1926-27	1927-28
1. Sick benefits	117,101	197,273	214,454	225,279	37·7	38·3	36·3	33·9
2. Supplement'y benefits to insured persons and their families ...	46,213	78,301	80,704	82,242	14·9	15·2	13·9	12·4
3. Invalid pensions	63,938	115,220	158,702	185,122	20·6	22·4	27·3	27·9
4. Unemployed benefits	31,306	50,411	68,918	108,726	10·1	9·8	11·5	16·4
5. Rest Home & Sanatoria benefits	26,372	39,877	30,000	30,000	8·5	7·7	5·2	4·5
6. Other expenditure (insurance, publicity, etc.)	4,645	6,475	5,400	5,259	1·5	1·3	0·9	0·8
7. Construction work, capital repairs, equipment, etc. ...	—	2,311	—	2,000	—	0·4	—	0·3
8. Organising expenses	20,998	25,109	24,736	25,253	6·7	4·9	4·3	3·8
TOTAL	310,573	514,977	580,914	663,881	100	100	100	100
9. Appropriations for workers' housing fund	—	13,005	19,300	14,066	—	—	—	—
GRAND TOTAL	310,573	527,982	600,214	677,947	—	—	—	—

Note.—The figures for 1924-25 and 1925-26 are based on the returns of the State Social Insurance Department, the figures for 1926-27 are based on the Budget estimates of the State Social Insurance Department and the figures for 1927/28 are the estimates of the State Planning Committee of the U.S.S.R.

Table No. 6—AGRICULTURE.

INDEX.	1913	1917	1918	1919	1920	1921 -22	1922 -23	1923 -24	1924 -25	1925 -26	1926 -27	1927 -28
Total output (in millions of roubles at pre-war prices, 000,000 omitted) ...	11,790	9,500	8,700	8,300	7,700	6,900	7,600	8,800	10,293	12,273	12,775	13,186
Area under cultivation (in millions of dessiatins, 000,000 omitted, one dessiatin equals 2 acres)	109,0	99,0	97,0	95,0	93,0	83,0	75,0	86,8	91,2	96,7	102,7	105,5
Cattle (in millions of heads) 000,000 omitted	84,3	78,5	72,5	67,5	62,2	57,3	48,3	63,7	71,8	76,4	81,7	88,6

Table No. 7—TRANSPORT.

INDEX.	1913	1918	1919	1920	1921 -22	1922 -23	1923 -24	1924 -25	1925 -26	1926 -27	1927 -28
Length of railways (in thousands of kilometres, 00 omitted)	58,5	26,7	31,4	56,7	67,5	69,6	73,9	74,4	74,6	76,2	77,2
Goods traffic (in billions of kilometre tons, <i>i.e.</i> total tonnage multiplied by total length of railways, 00,000,000 omitted)	65,7	14,1	17,4	14,2	16,0	23,5	33,7	47,4	68,9	83,0	91,8

Table No. 8—ELECTRIFICATION.

	1913	1921 -22	1922 -23	1923 -24	1924 -25	1925 -26	1926 -27	1927 -28
Capacity of the regional stations built, ¹ ...	420	430	442	458	520	598	776	814
Production of the electrical stations of the U.S.S.R., in millions of kilowatt-hours, ²	—	—	—	897	1,132	3,220	4,112	5,325

Table No. 9—Number of Wage Workers Employed (000 omitted).

	1913 ³	1924 -25	1925 -26	1926 -27	1927 -28
In Agriculture ...	3000	1642	1944	2041	2041
In Large-Scale Industry ...	2686	2109	2672	2786	2858
In Small-Scale Industry ...	860	223	237	244	257
In all Industries ...	—	2332	2909	3030	3115
In Building Industries ...	500	317	423	494	544
In Transport ...	975	1094	1286	1338	1327
In Post, Telegraph, Telephone, etc. ...	72	82	90	93	93
In Trade ...	510	371	478	531	548
In Education ...	—	605	667	731	753
In Medical Service ...	—	264	320	355	366
In other State, Public and Private Institutions and Organisations ...	—	865	935	962	922
In other sections of the population ...	—	643	791	791	791
TOTAL ...	11,200	8,215	9,843	10,366	10,500

¹ There are actually in construction Electrical Stations of a total power of 838,000 kilowatts. The work of enlarging thirteen of the most important stations will increase their power from the present figure of 230,000 kilowatts to 850,000 kilowatts in 1931-32.

² The large stations for the service of the public provided electrical energy to the amount of 431 million kilowatt-hours in 1913, and 1900 million in 1927, i.e. nearly five times the 1913 figure. The estimated total production for 1931-32 is 11,578 million kilowatt-hours, or more than twice the 1927 total figure.

³ Precise figures for certain industries for 1913 are not available.

Table No. 10.
Unemployed Members of Trade Unions in the U.S.S.R.,
1924-25 to 1926-27 (in thousands).

INDUSTRY.	(00 omitted)			% of pre- ceding year.	
	1924 -25	1925 -26	1926 -27	1925 -26	1926 -27
Agriculture	70,6	154,1	288,3	218.3	187.1
All Industries	278,5	312,9	448,0	112.4	143.2
Building	90,3	128,3	173,1	142.7	1.3
Transport, post, telegraph, etc.	130,1	120,0	180,8	92.2	150.7
Employees in State and public institutions ...	263,0	289,8	389,0	110.2	134.2
Miscellaneous	50,2	79,5	128,1	158.4	161.1
Total	882,7	1,085,2	1,607,3	122.9	148.1

Table No. 11.
Total Output of Production in Industry and Agriculture and the Trade
Turnover in the U.S.S.R. for 1924-25 to 1926-27
 (Per cent. of each section to the total).

SECTION.	1924 -25	1925 -26	1926 -27	1927 -28
SOCIALISED SECTION—				
Industry	81.3	83.7	85.9	87.3
Agriculture	2.1	2.2	2.7	3.5
Trade Turnover	72.6	75.6	81.9	84.5
NON-SOCIALISED SECTION—				
Industry	18.7	16.3	14.1	12.7
Agriculture	97.9	97.8	97.3	96.5
Trade Turnover	27.4	24.4	18.1	15.5

Table No. 12.
Distribution of National Income in the U.S.S.R.

	Total income in millions rbls. (000,000 omitted).				Per cent. of total income.			
	1924 -25	1925 -26	1926 -27	1927 -28	1924 -25	1925 -26	1926 -27	1927 -28
A. Agricultural population	8,592	10,375	11,122	11,871	55.1	51.2	49.3	49.1
B. Non-Agricultural population	5,784	8,100	9,267	9,838	37.1	40.9	41.1	40.6
Of the latter :								
(1) Proletariat	3,760	5,607	6,623	7,131	24.1	27.7	29.4	29.5
(2) Handicraftsmen and artisans not employing wage labour ...	527	569	610	650	3.3	2.8	2.7	2.7
(3) Bourgeoisie (mainly urban)	861	1,091	1,090	1,075	5.5	5.3	4.8	4.5
C. Income of socialised industries	1,213	1,777	2,171	2,499	7.8	8.8	9.6	10.3

Table No. 13.

State and Local Budgets for period 1924-25 to 1927-28

(In millions of roubles, 00,000 omitted).

	1924 -25	1925 -26	1926 -27	1927 -28
Expenditure on industry	617,3	846,8	1,407,5	1,799,1
Expenditure for economic purposes from local budgets, municipal and local industries)	192,4	246,4	369,0	420,0
Expenditure on Transport, Post, telegraph, telephones, etc. (expenditure) ...	847,3	1,207,1	1,442,9	1,504,0
Expenditure for maintenance of social and cultural institutions and People's Commissaries	80,7	110,0	131,8	142,4
Defence	521,3	738,4	940,8	1,071,6
Administration expenses	420,4	611,1	699,2	800,0
Funds	547,1	806,6	832,4	779,4
Credits	68,2	12,0	41,2	31,0
Miscellaneous expenditure	69,6	117,6	99,1	205,0
State Reserve Funds ...	175,9	205,4	216,0	240,0
	98,8	44,8	145,0	105,0
TOTAL	3,639,0	4,946,2	6,324,9	7,097,5

Table No. 14.—The Social Composition of the Leading and Executive Organs of the State and of the Economic Institutions in the U.S.S.R.

	Total Figures.			%			Remarks
	Workers.	Peasants	Office employ's	Workers.	Peasants	Office employ's	
Third Congress of Soviets of the U.S.S.R.	920	665	696	40.3	29.2	30.5	
Fourth Congress of Soviets of U.S.S.R.	1112	678	509	49.3	28.8	21.6	0.3
Fourth Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R.	369	180	278	43.6	21.3	32.8	2.3 (Miscell.)
Women members of above	38	22	8	—	—	—	
Members elected to rural Soviets in the R.S.F.R.S., White Russian S.S.R., Trans-Caucasian S.F.S.R., Uzbek S.S.R. and Turkoman S.S.R., in 1927	agric. lab. 35,292 indus. workers, 20,187	932,294	62,331 ¹	agric. lab. 3.3 indus. workers, 1.9	87.4	5.8	0.7 Red Army Men.
Members elected to Urban Soviets in the above republics	39,997	4,226	27,102	46.6	4.9	31.0	17.5 ²
Presidents and members of management boards of syndicates, trusts, State industrial companies of the U.S.S.R. ...	total		530	50.1	1.9	48	
Managing directors and assistant managing directors of factories	total		1,229	74.8	3.9	21.3	
Workers in the judiciary (elected judges of provincial and people's courts 1927)	1,322	1,422	1,123	34.4	32.0	28.6	
Assessors (jurors elected only for a certain period) 1927	109,454	317,980	100,038 ³	19.3	56.1	17.6 ³	

¹ Teachers, doctors. ² This column includes—Red Army men, 4,738 (5.5%); Students, 1,178 (1.4%); Handicraftsmen and Artisans, 2,739 (3.2%); Housewives, 5,780 (6.7%). ³ Of these—Red Army men, 11,807 (2.1%); Artisans and Housewives, 27,783 (4.9%).

APPENDIX III

Resolution on Comrade Rykov's Report

The representatives of workers, peasants, working intellectuals, co-operators and oppressed peoples who have met in connection with the Tenth Anniversary of the October Revolution, having come to Moscow from all parts of the world to the Congress of Friends of the U.S.S.R. and champions of peace among nations, after perusing the report of the President of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R., A. I. Rykov, on the ten years' work of the Soviet Government, desire to express their satisfaction with the report presented to the Congress by the representative of the U.S.S.R. Government on the activity of this Government, and verified by the delegates by investigation with the fullest freedom. The U.S.S.R. is the only country in the world where the Government considers it desirable and even essential to account for its actions not only to the workers of its own country who have elected it, but also to the representatives of the workers and oppressed of all countries. This form of international intercourse between the Government of one country and representatives of other nations, unheard of in the annals of international relations in capitalist States, is in itself a testimony to the historical greatness of the Soviet Government, and a justification of the deed accomplished ten years ago; a deed which, in spite of all the efforts of imperialist governments to destroy it, remains as firm as a rock.

On behalf of the workers they represent, the delegations participating in the Congress declare their immutable solidarity with the workers and peasants of the U.S.S.R. who have initiated the reorganisation of society on a new Socialist basis, a society where there will be no wars, no exploitation of man by man, no oppression of other peoples by the ruling classes of some countries.

On behalf of the workers whom it represents, the Congress expresses also its readiness to defend with all the means at its disposal the conquests of the October Revolution against any attacks of the capitalist countries. On the strength of the careful

study which its participants have made of life and conditions in the U.S.S.R., the Congress declares :

The years of economic development in the U.S.S.R. are a clear proof of the successful economic reconstruction on a socialist basis of the country ruined by war. On the strength of the experience of one-sixth of the globe it has been demonstrated that socialism is a practicability. The myth spread by bourgeois economists that the elimination of the stimulus of profit-making would turn upside down all laws of economic development and lead mankind to moral and economic degradation has been exploded.

The ten years' experience of the workers of the U.S.S.R. has demonstrated to the world the effect of new stimuli of economic creativeness of a socialist and social character. Only in the U.S.S.R. are economic relations placed on a systematically planned basis, which is taking the place of the anarchy predominant in capitalist countries and which is gradually eliminating the "accidental" in economic and social relations. Therefore, the economic development in the U.S.S.R. is a victory of Socialism over Capitalism. Industry is growing from year to year, and in spite of backward technique, the U.S.S.R. is becoming industrialised. The elements of socialised economy are systematically squeezing out private capital from the positions it occupied at the introduction of the New Economic Policy. In industry and trade the socialist element of the country's economy is steadily growing in strength. The intense concentration of wholesale and retail trade in the hands of the State and the Co-operative movement gives great advantages to the workers and peasants as consumers. New factories are springing up. The worn-out plants in the old factories are being renewed. Speedy progress is being made in the electrification of the country, and the villages, kept in subjection under the tsarist regime, are developing economically. To millions of peasants throughout the world, who in capitalist countries sought salvation hitherto from their miserable conditions in making common cause with capitalists and big landowners, the experience of the U.S.S.R. in regard to the alliance between the working class and the peasantry is opening new prospects. Agricultural co-operation, plus socialised industry, is revolutionising the countryside.

In no other country in the world is such care taken of the workers' material, cultural and political position. In the U.S.S.R. alone is the 8-hour day an unassailable achievement of the working class. The proposed introduction of the 7-hour day, in spite of the economic weakness of the U.S.S.R., is one more example of the determination of the Soviet Government to improve the position of the working class. Labour palaces, garden villages and rest homes for workers,

sanatoria, protection of motherhood and childhood, crèches, children's homes, clubs, libraries—these only indicate the fundamental tendency to raise the material and cultural level of the workers.

The country where under Tsarism most of the population was illiterate is undergoing a gigantic cultural revolution. Ideas of solidarity and brotherhood of nations, respect for labour, and ideas of social justice are instilled into the minds of the young in school. Education, from the schools to the universities, has become accessible to workers and peasants, and the cultural level of the masses is growing day by day. In no other country in the world are such enormous sections of the population drawn into participation in the political and intellectual life of the country. The alliance between science and labour is a reality only in this country, which is slanderously represented by the capitalist world as the country of oppression directed against the intelligentsia and the educated sections of the population. Only in the U.S.S.R. is science genuinely independent. Here science is used not in the interest of a small group of people for the purpose of mass destruction by war, but it serves the interests of true civilisation and culture, *i.e.*, the interests of the broad masses awakening to new social and intellectual life. If democracy means participation of the largest possible number of people in the every-day administration of the country then democracy exists only in the Soviet Union.

To the oppressed peoples of the colonies, to all peoples disrupted by the post-war "peace treaties," to the national minorities throughout the world, the Soviet Union gives a vivid example of the possibility of a union between a whole series of nationalities of various degrees of culture, in the form of a federation of States based on genuine political and economic equality.

In view of these achievements the participants in the Congress send the warmest greetings to all U.S.S.R. workers and peasants. They pledge themselves to defend in their respective countries the first Republic of Workers and Peasants, by all means; to struggle against war which is threatening the U.S.S.R. on all sides; to expose the intrigues of international diplomacy which is preparing such a war; to oppose in every case a break of diplomatic relations with the U.S.S.R.; to insist on the recognition of the U.S.S.R. on the part of these governments which have not already done so; to support everywhere the initiative of the U.S.S.R. directed towards disarmament (at the same time being aware that the imperialist warmongers will do their utmost to prevent disarmament); to join the struggle of the proletariat against imperialist wars; to defend the cause of oppressed colonial peoples against their enslavers, first and foremost the revolutionary movement of the toiling

masses of China ; and to fight for national and international unity of the trade unions based on the class struggle.

Long live the U.S.S.R. !

Down with the imperialist wars !

Long live militant solidarity of all exploited and oppressed in the struggle against capitalism !